

ZRÍNYI MIKLÓS NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY

András GELSEI

**DEVELOPMENT AND PERSPECTIVES OF RELATIONS BETWEEN
NATO & UKRAINE**

**PhD dissertation
AUTHOR'S REVIEW**

**Supervisor: Col. eng. PADÁNYI József (PhD)
CSc, privatdocent**

BUDAPEST

2007

FORMULATION OF SCIENTIFIC PROBLEMS

Ukraine is one of the biggest countries in Europe and it has the second largest armed forces in Europe. Analyzing its purposes and political relationship we must recognize that it is one of the main factors of the European security.

That is why it should not be indifferent for us-in a wider sense neither for Europe nor for the whole world - what kind of relationship it will create and maintain with NATO.

In my dissertation I have analyzed how this relationship began, in what way the present situations are forming and what prediction about the future can be set up.

I examined the following hypothesis; after the cold war when the transition started from the former security system to another structure, was it a one-vector process or will there be a multi-choice process. What will the outcome of the security vacuum be? I gathered some experience from conferences, work-shops and discussions which primarily took place in NATO organizations, as well as at DICA expert's meetings. That motivated me to analyze possible ways of Euro-Atlantic integrations, mainly the NATO-integration, which conclusions could be a good example for other countries as well.

The military force's application spectrum is greatly widened, however beyond the military risks and threats originated other types of hazards like the energy safety and demographic challenges, which Ukraine also meets. As an element of global reintegration, Central and East-Central Europe's rearrangement is happening in these days.

The nations could float or may get a chance to make real decisions. One of the choices is to create a good atmosphere for intensive dialogue and cooperation.

The following question arises inevitably: does the partner relation system show an unidirectional passage-way to the Euro-Atlantic integration, or it has generated mistaken interpretations, or it has entitled participants for unfounded hopes.

Defence sector reform in Ukraine is not an aim, but a vital necessity. The question is if the Euro-Atlantic integration is only one way, or there are other effective roads for both development and democratization? Does Ukraine recognise benefits of the membership of the European Union and the advantages of NATO-membership, where the community can make decisions exclusively through consensus. These issues have composed the central point of my analysis and research.

The permanent change of international security environment restricts the freedom of movement and behaviour of those participants who play an important role in the international life. NATO with his members and partners - as one of the guarantors of global safety - regularly face up to new challenges and tasks. Beyond the fight against terrorism, which is mentioned at the first place, innumerable regional tensions have risen and they have been solved extremely slowly. We can talk about the proper solution only in the future. Application of uniform tactics and strategies is possible only in the past. Neglect of immediate reaction, mistakes and difficulties of cooperation led to negative influences.

AIMS OF MY RESEARCH

- 1) Introduce the evolution of the relationship, condition, its development and reasons between Ukraine and NATO, with special regard to the outcome of the security policy of Ukraine, and that general experience which may be useful for other countries to utilize.
- 2) Analysis and presentation of opinions of Ukrainian security policy maker bodies.
- 3) Analysis of the impacts of Russia-Ukraine relationships and the impacts of Ukrainian integration into NATO.
- 4) Introduce the Ukrainian Armed Forces' reform and reorganization, and analysis of their consequences and influences, as well as to draw conclusions.
- 5) Examination and analysis of influences on both parties, particularly Ukraine's possible integration.

RESEARCH METHODS

- 1) Available domestic and foreign expert literature study, primarily of English, Hungarian, Ukrainian and Russian and NATO-publications.
- 2) Working up the provisions of the Ukrainian MoD and Defence Staff and deduction of conclusions.
- 3) Studying scientific works, dissertations and essays available at Hungarian and Ukrainian MFA, EU Hungarian Military Representation and in the ZMNDU library.
- 4) Consultation and joint publication with NATO-Ukraine experts:

Rob Wenmakers, NATO IS analyst,
Natasha Cayer, NATO IS DPA, expert,
Jürgen Schöffert, NATO IMS, C&RS and
the Ukrainian MoD and MFA, NATO department's colleagues, as well as
László Póti (ZMNE SVKI) Ukraine-expert.
- 5) Organisation, and participation in international seminars, conferences and workshops, related to my topic.
- 6) Preparation, organization and personal involvement in NATO-Ukrainian high-level meetings and development of expert documents.
- 7) During the development of my paper I used the analysis, the synthesis, the induction and the deduction which are considered the main research methods.

