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**I.Martynchuk**

### **THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC AND NATO: THE POLITICAL INCOMPATIBILITY OF 1993-1997**

*The subject of the article is the relations of the Slovak Republic and the North Atlantic Alliance in 1993-1997, i.e. immediately after the proclamation of the independence of Slovakia and to the Madrid Summit,*

*which adopted the decision on the impossibility of entering this State in the first round of NATO enlargement. The objective of the study is to identify the causes and the background of the political fiasco in Slovakia on the way to joining NATO in that period. The basic methods, on the basis of which the research was done are comparative analytical and historical.*

*The security issue has become one of the major after the Declaration of independence of the Slovak Republic. Definitely the policy of cooperation with the Euro-Atlantic security structures, i.e. accession to NATO was declared. The cooperation itself and the direct membership have become a problem for the Government and the military forces of the country. All of the necessary laws and doctrines were developed and taken by the Parliament; the Army was reorganized, its degree of preparation was promoted; a series of joint trainings and activities were realized.*

*The Russian Federation had clearly negative attitude to the problem of NATO expansion to the East. Having inherited the Soviet type of foreign policy, Russian authorities treated the process as a direct threat to Russia's national interests. This is evidenced by numerous statements and speeches of foreign ministers, ambassadors in other states. Therefore, the entry of Slovakia into NATO by all means were prevented by the Russian politicians and business circles.*

*For the SR officials who were interested in continuing of close relations with Russia, especially from the economic point of view, the ambiguous position of the state in its relations with the West, both with the EU and NATO was beneficial. The realizing the unpopular, in social terms, reforms could lead to the temporary difficulties of economic and social nature, their further fall of the prestige and the loss of the power. On the other hand, these political forces didn't refuse the pro-Western course, providing an alibi in the eyes of the public. The government headed by Vladimir Mechiar, the coalition government led by the Movement for the Democratic Slovakia did everything to be the declared course only a declaration.*

*That is, for the introduction of the SR to NATO there was a lack of the political will of the ruling coalition and the government which did everything of the Slovakia's position remained uncertain. This is what caused the failure of the Slovak Republic towards NATO in 1997.*

*We can assume that such uncertainty in the foreign policy leads to the negative consequences. This thesis can be applied to the current situation in Ukraine, which was caused by the uncertainty in the foreign policy of our state.*

**Key words:** *the Slovak Republic, NATO, security issues, the process of preparation for accession.*

**Словацька Республіка і НАТО: політична несумісність 1993-1997 рр.**

Предметом статті стали відносини Словацької Республіки та Північноатлантичного альянсу в 1993-1997 рр., тобто одразу після проголошення незалежності Словаччини та до Мадридського саміту НАТО, який прийняв рішення про неможливість вступу цієї держави в першій хвилі розширення Альянсу. Завданням дослідження є визначити причини та передумови політичного фіаско Словаччини на шляху вступу до НАТО у зазначений період. Основними методами, на основі яких проводилося дослідження, є порівняльно-аналітичний та історичний.

Питання безпеки стало одним з основних після проголошення незалежності Словацької Республіки. Однозначно був декларований курс на співробітництво з євроатлантичними структурами безпеки, тобто вступ до НАТО. Саме співробітництво та безпосереднє членство в Альянсі стало проблемою урядових та військових сил країни. Парламентом були розроблені та прийняті всі необхідні закони та доктрини; було реорганізовано армію, підвищено її кваліфікаційний рівень підготовки; проведено низку спільних навчань та заходів.

До проблеми розширення НАТО на Схід однозначно негативно ставилася Російська Федерація. Успадкувавши радянський тип ведення зовнішньої політики, російські можновладці трактували цей процес як безпосередню загрозу національним інтересам Росії. Про це свідчать численні заяви та виступи російських міністрів закордонних справ, послів в інших державах. Тому вступу Словаччини до НАТО всіма силами перешкоджали як російські політики, так і бізнесові кола.

Урядовцям СР, які також були зацікавлені у продовженні тісних стосунків з РФ, насамперед з економічної точки зору, була вигідна неоднозначна позиція держави у відносинах з Заходом, як з ЄС, так і з НАТО. Проведення непопулярних у соціальному плані реформ, могло привести до тимчасових труднощів економічного та соціального характеру, падіння їх авторитету та подальшої втрати влади. З іншого боку ці політичні сили не відмовлялися від прозахідного курсу, забезпечуючи собі алібі в очах громадськості.

