

УДК 93/94/32/339.9/327(1990-2019)

**UKRAINE'S RELATIONS WITH NATO STATES IN THE DEFENSE SPHERE:
HISTORICAL-POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS
(90TH YEARS XX CENTURY - 2019 YEAR)**

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**ВІДНОСИНИ УКРАЇНИ З ДЕРЖАВАМИ НАТО В ОБОРОННІЙ СФЕРІ:
ІСТОРИЧНО-ПОЛІТИЧНІ ТА ВОЄННІ АСПЕКТИ
(90-ті роки XX століття - 2019 рік)**

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The purpose and tasks of the research were to study, analysis and generalize the main stages of establishing and implementing cooperation between Ukraine and NATO member states in general and Canada, in particular, assessing their content and significance, revealing the dynamics of relations in the defense and their dependence on political intentions, and actions of representatives of the ruling Ukrainian authorities. The realization of tasks allowed to distinguish four stages of relations of our country with the countries of the North Atlantic Alliance: 1) 90's of XX century - the end of 2004; 2) 2005 - 2010; 3) 2010 - to the annexation of the Crimea and aggression in the East of Ukraine; 4) since the beginning of the deployment of a military conflict at the present time. These stages were characterized by many events that were conditioned by direct aggression and the loss of territories (external factors) and internal causes: the lack of loyalty of the state-political elite to the national interests of the Ukrainian state and the Ukrainian people, even betrayal of them, especially in the third stage; the lack of a clear strategic political course of the state in identifying real friends and allies and permanent waste from establishing mutually beneficial relations with the EU and NATO states, consolidating the legislative strategy of Ukraine's entry into a democratic European community and the Alliance only at the fourth stage.

Keywords: NATO, North Atlantic Alliance, European Community, Ukraine-NATO relations, defense sphere, four stages of relations with Alliance countries, the annexation of the Crimea, aggression in the East of Ukraine.

Problem statement in general, analysis of the latter research and publications. The Independence of Ukraine in the early 90's years of the twentieth century put before the newly-established state and its people a whole a number of questions. They are associated with both its new international and international status, and with the internal political and socio-economic, socio-cultural, and so on. Unfortunately, these problems were not so much self-arising, but interdependent, which was needed to decide not only and not so much in a one-

dimensional dimension, but also to take into account all factors inherent in a sovereign state.

In external and internal politics, urgent solutions have emerged the question of self-determination as a sovereign country. You can to assert that no country will have its own external independent policies and strategies for its implementation without an established internal political.

At the same time, in this context, there was an important need for defining and realization in the practical plan of new directions of further development and efficiency in the international plane, gaining European and world-wide recognition. Particularly significant in the current conditions of aggressive action against Ukraine on the part of the RF and self-proclaimed and not recognized by LNR and DNR, the issues of establishing close cooperation with the countries of the world, which could help our state protect sovereignty and overcome the consequences of aggression and the return of the annexed Crimea. In this plan, Ukraine chose, first of all, Alliance countries. This and determines the relevance of the topic, what is being studied. The development of its individual aspects in the scientific sense, analysis and synthesis are of practical importance.

Among the achievements of the scientific and scientific-methodological nature that out of print in the first decade of the XXI century should be highlighted General works: "Accession to NATO is a strategic choice of Ukraine" for general ed. O. I. Soskin [1], monograph by I. Ya. Todorov [2], I. A. Kharban [3] and so on. They were a product of their time, therefore, they had in general more than less predictive-exploratory character, consistent with general policy the need for Ukraine to occupy a new place in the world and in the world pan-European communities.

Quite useful information on the problem also contains articles, published in the past to present three years, the essence of which is highlighted on the peculiarities of relations in these aspects, Ukraine with separate ones NATO member states, in particular, with Canada [4]. By their content they analyze the signs as a fact, directly or indirectly, necessity intensifying close cooperation with Allied countries.