BRIEF REVIEW OF MY RESEARCH BY CHAPTERS

In the Chapter 1 I introduce challenges of Ukraine's independence, history, necessity and causes of NATO-Ukraine relations.

I have introduced the security environment which has impact on the NATO-Ukraine relations. I have analyzed causes of the forming relation, internal and external factors influencing their connections. I have made an analysis of its positive and negative effects connected with the European security processes and with Russia.

In the Chapter 2 I introduce spectrums, instruments of practical realization of the cooperation, the outcomes and results of Ukraine's participation in PfP-process. I also introduce NATO-initiatives which are directed to build up relationship, mutual confidence with Central-East-European countries and former Soviet states. And I draw a conclusion from its reception expressing political and military experts of Ukraine and its implementation. I described the process of creation and publication of the main security related documentation made by Ukrainian MoD and MFA.

As an outcome of my research I have analyzed the opportunities and potentialities which will characterize NATO-Ukraine relations after the publication of new documents and after the orange revolution.

In the Chapter 3 I examine the effects of the Euro-Atlantic security structures, with special regard to the individual countries and blocks dissimilar interests. I deal with typical difficulties in details regarding the connections between Russia and Ukraine and those unsolved problems without which stability of Ukraine cannot be solved.

In the Chapter 4 the focal point of my research is the reform of the Armed Forces, its outcome and deal with the creation of democratic control over the Armed Forces and the leadership of the formulated Armed Forces. In details I described the main aspects of democratic control over the power-enforcement organizations, with special regard to the religious questions and the role of the press.

The summarized conclusions are in the Chapter, whilst in the Chapter 6 I formulated the new scientific achievements.

SUMMARIZED CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of analyzing the specialised literature and studying results of the Ukrainian mental workshops it has to be declared, since 1991 Ukraine has continuously been in the strategically disoriented state and has no defined geopolitical strategy.

Ukraine officially announced his intention for Euro-Atlantic integration in the framework of Partnership for Peace programme in 1994. In the last years this pursuit has been represented just as political announcements.

This process was influenced by interior and external factors; on the one hand it depended on the Ukrainian political life, on the other hand it was impacted by the United States of America, the European Union and Russia as well.

If we have a question; whether Russia or the United States of America want to pull Ukraine in his zone of influence, then on the basis of my analyses I must answer yes, but we could only experience some signs of this if one of the clients did not exist.

According to a Ukrainian expert witness the political cream of the country did not alter, but the folks began to relate otherwise. The cream of the crop remained but its situation altered, new competitors appeared.

In my opinion most of the Ukrainian people do not consider the head of state as a principal figure, they might get an inside view of mistakes of the government with the help of the press, and they also might talk about it, which means the beginning of the rough road toward the democracy.

After the new government has come into office, with the participation of Our Ukraine and Regions Parties, NATO Secretary General, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer announced that the integration of Ukraine depends on itself, the allies will support Ukrainian defence reform, financial assistance of the earlier started programs and foundations do not stop.