Уряд на чолі з В.Мечіаром, урядова коаліція на чолі з Рухом за демократичну Словаччину зробили все, щоб декларований курс залишився лише декларацією. Тобто, для вступу СР до НАТО не вистачило політичної волі провладної коаліції та уряду, які зробили все, щоб позиція Словаччини залишалася такою ж невизначеною. Саме це й стало причиною фіаско СР на шляху до НАТО в 1997 р.

Можна припустити, що така невизначеність у зовнішній політиці призводить до негативних наслідків. Цю тезу можна застосувати і до сучасного становища України, яке було спричинене саме невизначеністю зовнішньої політики нашої держави.

The current state of international relations on the European continent indicates the desire of individual subjects to review the basics of international agreements and treaties that have been established after the Second World War and have been permanently consolidated after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Ukraine has become the victim of aggression of its neighbour – the Russian Federation, and so the question is, what are the prerequisites for such a state of things. The uncertainty of the primary vector of foreign policy, fluctuations between the West and the East, the desire of some political forces to maintain neutrality, the declaration of one's intentions, and the implementation of a completely different course resulted in the current difficult situation in our country. The main result of this policy has become the inability to secure the country on their own or with the help of international security structures. It may seem that our State is unique in the following variations in the foreign policy, but an example of the Slovak Republic denies this thesis. Slovakia after the Declaration of Independence was in a similar situation – the politics of the country declared the unambiguous western course, but did not refuse from close cooperation with Russia, which was a profitable for business. The generalization of the experience of the Slovak Republic in resolving security problems determines the actuality of our research.

*The analysis of recent research and publications.* The main sources for this study were periodicals both Ukrainian and Slovak: Policy and Time, SME, Medzinárodné otázky. A significant portion of the material on the area of the foreign policy activity and the home political problems of Slovakia was received from the documents of the archive of the MFA of Ukraine.

The main problems of the foreign policy of the Slovak Republic are analyzed by the Slovak political scientist M.Vlahovs'kiy in the edition about Slovakia-«Slovensko 1995». Súhrná správa o stave spoločnosti, and the following periodicals «Slovensko» several times go back to the period of formation of the basic principles of the foreign policy of the SR in the articles of political scientists M.Vlahovs'kiy, P.Lukach, etc.

The main aspects of the foreign policy of Slovakia are studied by the Slovak researcher A.Duleba in his work «Blind Pragmatism of the Slovak Foreign Policy», which was published in Bratislava in 1996.

*The aim of the research* is to characterize the process of preparation of the Slovak Republic to join NATO during 1993-1997.

*The objectives of this study* is to determine the conditions and reasons of political fiasco in Slovakia in the process of joining NATO during that period.

*Basic methods*, on the basis of which the research was done are comparative analytical and historical.

*Summary of the material.* Since the formation of the independent State of the Slovak Republic (SR) as a new subject of international law its foreign policy has acquired a new dimension. I cannot be said that the directions of foreign policy of Slovakia significantly differed from those declared by the Czech-Slovak Republic. Slovakia has identified definitely with the European orientation, i.e. takes an active part in the processes of the European integration.

M.Vlahovskiy defines several priorities in the foreign policy of the state, including the active construction of the safe space of the SR with the full membership in the Western European security structures [16, p. 28].

The SR proclaimed their borders to be fixed, inviolable and the absence of any territorial claims to its neighbors. Furthermore, the absence of threats for the secure existence of the State was declared : «believes nobody to be the enemy and doesn't have a created image of an enemy» [19]. Slovakia refused to use force or threats in bilateral relations with other countries. In the future it was planned to develop a doctrine of national defence. Taking into the consideration the size of the State and the inability to provide security on their own, the

Slovaks searched for the safeguards in the system of collective security. First it was the structures of NATO.

On 28 February 1994, NATO delegation, headed by the Deputy Assistant of the General Secretary for political affairs G. von Mol'tke arrived in Slovakia .The main topic of the talks was the problem of creating appropriate conditions for the full participation of SR in the program of partnership for peace (PFP) programme. At a press conference G. von Mol'tke said that the PFP should create a «border of the evolutionary process, the logical conclusion of which would be the admission of new countries to NATO» [1, p. 98]. He stressed that Russia is an important condition for the stability of European security, and we want to cooperate with it, as long as it wants to collaborate with us on the basis of democratic principles... we need time to work out a new necessary European security structure [1, p. 98].

