

Appendix 2: Russia–NATO dynamics 1994–present

Time	Important event	Russian reaction	Result of relationship
January 1994	Launch of Partnership for Peace (PfP) for Russian army and its satellites	Attempts to develop military contacts to reform army and to cooperate in joint military exercises and in case of threats	Constructive relationship
August 1995	NATO's use of force in Bosnia	Sharp criticism, seeking of military ally in China (joint declaration) pointing to “multipolar” world Russian legislatures' demand for supply of weapons to Serbs	Adversarial confrontation but final acceptance of joint mission under US command
March 1997	NATO–Russia founding act – a Permanent Joint Council (PJC)	Willingness to have a “voice” in NATO decisions	Constructive partnership
June 1999	NATO's use of force in Kosovo	Suspension of all institutional links, seeking to establish Russia–Belarus–Serbia alliance. Lawmakers' and top military officials' demand for supply of arms to Serbs Military march from Bosnia to occupy Pristina airport and demand for a separate role in NATO operation “West 99” Russian–Belarusian military exercises against virtual NATO attack	Adversarial confrontation, later modified demands, joint peacekeeping mission with NATO
March 1999	NATO admitted Warsaw Pact countries into Alliance: Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic	Sending of letter of protest to USA and Western countries by Yeltsin	Adversarial relationship
September 2001	NATO's operation as a response to 9/11 attack	Russo-Chinese Treaty of Good-Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation (FCT) including, among other things, military	Increased fear of NATO's even broader security involvement

	outside the Alliance territory	cooperation and “defense pact” to help each other in case of war	
May 2002	NATO–Russia council	Attempts to have influence on European security	Constructive partnership
March 2004	NATO admitted remaining Warsaw Pact countries and former Soviet republics: in all, seven states	Sharp criticism, rhetorical attacks on democracy’s failings in new allies of NATO, especially Baltic states	Adversarial confrontation
September 2006	NATO’s maritime operation “Active Endeavour”	Russian ship’s participation in counter-terrorist training	Constructive partnership
2007–2018	From formal declaration until actual construction of an anti-missile shield by the USA in Poland and the Czech Republic. This includes protection of NATO against ballistic rockets	Suspension of missile shield talks with NATO in protest, demanding limitation of the scope of its ballistic missile defense interceptors	Adversarial confrontation
April 2008	NATO granted Membership Action Plan (MAP) to Albania and Croatia and postponed MAP discussion with Georgia and Ukraine in December	Warning to take Crimea from Ukraine and fostering of official ties with Georgian separatist regions (Abkhazia and South Ossetia) In August military intervention in Georgia and declaration of independence of the two breakaway regions	Adversarial confrontation
April 2009	NATO admitted former Russian Balkan allies into Alliance: Albania and Croatia	Harsh rhetoric and raising of the issue of territorial nationalism in the Balkans	Adversarial confrontation
June 2017	NATO admitted former Russian ally into Alliance: Montenegro	Activation of anti-NATO media and orthodox groups, cyber-warfare on government websites. Meddling in elections to assassinate pro-NATO candidate	Adversarial confrontation

December 2018	NATO granted MAP to Bosnia	Rhetoric of retaliation. Undermining of stability by supporting secessionist and nationalist forces in multi-ethnic Bosnia. Backing of nationalist Dodik, who warns of secession of Serb entity, Republika Srpska, from Bosnia	Adversarial confrontation
March 2020	NATO admitted North Macedonia into Alliance	Criticism by Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Macedonian government for illegitimate pro-NATO and pro-EU referendum; criticism of NATO for not even being able to settle disputes between Greece and Macedonia, not to mention giving protection. Support for nationalist and anti-NATO party, led by Gruevski	Adversarial confrontation