On the basis of analysis of the Ukrainian specialised literature, the Ukrainian political elite committed to NATO integration has proved that the country is prepared for it. Their arguments are the following:

- 1) Ukrainian constitution and the laws are democratic;
- 2) Ukraine has approved and legal military doctrine;
- 3) National security and defence strategy is under revise;
- 4) The state program of the Ukrainian Armed Forces' Development for 2006-2011 is ready;
- 5) The state program of the Ukrainian Armed Forces' armaments development till 2009 is also ready,
- 6) Ukraine has the following valid agreements, memorandum of understandings, which assure a committed politics for the NATO-integration in the future:
 - a) PfP framework document (8 February 1994);
 - b) Partnership presentation document (25 May 1994);
 - c) Security agreement between NATO and the Ukrainian government, (12 September 2002);
 - d) SOFA agreement (2 March 2000);
 - e) Subsidiary SOFA agreement (20 April 2000);
 - f) Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between NATO and Ukraine (9 Jul 1997);

- g) Agreement between the government of Ukraine and NATO for establishment of a NATO Liaison Office in Ukraine (9 December 1998);
- h) Agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and NATO NAMSA about the logistic support cooperation (6 December 2001);
- i) Memorandum of Understanding between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and Headquarters, Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic and Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe regarding the provision of Ukrainian support for the execution of NATO operations (17 March 2004);
- j) Memorandum of Understanding between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and Headquarters, Supreme Allied Commander Transformation and Supreme Headquarters Allied Commander Europe regarding the use of the Ukrainian Strategic Airlift for NATO operations and exercises 7 June 2004);
- k) Administrative agreement between the Ukrainian MoD and the SACT establishing a NATO Defence Documentation Office in Ukraine (3 August 2004);
- l) Supporting agreement between the Ukrainian MoD and the NATO National Codification Group 8 October 2004);
- m) Agreement between the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the NATO-Secretary-General about the support and participation in the NATO-led operations against terrorism in Mediterranean (21 April 2005).

The political intention for Euro-Atlantic integration is officially declared in the Ukrainian foreign policy and in the military doctrine.

The instruments, legal framework and organization structures of the NATO-Ukraine cooperation ensure the effective and productive upkeep of the relations.

Allies consider the preparedness and technical readiness of the Ukrainian troops for all kinds of peace support operations as a proven fact.

Based on the expert witnesses opinion in our time the Ukrainian political climate of opinion is as shared as the political elite.

According to public opinion the orange revolution outcome more or less is negative with several fiascos.

I would rather rank the following thing among the latter that Ukraine's authority undoubtedly is bigger in the world than it was before. President Yushenko is kindly welcome everywhere and Ukraine is recognized as a market economy oriented country.

Ukraine established a balanced, fair-dealing comparative relation with Russia, but there are tensions also, for example the situation with Russian Black-sea Fleet at Sevastopol.

In my opinion one of the largest successes of the orange revolution is freedom of press and freedom of speech because the press is the freest one in the post-soviet area and it is one of bases of democracy.

According to the NATO-integration of Ukraine I think that Allied member countries must accept the fact that Ukraine is a post-soviet state with its mentality, attitude and the way of thinking. Ukraine is a Slavonic state, their traditions are orthodox, this country does not lead a Western way of life like Hungary, Poland or Slovenia do.

These facts motivated me to draw the following conclusion: a possible NATO-membership of Ukraine will not automatically create social and economic stability or increase the energy-safety of Europe.

Matter in facts Ukraine has a key position in transporting gas and oil from the East to the West.

The next suggested fact that has to be taken into consideration is the Ukraine's market. Recently the Ukrainian market has been fairly capital-poor. Ukraine's market is ready for western investors (its government and the clans are less).

Despite the soviet heritage and religious differences, Ukraine is aspiring to establish its own identity, which can be defined as follows: bringing into fashion the European way of thinking and behaviour alongside with the orthodox Slavonic civilization's conservancy. Despite these facts, Ukrainian society wishes to become an equal partner in Europe.

Thirdly, similarly to the states that joined NATO in the second or the third round, Ukrainians think that they could integrate into Europe through NATO-integration, through the appearance of European investors in Ukraine, opening the European market, as well as boosting the Ukrainian defence industry.