Based on these conditions, the Inter-sectoral Commission of representatives of the Foreign Ministry, Defense Ministry and Ministry of Finance developed a Project approach to NATO [2 p. 87]. In a keynote statement of the Government, approved on 19, January 1995 on the IV session of the National Council of the SR, the basic direction of the orientation of the State security system are efforts of becoming a member of NATO and the EU. In the statement, NATO has been called the most effective organization, and the membership in it is a possibility of obtaining security guarantees.

It was planned to finish «the basic objectives and principles of national security» and develop a «National defence strategy» and a system of Defense of the SR. The Government has made emphasis on the accelerating the implementation of the system of national defence planning and especially to strengthen the mechanisms of civilian democratic control over the armed forces. In this regard, it was planned to speed up the process of laws passing in order to reach maximally close the standards of developed democratic countries in the sphere of Defense. The main purpose of the Government is to create modern modernized armed forces, which have to become compatible with the Allied armies [3, p. 100].

In June 1995, the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the United States in the SR Theodore Russell noted that Slovakia rapidly loses his totalitarian political and economic system, and

simultaneously establishes the institutions of the new State, seeking to gain its place in the fundamental structure of Western civilization [4, p. 119].

He positively identified the level of preparation of SR armed forces and noted that the Slovak military cooperated with the representatives of military and defence institutions of the United States at a high professional level, the result of what has become a long and effective list of Exchange and training programs aimed at the training of the individual agreement of Slovakia on the affiliate relationship with NATO [4, p. 120]. By the end of 1995, the amount of military training assistance of the United States to Slovakia had to reach 1.5 mln. USD. In 1996, further expansion of this program was expected.

Speaking about the possible neutrality of the State, the representatives of two parties in the Coalition – the Slovak national party and the Union of the workers of Slovakia doubted the definite motion of the SR to the transatlantic structures in the second half of 1995. In October, in their interview for the Russian ITAR-TASS, they argued against joining the SR to NATO and the neutrality as one that suits national interests. Moreover, the politicians returned to the old-new populist ideas «The Slavic Commonwealth» In this context, it is necessary to remember the words of a Deputy of the Slovak national party Prokesh, who claimed that its membership does not depend on Slovakia but it is firstly the solution of all NATO members. «The intents of the SR and the contingent of the Government will not be, decisive but the strategic interests of these countries» [13]. The mentioned position is caused by the illusions about the exceptional geopolitical and strategic position of Slovakia in Europe [6, p. 76]. Such statements only damaged national interests of the SR, because none of the parties had no alternative security programs in the country.

The transformation of the SR army was planned to realize in three stages. The first phase ended in 1995, it aimed to create a modern management structure of the SR army and the main strategic principles of the functioning of the armed forces. In the second phase (1996-1997) it was to create some conditions and to begin the gradual professionalisation of the army to fulfill the agreements of the programme. In 1996 the reorganization of military units, brigades of

the ground forces, the individual parts of the air forces and air defense missile brigades was over. In General, the professionalism of the SR armed forces increased to 46.9% [17, p. 105].

The third phase was planned for 1998-2000 with the following tasks:

- to develop a modern management system, able to cooperate with NATO;
- to finish the upgrading and to continue rearming;
- to create preconditions for the accession to the Euro-Atlantic security structures.

On 9 February 1994, the Chairman of the Government of the SR V.Mečiar signed a Framework agreement for peace. On May 24 the Government of Moravčik approved the Presentation document of the SR, and on 23 November 1994 the individual partnership action program of the SR and NATO was officially adopted. Each year a number of meetings, training, etc. was scheduled. In total there were 125 events, with 15 military ones.

Since 1994, in the cooperation within the PIC the advisory meetings of expert groups on the bilateral level dominated. Since 1995, the army of the SR is fully included to the PIC as an equal partner [17, p. 106].

On June 21, 1996, the National Council of the SR adopted the document «Basic objectives and fundamentals of national security», which reaffirmed the Euro-Atlantic course of the SR.

During 1996, 190 joint bilateral and multilateral activities, of which 22 were organized by the SR, were attended by 800 military armed forces of the SR. A number of military personnel passed training in NATO structures in universities of countries-members of the Alliance (total 178) [17, p. 106].

The fact is interesting that the population of Slovakia was ambiguous at the efforts of the Government in the field of modernization and defense. In April-May 1996 the research of public opinion in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, on the issue of NATO's eastward expansion was realized by, the United States Information Agency (USIA). The result became the following conclusions.

