

feature of the current research was the perception of the person as the subject of history, which suffered a hard enslavement by the administrative-commandsystem.

Key words: *population, socio-demographic processes, Donbass, historiography*

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POLISH–UKRAINIAN MILITARY COOPERATION

Polish–Ukrainian military cooperation began in 1991. It became more intensive when both countries joined the Partnership for Peace programme. This involved consultations, sharing experience, joint military exercises and technical cooperation. The most important element of such cooperation was the formation of the Polish–Ukrainian Peace Force Battalion (POLUKRBAT) whose soldiers were deployed in Kosovo as part of the KFOR. Polish and Ukrainian soldiers cooperated also in Iraq and Afghanistan. Currently, a peace force battalion of three countries, Poland, Ukraine and Lithuania, is being formed.

Key words: *Polish–Ukrainian cooperation, POLUKRBAT*

For ages, Poland and Ukraine have been situated in direct neighbourhood. On one hand, this favoured merging of cultures, languages or religions, but on the other hand it, unfortunately, favoured conflicts. A chance for establishing closer cooperation was the dissolution of the Soviet Union and independence of the countries in Central and Eastern Europe. On the next day following Ukrainian referendum concerning independence, Poland, as the first country in the world, recognised it. At the turn of 1991 and 1992, diplomatic relations between Warsaw and Kiev were established. Another step was made on 18 May 1992 when a treaty of good neighbourship, friendly relations and cooperation was signed between the Republic of Poland and Ukraine [1, p. 125-126]. The initial stage of Polish–Ukrainian cooperation was determined by two facts: Polish aim to guarantee itself safety and development by the membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and in the European Communities as well as the Ukrainian search for possibilities to weaken the position of Russia (the creation of a new regional safety system in the Central and Eastern Europe was supposed to help fulfil this aim) [2, p. 155]. One of the significant elements in Polish–Ukrainian cooperation was military cooperation.

The military cooperation between the Poles and Ukrainians also took place in the past centuries. At the beginning of the 17th century, Poland held close relationships with Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachny, a Cossack hetman, who participated in the battles with Russians and Tatars and defended Khotyn (Polish: Chocim) together with Jan Karol Chodkiewicz during the Turkish invasion in 1621¹2 In 1920, Józef Piłsudski and Semen Petlura – despite their differences – made a Polish–Ukrainian military treaty to face Bolshevik invasion and stop their march towards the West [10, p. 157-209].

¹ for more details see: L. Podhorodecki, Chocim, Warsaw 1988.

The first attempts to establish Polish–Ukrainian military cooperation following the dissolution of the Soviet Union took place in 1991 when the representatives of the Polish Army were invited to the celebration of the 370th anniversary of the Battle of Khotyn organised by the authorities of Khotyn and Chernivtsi University [13, p. 205].

A year and a half later – in February 1993 in Kiev – an agreement on military cooperation was signed between the Polish and Ukrainian Ministries of Defence. In April 1994, during the visit of the Polish Minister of Defence, Piotr Kołodziejczyk, in Ukraine, it was announced that the cooperation would be broadened to include: cooperation in training, sharing experience concerning remodelling of armed forces as well as cooperation of mountain infantry and airborne units. A month later, during the visit of the chief of the Ukrainian General Staff, Anatolij Lopata, in Warsaw, the problems concerning training and technical cooperation between the two armies as part of the Partnership for Peace treaty were discussed [13, p. 205].

In 1994, Poland and Ukraine together with other countries joined a NATO programme called “Partnership for Peace,” which was associated with more intense contacts in the military sphere. The Partnership for Peace enabled joint military exercises, participation in peace and humanitarian missions and consultations with the NATO partners in case of a threat to their safety.

In 1994, an intergovernmental agreement was signed on military cooperation with respect to the principles of mutual air movement of military aircrafts of both countries. In November the same year, an international seminar was held in Warsaw concerning military education. It was attended by the representatives of the Polish, Belarusian, Czech, Lithuanian, German, Slovakian and Ukrainian armies. Moreover, in 1994, it was also possible to transfer intergovernmental or inter-department meetings to lower levels. In June 1994, Gen. Piotr Szuljak, a commander of the Carpathian Military District, visited the commanders of the Krakow Military District. Together with his Polish counterpart, Gen. Zenon Bryk, they discussed the problems concerning training cooperation in both military districts [13, p. 206].