Realities show however, that the boom is not springing from the NATO-membership. Contrary, it has generated opposite process.

Geopolitical and geostrategical situation of Ukraine advances its NATO-membership, and they justify it. To tell the truth, the Ukrainian government wishes to become a regional stabilizing factor in Europe.

Ukraine in contrast with the Baltic States formed the cradle of Kiev Rus and the Slav civilization, for 300 years it was the member of the Russian empire, Russian orthodox church is still in significant minority if we compare it to the Ukrainian Orthodox church.

After the democratically elected president Yuschenko's inauguration in April 2005, NATO sent a positive message from Vilnius to Ukraine, launching an Intensive Dialog program.

Allies acknowledged the democratization of Ukraine, they declared their resoluteness that Ukraine might become a candidate for membership.

However, some months after the orange coalition formed, the situation between the president Yushchenko and the cabinet members run into tension. Later on the main topics of the Ukrainian domestic policy were the squabbles of president Yushchenko and the previous ally, Prime Minister Julia Timosenko.

NATO Secretary General announced that depending on Ukraine's achievements he might have the evaluation process before 2008, and then it was shifted by 2009. However, appreciating the lack of the intention for slowing up the entangled processes the following conclusion has to be drawn: 2010-2012 there is a small hope that Ukraine receives official invitation onto setting up of the MAP.

According to the above mentioned and to my conclusions, in order to join the Euro-Atlantic integration, Kiev has to concentrate on the following sphere:

- 1) Confirmation of democratic institutions;
- 2) Powerful doing up of social and economic conditions;
- 3) Possible reduction of inside and outside effects which jeopardize the stability of Ukrainian political and economical factors;
- 4) Some of the courses of the Ukrainian foreign policy should be reassessed with special regard to the priorities of national interests' validation;
- 5) Setting up the good repute of Ukraine on the international scene with harmonizing the declared intentions and their practical accomplishment;
- 6) Harmonization of political and economical cooperation between the Ukrainian political elite and Russia with the Ukrainian national interests;
- 7) Shift from the symbolical functions to the substance;
- 8) Convince the Allies about the committed intention for Euro-Atlantic integration (particularly the British, the French and the German delegates).

Based on my previous statements I attempt to summarize those arguments which are pro and contra for NATO-integration.

Arguments which support NATO-integration:

- 1) Guarantees of Washington Treaty, Article 5.
- 2) The threat of the conflicts against Ukraine having a dominant geostrategical position could be reduced by the NATO membership.
- 3) Nuclear deterrence made by NATO-member nuclear power countries.
- 4) Guarantee for its stable political independence.

- 6) Ukrainian Armed Forces and their technical complement are suitable for the country defence in case of war, so it is not necessary to create a new NATO-base on the territory of Ukraine.
- 7) Economic and energy policy pressure arriving from the east would become reducible.
- 8) The NATO membership would put an end to the single-sided dependence from Russia.
- 9) Possible NATO-membership would affirm integrity of Ukraine. Separatists would not wish to leave an independent and safe Ukraine.
- 10) Collective safety costs less than the circular defence.
- 11) NATO does not insist on the cancellation of the previous military-technical treaties.
- 13) NATO-membership is creating such an atmosphere, which attracts the foreign investors.
- 14) NATO-membership does not require the complete change of armaments, henceforward previous operational armaments may be held in service.
- 15) Investments arriving from NATO-member countries happen according to rules of the international commercial moral philosophy, not illegally.
- 16) Ukrainian NATO-membership would support home investors' foreign investments.
- 18) Ukrainian NATO-membership would help Ukraine to take off the hall- mark of the soviet succession state.
- 19) It would be a qualitative jump to belong to the same organization Ukraine's west neighbours belong to, and it would mean increased safety guarantees.