In preparing this article, the author relied on the works of predecessors and **defined the purpose and objectives of his research**. They are: in studying, analysis and generalization of the main stages of adjustment and implementation Ukraine's cooperation with the NATO member states in general, and Canada, in particular, the assessment of their content and meaning, the disclosure of the dynamics of relationships in the defense sector and the dependence of these relations on political intentions and actions representatives of the ruling Ukrainian authorities.

Presentation of the main research material. The relations between Ukraine and the Allies began to be established already in the first years after the proclamation of Independence. It was in the early 90's XX century before the young state faced the question of joining the European and world communities.

The Interstate Education, to which Ukraine first joined after the collapse of the USSR, was the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) - December 1991. It should be noted that Ukraine has not ratified the CIS Charter, therefore it was formally considered only an observer in this organization, and not its member.

The further development of events proved unacceptable for our country's stay in the CIS, and in 2014 it was decided to start the process of getting out of it.

At the same time, in the early 1990s, which marked the first stage of cooperation, active contacts on establishing Ukraine-NATO cooperation began to develop. In 1992, two significant events took place: in January, a representative of our state first participated in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council Working Group (RPAS); In February, NATO Secretary General Manfred Werner, who invited Ukraine to participate in the NACC, made his first visit to Kyiv.

Important was the direct contacts of Ukrainian representatives with the seminar participants of the North Atlantic Assembly "Ukraine and European Security, which took place in the summer of 1993 in the capital of our country. The next step was the signing of the Partnership for Peace (PfP) Framework Document by the Head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine A. Zlenko. This program, in particular, provided for openness in relations between Ukraine and NATO, development of cooperation in certain areas of the military sphere, participation of Ukrainians in peacekeeping operations within the framework of the program and the current legislation, etc. To participate in the program, our state began to provide a defined

military contingent, units of civil defense and military equipment [5, p.25-26].

However, in the second half of the 1990s, quite contradictory processes of relations between our country and NATO took place in Ukraine. First, in general, military cooperation, in general, there was a positive dynamics. Thus, within the framework of its implementation in 1995-1996 several dozen joint measures were conducted against only two in 1994. Secondly, in 1997 and 1998, important documents were signed, in particular, the "Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between Ukraine and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization"; approved by the Decree of the President of Ukraine "State Program of Cooperation of Ukraine with NATO for the Period till 2001".

Fruitful in the early 90's - 2004, you can name the relationship in this area between Ukraine and Canada. The last of the first of the countries of the West recognized the independence of our state and began cooperation in various spheres, including in the military. In this sense, should be made to assist Ukraine in reforming the armed forces, particularly in the preparation of Ukrainian officers in the Program for Educational Military (Military Training Assistance Program). Since the mid-1990s, over the next ten years, more than three and a half hundred senior military personnel have been trained in Canada [6].

At the same time, negative tendencies towards Ukraine's rapprochement with NATO grew. In this sense, it is important to refer to the documents that were considered at the relevant international negotiations and adopted in Ukraine - the government. Even a quick review emphasizes the fact that our country continued to adhere to dual policies in relations with NATO and the CIS in the 1990s. The proof of this is the version of the "Military Doctrine of Ukraine", approved by the Presidential Decree on June 15, 2004 (expired on September 26, 2015). During the same period, there was a rather inconsistent relationship between the authorities in Ukraine's cooperation with NATO, which is due to factors such as the lack of formation of Ukrainian civil society and its lack of awareness of NATO's role and significance; the lack of unity in the political and state orientation of the opposite layers of the ruling elite in the 90 years of XX - early XXI centuries This caused, on the one hand, the publication of these sociological polls about the necessity of joining NATO during the specified period, as a rule, in the majority as "uncertain" or even "negative". On the other hand, politicians and government-supporters of rapprochement with the Alliance made up a significant minority. In the light of this society, periodically there were quite predictable situations like "Ukraine without Kuchma", etc., for which the vector of public opinion was translated.

The beginning of a new phase was the year 2005, when the newly elected President, Viktor Yushchenko, made an effective turn in NATO's relations with the European integration. At the beginning of the year, V.Yushchenko at a summit in Brussels outlined the main provisions of Ukraine's strategy, and his decree of

April 21, 2005, restored the first edition of the Military Doctrine on the urgent preparation of the state for full membership in NATO and the EU [7, p.17].