On the 5 October 1995 in Solina, the ministers of defence of both countries signed the “Declaration about joint actions for stability and safety in Central and Eastern Europe.” This was the first declaration of this type signed by Poland with a neighbour state. The parties to the agreement committed themselves to conduct regular consultations and to organise common military undertakings and actions for the stability and safety of the region [13, p. 206]. An initiative was also undertaken to establish a common Polish–Ukrainian military unit to participate in international peace and humanitarian operations under the aegis of international organisations.

Soon after, the first meeting concerning the common unit was held. A special group of officers were appointed who began consultations in Krakow, Lviv and Przemysl. The Polish component was created from the 14th Armoured Brigade named after Karol Chodkiewicz of Przemysl (on 1 February 2000, the 14th Armoured Brigade was included in the 21st Podhale Rifles Brigade). The Ukrainian soldiers that were included in the battalion were those from the 310th Mechanized Regiment of Yavoriv which was a part of the 24th Iron Mechanized Division (since 1998, the regiment has functioned as the 208th Independent Special Battalion, subordinated directly to the Headquarters of the Western Operational Territory of Ukraine) [1, p. 127].

One of the effects of the agreement signed in Solina was the organisation of the first multi-national exercises conducted in Ukraine called “The Peace Shield ‘96.” They took place in June 1996 in the Lviv training ground of the Carpathian Military District. The participants included 1,300 American, Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, Romanian, Bulgarian, Slovakian, Czech and Moldavian soldiers. The scenario assumed cooperation of soldiers from various

countries as part of the peacekeeping battalion¹. The chiefs of the defence departments of the participant countries and of NATO member states were invited as observers; in total, nineteen ministers appeared. During the closing ceremony, there were the heads of the general staffs from seventeen European and American countries. In numerous official speeches, it was emphasised that for the sake of peace in the world, it was necessary to deploy international peacekeeping forces to the sensitive regions, which was being practiced in the Lviv training grounds [6, p. 23-24].

In September 1996, Polish and Ukrainian soldiers from the units which were supposed to create POLUKRBAT took part in the exercise of the Krakow Military District, called “The Tatra Mountains ‘96” conducted on the training grounds in Nowa Deba. During the exercises, the commanders of the Krakow and Carpathian Military Districts signed a document on a close military cooperation between the districts. It said that Polish and Ukrainian soldiers were to meet at least three times a year for training in Poland or Ukraine. An exchange of experience, military technique and commanding staff was also possible. Moreover, an organisation of the Polish-Ukrainian battalion was also announced. The aim of the training that took place in Nowa Deba was: conducting mediatory activities, perfecting command over mediatory forces, creating military documents according to the current procedures of the UN, testing the functionality of the assumed organisational structures of the mixed battalion for the exercising soldiers, teaching commanders how to command and manage troops that perform operations in the buffer zone, teaching soldiers how to organise their stations in the patrol zone as well as perfecting the skills needed in search and rescue operations in the buffer zone and during humanitarian missions. [3, p. 16-20]. 2,700 soldiers (including 150 reservists) took part in the manoeuvres. The Polish participants included: the entire 3rd Mechanized Brigade from Lublin and selected forces of: 6th Air Assault Brigade from Krakow, 14th Armoured Brigade from Przemyśl, 25th Air Cavalry Division from Łęczycza, 3rd Territorial Defence Brigade from Zamość, 2nd Reconnaissance Regiment from Hrubieszów, 3rd Engineer Regiment from Dębica, 5th Command Regiment from Krakow, Regional Military Staff from Rzeszów and 4th Airborne Corps. Ukraine sent two companies from the 310th Mechanised Regiment from Rava-Ruska (24th Iron Mechanised Division). At the end of the training, the Ukrainian Minister of Defence, Gen. Oleksandr Kuzmuk, said: “This is a new step to guarantee peace in the world.” His Polish counterpart, Stanislaw Dobrzański stated that “this is a historic moment since for the first time the Polish–Ukrainian battalion has practiced on the Polish land. This battalion is of considerable relevance, not only in military aspects, but also political ones. Our cooperation with Ukraine, including the formation of this battalion, is ranked very high” [5, p. 20-21].

The next time Polish and Ukrainian – as well as British – soldiers had an opportunity to train together was in September 1997. The training was called “Cossack Steppe ‘97” and took place on the Shyroky Lan training ground on the territory of the Odessa Military District. The training was part of the “Partnership for Peace” programme. Approximately 420 soldiers and officers were trained as part of the peacekeeping battalion established for the time of practice. They were from the Polish 6th Air Assault Brigade, Ukrainian 40th Independent Air Assault Brigade and British 5th Air Assault Brigade [4, p. 55-59].