Arguments against the integration:

- 1) Ukraine has to give military support according to the Washington Treaty Article 5.
- 2) Defence budget should be adapted to NATO standards; so it should be raised from the present 1,4-1,6% of the GDP to 1.8-2%.
- 3) Expenses resulting from NATO membership run to 40 million dollars per year.
- 4) Russia would digest Ukraine' NATO membership hardly, similarly to the Baltic States, and maybe it will increase its military presence along the common state border.

- 5) A Western oriented Ukraine would be exposed to more increased terrorist attacks, as it already happened in Western Europe
- 6) Situation of the Russian Black Sea Fleet in Sevastopol has to be arranged. There is a possibility for the re-annexation of the Crimean-peninsula to Russia or readjustment of the frontier between Russia and Ukraine.

If we are drawing a parallel between the two enumerations, just the number of supporting arguments should be convincing for us. So the only way is to get closer to the MAP is; the Ukrainian society should become more acquainted with the contemporary NATO.

Relying on the above mentioned arguments I am determined that NATO and Ukraine has a wide spectrum of a solid relationship, which is advantageous for both participants. The above mentioned productive relationship may lead to the current successful defence reform and insured possibility for the members of the Ukrainian Armed Forces for active participation and gathering experience on PfP and NATO-exercises.

Accomplishment of NATO-Ukraine Action Plans carries Ukraine closer to the European integration. Inconsequent observance of priorities, cloudy purposes do not help to cooperate and integrate. Intensive dialogue and desperate performance could insure Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration.

SCIENTIFIC OUTCOMES

1. Based on an examination of NATO-Ukraine relationship I have defined some necessities of a road leading towards NATO-integration, which could be generalized and adapted for the other post-soviet countries, too.
2. Based on my analysis of debate of Ukrainian security-policy workshops I have verified that if Ukraine does not create a harmony between the ambitions, which earlier became a habit from great power attitudes and from the situation of the geostrategy position, and the present possibilities of the country, the social reform cannot be solved. This reform is however the basic condition for defining the real aims of foreign politics and helps to take up the real geostrategy role in the world politics arena.
3. Founding on my analysis I can say that the articulation of acute problems of Russian-Ukrainian relations could lead to the readjustment of the frontier, which is definitely not favourable for Ukraine.
4. The reform and democratization of the advanced defence sphere oneself does not accelerate the approach to the European security systems.

PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF MY RESEARCH OUTCOMES, SUGGESTIONS

In the chapters of the dissertation the analyzed questions and conclusions could have common interest of experts, researchers and persons who are interested in security policy of Ukraine.

Concerned, but not discussed topics may serve as further projects. I consider this dissertation as a book of reference for education at the Zrínyi Miklós National Defence University and in the other military educational institutions.

It might serve as an informational base for researchers who are interested in questions discussed in the different chapters. This essay introduces the possible road to the NATO-membership, which could be a good example East-European or Mediterranean aspirant states. Positive elements of the given road could serve as a sample, and the disadvantageous precedents could inspire us to draw conclusions.

PUBLICATIONS

1. GELSEI András alez. (ford. és adapt.) - EGRY József alez. (lekt.): *Az elhatározás megalkotásának rendje (ST 100-9). ZMNE jegyzet.* Budapest, 1996, HVK MCS, 246 p.
2. GELSEI András (ford. szerk.): *Digitalizált dandár, harcászati Internet.* Budapest, 1997, *Magyar Honvéd*, 24. szám, 29. p.
3. Béketámogató műveletek. *Hadtudomány*, 2001/2, p. 63-74. ISSN 1215-4121
4. GELSEI András alez. (ford. szerk. és adapt.) - BALI Zoltán őrgy. (lekt.) *Holland Katonai doktrína.* Budapest, 2002, HVK HDMCSF, (Nytsz: 56/31. ZMNE tankönyv). 325.p.
5. Nem háborús műveletek. *Kard és Toll*, Budapest, 2002/1, HM OTF kiadványa, pp. 20-28.
6. A külföldi katonai képzésről. *Kard és Toll*, Budapest, 2002/2, HM OTF kiadványa, pp. 51-57.
7. Békekikényszerítő műveletek. *Nemzetvédelmi Egyetemi Közlemények* 2002/6/2, pp. 7-12.
8. GELSEI András - SIPOSNÉ Kecskeméthy Klára: Az esélyegyenlőség megteremtésének intézményei az USA Szárazföldi haderejében. (szerző 50%-ban). *Humán Szemle*, 2003, 4. szám.
9. SIPOSNÉ Kecskeméthy Klára–GELSEI András: A NATO és Ukrajna stratégiai partnersége. (szerző 50%-ban). *Nemzetvédelmi Egyetemi Közlemények*, Budapest, 2004/8/3, pp. 210-221.