It is important to note that this period was more directional. But senior officials and Allies took into account the experience of previous NATO relations with Ukraine and made at least two comments. First: the necessity of the obligatory definition of the ruling political and governmental elite in the attachment and final development of the state's course on the specified integration processes. The second is the rapid establishment of a social and internal political consensus, which will support the support of the population of Euro-Atlantic integration. The latter depends on the degree and content of conducting explanatory work with different layers of the population, forming the structure of Ukrainian society [8].

The next stage began in 2010 when Yanukovich's cohort and his supporters came to power.

Already on April 2, 2010, the new President of Ukraine, by his decision, liquidated the Interdepartmental Commission on the preparation of Ukraine for joining NATO and the National Center for Euro-Atlantic Integration [9]. In the internal policy of the authorities, as well as in the foreign, by the beginning of 2014, two mutually exclusive tendencies appeared: positive, in relations with the Russian Federation, and actually negative, directed in essence, on the freezing of Euro-integration and Euro-Atlantic processes with NATO countries. From then on, until the beginning of 2014, Ukraine's relations with NATO, in general, and with Canada, in particular, in the defense sector, were not developing properly.

With the onset of aggression of the Russian Federation in the year 2014 and the turbulent facts associated with the capture of Ukrainian sailors and their captivity, a rather rich new phase, which continues to this day, is traced. It contains two informative events that have significantly raised the content and nature of relations in the defense sphere to a new level.

The first is the annexation of the Crimea and the occupation of the industrial regions of the Donbas with the emergence of unrecognized and constitutionally unacceptable by Ukraine proclaimed by the LNR and the DPR. The author believes that the very purpose of the Russian Federation was precisely the annexation of the Crimea. The goal is to establish control over the Black and Mediterranean seas. The occupation of Donbas and the unsuccessful "attempts" to spread the "Russian spring" in the territory of our state is proof. This event took place in 2014 and had a clearly pronounced character of external aggression. Taking into account the determined effectiveness or without the effectiveness of the Minsk agreements, it continued to capture the Ukrainian sailors, and marked the transition to a new quality, a new event - the consolidation of not only the territory of the annexed Crimea but also an attempt to turn the Azov Sea into the internal Russian.

The Russian aggression against Russia and Russia's armed attack on Ukrainian ships near the Kerch Strait with the seizure of Ukrainian sailors have significantly changed in a positive way towards Euro-Atlantic integration and, in essence, have become an important reason for Ukraine's engagement with NATO and the individual countries of the Alliance in closer and more effective cooperation, consolidation of the legislative directions of our state before joining the EU and NATO.

In the relations between Ukraine and NATO and individual Alliance countries, new relations in the defense sphere began to emerge. In the past two or three years, there has been an intensification of political, diplomatic and material and military assistance, there are an expansion and introduction of new sanctions against the aggressor. Among the most important measures of material and military assistance, one can mention the following: 1) annual financial assistance from the United States alone (the Pentagon's request for 2020 is about 250 million dollars) and Canada (increased up to \$ 100 million annually) to support the army and special services Ukraine; 2) in 2017, Ukraine is defined as a country that is allowed to export certain types of weapons; at NATO Armed Forces training attended by high-ranking officials of NATO; contingent of military instructors from Canada has been significantly increased; the presence of NATO naval forces in the Black Sea has been substantially increased; the issue of supplying Ukraine with anti-tank weapons and strengthening its naval capabilities is positively considered etc.

Conclusions and ways of further research. The analysis and synthesis made it possible to draw conclusions about the rather difficult way of becoming and developing the relations between Ukraine and NATO and the individual countries of the Alliance in the field of defense in the period under study.

