

УДК 94:327.82(1-622НАТО)(438)(477)

**POLISH-UKRAINIAN PARTNERSHIP AND UKRAINE'S NATO
ASPIRATIONS: REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION
AFTER THE ORANGE REVOLUTION**

Mieliekiestsev Kyrylo

This article showcases the importance of the factor of Polish-Ukrainian cooperation in the relations of both countries with the NATO Alliance, and particularly how it affects Ukraine's efforts of Euro-Atlantic integration. The study indicates that the Polish-Ukrainian relations themselves were a catalyst of internal Ukrainian political support for Ukraine–NATO cooperation; Polish governmental officials assisted their Ukrainian counterparts in reform implementation, as well as certain parts of Ukraine's NATO policies. These tendencies are similar to the Polish «advocacy» regarding Ukraine's integration into the EU, but they have significant differences in the wider range of actors in international relations surrounding the peculiarities of the processes of Atlantic integration. The implementation of reforms can be seen as Ukraine's «homework» before an official ascension to the ranks of NATO. However, these positive developments are sidelined by the issues of Ukraine's geopolitical situation past 2014, as well as internal political issues. Studying archival documents of regional administrations, the Polish support in implementing pro-NATO policies can be seen on a regional level, as well as across the country as whole.

Key words: *Ukraine, Republic of Poland, NATO, security strategies, Vinnytsia Region.*

In 2005–2015, after the pro-European and pro-Atlantic «Orange Revolution» have greatly affected Ukrainian politics to the core, Ukraine and Poland were able to reach a number of multilateral documents which clarified the Euro-Atlantic course of Ukraine and had the two countries agreed on the new conditions for military cooperation. It is logical that the purpose of the Polish side was to transform Ukraine from an indifferent «buffer state» into a true ally in the joint military-political bloc. In April 2005, the intensification of Ukraine-NATO dialogue on membership began; culminating in the provision by the Alliance of a document entitled «Ukraine-NATO Action Plan», which revealed the sectors for which structural reforms had taken place. In accordance with this document, the «NATO-UKRAINE Annual Target Plan for the Year 2005» was signed, according to which, both the government and local authorities were to implement a set of to study public opinion on the topic of NATO, and conduct reforms in accordance with the requirements of the Action Plan.

Using the archived documents of the local authorities in Vinnytsia at the time, along with further literature on the subject, this study suggests a correlation between Ukrainian efforts to strengthen relations with NATO and the factor of Polish-Ukrainian relations. As in the case of European integration and cooperation in the Euro-regions, the Ukrainian regions enjoyed broad support from the Republic of Poland in various aspects of the implementation of NATO's requirements for integration.

In the historiography, the topic of NATO-Ukraine relations is quite popular. Amongst Ukrainian historians and political scientists, the factor of Poland is usually considered in the context of being «an example for Ukraine», or as a «partner in developing security strategies», but not as a proponent of Ukrainian cooperation and NATO membership, which, however, differs significantly from the analysis of Poland's role in European integration of Ukraine. For example, Igor Yaroslavovich Todorov in his 2006 monograph «Ukraine on the Path to the European and Euro-Atlantic Community» mentions positive examples of Polish integration experience with NATO, along with the rest of the countries of the former Eastern bloc, however, «Poland is Ukraine's proponent» narrative mostly has relevance for European, rather than Atlantic integration: «... the Polish initiatives aimed at showcasing the special role of Ukraine, the need for a separate format of the EU-Ukraine relations, which would guarantee Ukraine's prospective Eurointegration in the future» [9, 54]. Polish historiography closely analyzes the influence of the Republic of Poland on the Atlantic integration processes in Ukraine, but mostly in terms of Ukraine being «an object» of other powers' influence, and not an independent actor of international relations: a striking example is the work of Tomasz Kapusnyak «Ukraina jako obszar wpływów międzynarodowych po zimnej wojnie», detailing Ukraine's place amongst the great powers in the world after the Cold War [3, 59–75].

Analyzing the documents of Vinnytsia region administration, we can observe the activity of Ukraine in implementing the policy of Atlantic integration «on the ground». In accordance with the 2005 instructions of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, regional state administrations, in cooperation with regional councils, worked on developing a mechanism for monitoring public attitudes towards NATO, a comprehensive project to improve the attitude of Ukrainians towards NATO, which involved non-governmental organizations that provided appropriate assistance in financing the project. Looking at the example of the Regional State Administration, we can see prominent activities of the administration. Reporting on the plan of implementation of the measures, deputy chairman of the Vinnytsia Regional State Administration Valery Korovyi noted the financing of pro-NATO and pro-EU content in regional broadcasting, television, Internet publications. The main focus was on information and analytical programs that covered the goals and objectives of European integration, the interests of Ukraine in global security through participation in EU and NATO coalitions, and the success of the country's participation in NATO peace-keeping operations; lectures on the topic «Ukraine–NATO: Political, Economic and Social Choice» were held for students of higher educational institutions of the region [7, 153–155].