10. SIPOSNÉ Kecskeméthy Klára - GELSEI András: NATO Védelmi Akadémia szövetségi és nemzetközi kapcsolatai. (szerző 50%-ban). *Nemzetvédelmi Egyetemi Fórum*, 2004/3, pp. 22–25.
11. SIPOSNÉ Kecskeméthy Klára - GELSEI András: Egy újabb Kijevi Hét. A NATO Védelmi Akadémia nemzetközi kapcsolata. (szerző 50%-ban). *Nemzetvédelmi Egyetemi Fórum*, 2005/2, pp. 14–17.
12. GELSEI András–POLTORAKOV, Oleksij: Az ukrán erőszakszervezetek civil kontrollja. (szerző 50%-ban). *Kard és Toll*, Budapest, 2005/3, HM-ZMNE kiadványa, pp. 96-103.
13. GELSEI András – SIPOSNÉ Kecskeméthy Klára: Multinational Staff Officer Center. Training in accordance with NATO standards. (szerző 50%-ban). *Nemzetvédelmi Egyetemi Közlemények*, Budapest, 2006/5/4, pp. 507-513.
14. VINCZE Lajos – SIPOSNÉ Kecskeméthy Klára – GELSEI András: Kommunikációs képzés a Zrínyi Miklós Nemzetvédelmi Egyetem vezérkari tanfolyamán. (szerző 1/3 részben). *Új Honvédségi Szemle*, Budapest, 2007/4, LXI. évf., pp.39-51.
ISSN 1216-7436
15. GELSEI András: 10th anniversary of the NATO. *Ukraine charter AARMS*, Vol. 6 (2007), No. 2, p. 325–332.
16. GELSEI Andras: Historical outline of NATO Ukraine co-operation. Conference Proceedings from the 3rd annual doctoral conference, Brno 2007
ISBN 978 80 7231 267 2

CURRICULUM VITAE

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 1975 | I graduated from the Military College at the faculty of armoured commander. |
| 1975-1979 | Subordinated armoured unit commander |
| 1975-1985 | Instructor at the Military College, Russian language course |
| 1985-1988 | Military Academy, Moscow |
| 1988-1995 | 3 rd Military District; development of scientific and methodology documents, organization of workshops, development of NATO-compatible brigade's organisational structure, preparation of first NATO-compatible battalion-staff. Participation in an English language course and in the International Staff Officer Orientation Course. |
| 1995-1997 | Defence Staff, Euro-Atlantic Integration Working Group. NATO STANAG and documentation harmonisation. |

- 1997-1998 Cooperation with NATO and Partners countries in the framework of PfP and PARP, NATO-terminology harmonisation.
- 1998-2003 MoD, Division for Education and Science, organization and inspection of foreign courses.
- 2003-2006 NATO International Military Staff, head of NATO Military Liaison Office, Kiev. Organization of NATO-Ukraine related military programs.
- 2006-2007 ZMNE, SVKK. Researcher of Russian, Ukrainian related issues.

I have a good command of English and Russian.

I am a member of the Military Science Association.

Budapest, 31st October 2007

(András GELSEI)