¹ „The ethnic conflicts in Exlandia and Norania raise concern in the world. The region of Gornoje, situated in the territory of the Federal Republic of Exlandia, with 80% of the citizens identifying themselves with the Noranic origin, are trying to declare secession. Exlandia is mobilising troops. Norania is sending arms, ammunition and people to Gornoje. Persecuted Exlandians are emigrating from Norandia. War is inevitable. The borderland is becoming dangerous. Then, to prevent bloodshed, the UN decides to send an international peacekeeping battalion there” - this is how the Polish military press depicted the aim of the exercises.

The basis for the formation and operation of the Polish–Ukrainian Peace Force Battalion (POLUKRBAT) was the agreement between the Republic of Poland and Ukraine signed by the Polish and Ukrainian ministers of defence on 26 November 1997 concerning the formation of a joint unit to participate in international peace and humanitarian operations under the aegis of international organisations.

According to the agreement, the ministries of defence of Poland and Ukraine were to select subunits together with their equipment from each country's armed forces (national components of the Battalion) to be included in the unit. The Polish component of the Battalion was to be stationed on the territory of the Republic of Poland, and the Ukrainian component – on the territory of Ukraine.

The Battalion could participate in international peace operations:

- of the United Nations, the mandate of which was approved by the United Nations Security Council and those approved by other international organisations responsible for maintaining international peace and safety in accordance with the regulations included in the chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter;

- of the multinational forces formed upon the approval of the UN Security Council.

The aim of the POLUKRBAT was to partake in international peace operations conducted for the following purposes:

- preventing outbreaks of international and internal conflicts;
- regulating or creating conditions for regulation of international and internal conflicts upon the agreement of the parties to the conflict;
- providing humanitarian help for people who suffer due to international and internal conflicts;
- providing help associated with elimination of the conflict consequences;
- removing threats for peace or breach of peace, acts of aggression and regulating international and internal conflicts.

According to the agreement, the battalion could take part in international peace operations after it has been directed and subordinated to organs specified in the mandate of adequate international peace operation following a joint agreement of Poland and Ukraine. The decision about withdrawing the battalion from operations was made by appropriate organs of the parties, and if such a decision was made by at least one party, the entire battalion was withdrawn.

The command of the POLUKRBAT consisted of the commanding officer and the chief of staff – the first deputy commander of the battalion. The duties of the unit's commander were exercised in turns by the officer of the Polish Armed Forces and the officer of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, and the duties of the battalion chief of staff were exercised by the officer of the armed forces of the other party. The officers were to be appointed upon consultations between the ministries of defence of both countries.

The official language of the POLUKRBAT was English. The soldiers could also use Polish or Ukrainian languages.

The soldiers of the national components of the battalion were trained separately according to a uniform programme in their permanent stations and in national training centres. The joint training was conducted in accordance with agreed plans and programmes^{1,2}

¹ The agreement between the Republic of Poland and Ukraine concerning the formation of a joint unit to participate in international peace and humanitarian operations under the aegis of international organisations signed on 26 November 1997 in Warsaw.

Finally, the formation of the battalion ended on 31 March 1998, and obtained the operating capability at the end of 1999 [2, p. 160]. The patrons of the unit were national heroes of both nations and symbols of their military cooperation: hetman Jan Karol Chodkiewicz and Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachny [1, p. 127].

The initiative to use the battalion in the peacekeeping mission in Kosovo was made by the Ukrainian minister of defence, Gen. Oleksandr Kuzmuk, in June 1999. During the meeting in Yavoriv in April 2000, the Polish and Ukrainian departments of defence discussed and agreed upon the content of the technical agreement concerning the participation of the national contingents in the international peace operation in Kosovo as POLUKRBAT. The technical agreement was initialled by the delegation representatives on 9 June 2000 [7].

The Polish–Ukrainian Battalion began the mission in Kosovo as part of the KFOR on 15 July 2000. Its main tasks included: organising the reconnaissance system and monitoring whether the international agreements and treaties were observed in order to create conditions for safe existence and normalize the situation in the area of responsibility; supervising the process of introducing legal order and enabling the continuation of this process by civil organisations and institutions; supporting humanitarian help; supporting civil organisations in establishing law and public order in the area of operation; demining, removing unexploded ordnance and other obstacles, enabling movement via the main communication routes; controlling border crossings in Deneral Jankovic and Globocica; and patrolling with the aim to demonstrate the military presence of the KFOR forces in a given area of responsibility [13, p. 209-210]. For the duration of the Kosovo mission, a squad of Lithuanian soldiers was included in the battalion [1, p. 127].