In Slovakia, compared with the previous year, the number of those who answered the questions about the expediency of joining

NATO answered «don't know» increased. 39% of people believe that within five years their country will become a member of NATO and believes it is inevitable. The public's preference is for accession to the EU than to NATO. However, the difficulty of market reforms have weakened the support for the idea of the EU membership.

The Slovaks prefer State property, more than half of them has a negative attitude towards foreign investment. Despite the fact that the population of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in general welcomes the idea of NATO enlargement, it is notable its unwillingness to have certain responsibilities that can demand the membership in the Alliance. The Slovaks, as the vast majority of the citizens of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, with the exception of Poles treated negatively to a possible location of NATO troops on their territories.

The survey included the question of relations between NATO and Russia. The majority of respondents expressed support for the eventual accession of Russia to NATO, but only after, «when it fulfil all the terms of the membership». And they believe that Russia has «too much influence» in the solving of the issue of NATO enlargement. However, the Slovaks hold the idea that the United States have more interest to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe [5, p. 1-3].

The problem of the attitude of Russia toward the enlargement of NATO has become a weak point in the political course of Slovakia because in the SR the thesis of special relations with Russia, which especially was supported by the head of the Government V.Mečiar was very popular. And still the position of Russia, which claimed the former socialist European space, strengthened such sentiments.

In his speech at the Conference «NATO-Slovakia» on 5 March 1997 the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Russia in Slovakia S.Zotov clearly gave publicity to Russia's position on NATO's eastward expansion as a consistently negative [5, p. 80]. This position emerged due to the possibility of the emergence of new dividing lines in Europe, and the deterioration of the entire geopolitical situation in the world. «NATO enlargement if it happens – will radically worse geopolitical and geostrategic position of Russia, influence our national security interests, the European and the global situation in general» [5, p. 81]. The Ambassador said that Russia did

not reject cooperation with NATO, but the decision-making mechanism should anticipate the possibility of its participation in the resolution of those issues affecting its interests [5, p. 84].

In 1997 at the Madrid NATO Summit in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic were invited to direct negotiations on accession, Slovakia was left without such a possibility. The cause of the failure are primarily political motives. A characteristic of the political situation in Slovakia was the process of a referendum on joining the SR NATO in May 1997, which was named «successfully failed» [7, p. 154; 8, p. 40].

On the other hand, the armed forces of the SR fulfilled the requirements of joining the Alliance. It was confirmed by the General J.Ralston during his November visit to the SR: «the United States does not have any fears about the readiness of the Slovak army. We will support the entry of Slovakia to NATO, when it be possible from a political point of view [18, p. 238].

One of the problems of the performance of the criteria for joining NATO was the insufficient rate of the improvement process of civilian control of the army management. But then again it depended on the will of the politicians, but not the desire of the military.

*Conclusion.* Slovakia in their relations with NATO during 1993-1997 had a double trend. On the one hand, the declared intentions according to the defence of the country were fulfilled in full. On the other hand the political situation testified that the Government circles were not ready for the unambiguous choice of joining the Alliance. It is the position of politicians of the SR that caused failure at the Madrid Summit and Slovakia remained outside the group of applicants for entry.

The contemporary situation of Ukraine has also been caused by the uncertainty of the foreign policy of our country. On the one hand the Declaration of desire to be a part of the European Community is acceptable to the majority of the population. On the other hand, the reluctance of the politicians, business circles to lose their benefits in the relations with Russia.

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**Т.Опанасюк**

### **ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ВИБОРЧОГО ПРОЦЕСУ ТА РЕЗУЛЬТАТИ ДРУГОГО ЕЛЕКТОРАЛЬНОГО ЦИКЛУ В РОСІЇ (1999-2000 рр.)**

*У статті автор здійснює системний аналіз політичної ситуації у РФ в другій половині 1999 – на початку 2000 рр. Характеризує основні політичні сили та стратегію їх діяльності під час парламентських та президентських виборів. Аналізує результати та наслідки виборів для подальшого суспільно-політичного життя країни. Для дослідження цих питань автор застосовує такі загальнонаукові та конкретно-історичні методи: аналізу документів, порівняльно-історичний та хронологічний.*

*Проведений автором аналіз дозволяє зробити висновок, що парламентські вибори 1999 р. засвідчили кінець ельцинського*