First of all, the consideration of the problem allows us to identify the four stages in establishing these ties and the legislative consolidation of the strategic course on the entry of our country into the EU and NATO: 1) 90th years of the XX century - the end of 2004; 2) 2005 - 2010; 3) 2010 - to the annexation of the Crimea and aggression in the East of Ukraine; 4) since the beginning of the deployment of a military conflict at the present time. These stages were characterized by many events that were conditioned by direct aggression and the loss of territories (external factors) and internal causes: the lack of loyalty of the state-political elite to the national interests of the Ukrainian state and the Ukrainian people, even betrayal of them, especially in the third stage; the lack of a clear strategic political course of the state in identifying real friends and allies and permanent waste from establishing mutually beneficial relations with the EU and NATO states, consolidating the legislative strategy of Ukraine's entry into a democratic European community and the Alliance only at the fourth stage.

Further study of the problem may be carried out on the basis of historical, political and social analysis of the internal and external factors that hinder the entry of Ukraine into the EU and NATO. It is also important to analyze other than purely defense mutually beneficial areas of cooperation based on the fact that the Alliance establishes relations in scientific, socio-cultural and many other spheres.

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Михайлюк В.В. Відносини України з державами НАТО в оборонній сфері: історично-політичні та воєнні аспекти (90-ті роки ХХ століття - 2019 рік)

Метою та завданнями дослідження було вивчення, аналіз та узагальнення основних етапів встановлення та реалізації співпраці між Україною та державами-членами НАТО в цілому та Канадою, зокрема, оцінка їх змісту та значення, виявлення динаміки відносин у сфері оборони їх залежність від політичних намірів та дій представників правлячої української влади. Реалізація завдань дозволила виділити чотири етапи відносин нашої країни з країнами Північноатлантичного альянсу: 1) 90-ті роки ХХ століття - кінець 2004 року; 2) 2005 - 2010; 3) 2010 рік - анексія Криму та агресія на Сході України; 4) з початку розгортання військового конфлікту в даний час. Ці етапи характеризувалися багатьма подіями, обумовленими безпосередньою агресією та втратою територій (зовнішніми факторами) та внутрішніми причинами: відсутністю лояльності державно-політичної еліти до національних інтересів української держави та українського народу, навіть зрада їх, особливо на третьому етапі; відсутність чіткого стратегічного політичного курсу держави у визначенні реальних друзів і союзників і постійних втрат від встановлення взаємовигідних відносин з країнами ЄС і НАТО, закріплення законодавчої стратегії вступу України до демократичної європейської спільноти та Альянсу лише на четвертий етап.

Ключові слова: НАТО, Північноатлантичний альянс, Європейське співтовариство, відносини Україна - НАТО, оборонна сфера, чотири етапи відносин з країнами Альянсу, анексія Криму, агресія на Сході України.

Михайлюк В.В. Отношения Украины с государствами НАТО в оборонной сфере: историко-политические и военные аспекты (90-е годы ХХ века - 2019)

Целью и задачами исследования было изучение, анализ и обобщение основных этапов установления и реализации сотрудничества между Украиной и государствами-членами НАТО в целом и Канадой, в частности, оценка их содержания и значения, выявление динамики отношений в сфере обороны их зависимость от политических намерений и действий представителей привлекать украинской власти. Реализация задач позволила выделить четыре этапа отношений нашей страны со странами Североатлантического альянса: 1) 90-е годы ХХ века - конца

2004 года; 2) 2005 - 2010; 3) 2010 год - аннексия Крыма и агрессия на Востоке Украины; 4) с начала развертывания военного конфликта в настоящее время. Эти этапы характеризовались многими событиями, обусловленными непосредственной агрессией и потерей территорий (внешними факторами) и внутренними причинами: отсутствием лояльности государственно-политической элиты к национальным интересам украинского государства и украинского народа, даже измена их, особенно на третьем этапе; отсутствие четкого стратегического политического курса государства в определении реальных друзей и союзников и постоянных потерь от установления взаимовыгодных отношений со странами ЕС и НАТО, закрепление законодательной стратегии вступления Украины в демократической европейского сообщества и Альянса только на четвертый этап.

Ключевые слова: НАТО, Североатлантический альянс, Европейское сообщество, отношения Украина - НАТО, оборона страны, четыре этапа отношений со странами Альянса, аннексия Крыма, агрессия на Востоке Украины.

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Стаття подана 02.04.2019.