In 2003–2005, Polish and Ukrainian soldiers cooperated also in the Polish Zone in Iraq. In 2013, formation of a Polish–Ukrainian military unit was being considered, which could join the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan [9].

Due to the plans of forming a Polish–Ukrainian–Lithuanian military unit for peacekeeping missions, POLUKRBAT was officially disbanded on 30 September 2010. On 16 November 2009, an initial tripartite agreement was signed with its aim to form a Lithuanian–Polish–Ukrainian brigade (LITPOLUKRBRIG) until the year 2011. Unfortunately, this was delayed. The failure to sign a proper agreement in June 2013 ruined the plans of forming the brigade in the autumn the same year. However, the participation of Ukrainian soldiers in Steadfast Jazz 2013 exercise was a promising sign [11].

The works associated with the creation of the new formation became more intensive when the political situation in Kiev changed and due to the Russian–Ukrainian Crimean crisis and conflict in the Eastern Ukraine. On 19 September 2014, the Polish, Lithuanian and Ukrainian ministers of defence – Tomasz Siemoniak, Juozas Olekas and Valeriy Heletey – signed an agreement on the formation of a joint three-nation brigade (LITPOLUKRBRIG). This took place in the Belweder palace with Polish President Bronisław Komorowski present. The unit will be used in operations under the auspices of the UN, NATO and European Union and as part of emergency coalitions formed in accordance with the United Nations Charter and agreements made between the countries providing their forces. The main tasks of the brigade were, among others: cooperation in the international effort to maintain peace, tightening regional military cooperation and creation of grounds for appointing the European Union Battlegroup based on the brigade [11].

To finalise the project, it is still necessary to make a technical agreement between the three countries. Following its signing, it will be possible for the Polish–Lithuanian–Ukrainian working groups to build the structure of the brigade [11].

The command headquarters of the multinational brigade is to be held in Lublin. Currently, the Polish part of the command, which consists of approximately 50 soldiers, is

stationed there. They are to be joined by a dozen or so Lithuanian and Ukrainian officers. Moreover, the command battalion, which consists of approximately 250 soldiers, is also stationed in Lublin. The key positions in the brigade are to be held by the officers of the three member countries in turns. LITPOLUKRBRIG is to reach its full operational readiness in two years [11].

The participation of Polish soldiers in the international “Rapid Trident 2014” exercise conducted on the territory of Ukraine in September 2014 was also a reflection of the support for Kiev in its conflict with Moscow. The participants included approximately 1,300 soldiers from the USA, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Great Britain, Canada, Georgia, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Norway, Poland, Romania and Spain [12].

Despite the difficulties, in the past 25 years, it was possible to tighten and intensify the cooperation between Poland and Ukraine in multiple fields, including safety and defence. The most important manifestations of the bilateral cooperation are: cooperation in peacekeeping missions under the aegis of the international organisations, the example of which is the service of POLUKRBAT in the Balkans; joint service of Polish and Ukrainian soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan; cooperation in training troops as part of the NATO “Partnership for Peace” programme; formation of another, three-nation unit for peacekeeping missions – LITPOLUKRBRIG, support of Poland for Ukraine on its way to tighten bonds with Euro-Atlantic security structures; and technical as well as academic cooperation. The close military cooperation between Ukraine and Poland as the NATO member is also highly relevant in the face of Russian aggression towards Kiev.

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ВІЙСЬКОВЕ СПІВРОБІТНИЦТВО ПОЛЬЩА-УКРАЇНА

Військове співробітництво Польща-Україна розпочалося у 1991 році. Воно стало більш інтенсивним коли обидві країни залучилися до програми «Партнерство заради миру». В рамках цієї програми проводилися консультації, обмін досвідом, спільні військові вчення. Частиною програми також було технічна співпраця. Найважливішим елементом такого співробітництва було формування Українсько-польського миротворчого батальйону (Укрполбат). Його солдати були розміщені в Косово, як частина миротворчого контингенту. Польські та українські солдати також співпрацювали в Іраку та Афганістані. Зараз формується миротворчий батальйон трьох країн – Польща, Україна та Литва.

Ключові слова: *Військове співробітництво Польща-Україна, Укрполбат.*

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