In addition to working with the region's population, they also established direct contacts with NATO member states for consultations and other measures on Euro-

Atlantic integration, including with Poland. With the participation of the Ambassador of the Republic of Poland to Ukraine Marek Ziółkowski and Consul General of the Republic of Poland in Kyiv, Sylwester Szostak, on August 23, 2005, an international conference on «Regional Policy in the Framework of European Integration» was held, one of the main topics of which was the section «Ukraine – NATO Advantages and Prospects for the Development of the Ukrainian State» [7, 11–12]. Within the framework of this conference, the region was visited by the representatives of the Świętokrzyskie Voivodship, along delegations from two more voivodships (Wielkopolskie and Łódź) as well as other NATO countries: Germany, Hungary, Slovakia, all of which came to Vinnytsia to establish cooperation links. Having visited all districts of Vinnytsia region, the Polish and Ukrainian parties agreed on the directions of cooperation on the prospect of Euro-Atlantic integration. In response, the head of the regional state administration Oleksandr Dombrovsky and the head of the regional council Yuri Ivanov [12] visited a representative delegation of Ukrainian businessmen, industrialists, regional councilors, representatives of executive authorities and local self-government, public organizations.

Oleksandr Dombrovsky, head of the Vinnytsia Regional State Administration, reporting to the Secretariat of the President of Ukraine on the implementation of the tasks of developing a program for attracting investment, and informing the public about the goals, prospects and achievements of European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine, noted the success of the aforementioned conference as well as preparations for the implementation of new interregional agreements on Euro-Atlantic integration partnership with the provinces of the Republic of Poland. He also noted the interesting results of the working visit of the First Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine A. Buteyko to the Vinnytsia region, specifically the event on the completion of the trip, when on live broadcast of the regional TV and radio company, at the request of the regional council, there was a survey of the audience about the entry of Ukraine into the EU and NATO. When A. Buteyko appeared on live TV, over 520 calls were received during the poll, more than half of which were in favor of Euro-Atlantic integration. Noting such successes, O. Dombrovsky asked the Presidential Administration to continue monitoring the implementation of the Ukraine-NATO Action Plan by April 10, 2006 [8, 2].

On the ground, the factor of the Polish-Ukrainian Atlantic cooperation was of great importance during the implementation of Ukrainian state programs on informing the public on European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine for 2004–2007, the plans for the implementation of which were prepared by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, and carried out by the regional authorities. For example, in 2005 the Vinnytsia Regional State Administration and the Institute for the Transformation of Society prepared and conducted a seminar on «NATO membership and economic secu-

riety of the state: a Ukrainian perspective in the context of international experience», which was attended by diplomats from the countries of the Visegrad Group, a representative of the NATO Information and Documentation Center in Ukraine, the head of the Coordinating Council of the NATO-Ukraine Civic League. In addition, reporting to the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting of Ukraine, the Deputy Head of the Vinnytsia Regional State Administration V. Koroviy noted the cooperation of the Polish side with the opening of exhibitions about the processes of European and Euro-Atlantic integration in the libraries of the region and the regional art museum: «Paris. Warsaw. Vinnytsia: the crossroads of history», «It's just NATO», and «Our home is Europe» [8, 6].

These examples show how the Atlantic integration of Ukraine and the European one were inextricably linked, but, judging by the contents of archival documents of the Regional State Administration, it was precisely European integration that had preference: multi-page reports on the comprehensive implementation of the EU-Ukraine Action Plan with the disclosure of various branches of the economy, public administration, and education; contrast with mostly informative and consultative measures of cooperation with NATO, largely analyzing the results of integration into the bloc of the countries of the Visegrad Group, including Poland. Specifically, in 2006 the regional administration initiated a series of workshops and short-term seminars aimed at training trainers on European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine, in which representatives of France and the Republic of Poland actively participated. The Polish-French delegation was headed by the Deputy Chief of the Department of Regional Development and International Cooperation of the Świętokrzyskie District Ewa Kapel-Śniowska [8, 53].

However, despite such active work «on the ground», implementation of the CMU mandate across the country was problematic due to non-compliance with the implementation deadline by a number of co-executors: the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine, the Ministry of Emergencies and Affairs in Protection of Population from the Consequences of the Chornobyl Catastrophe, and the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine pointed to the threat of failure of the project, and was forced to appeal to the Cabinet of Ministers with a request to extend the term of implementation of the directives on cooperation between Ukraine and NATO. This situation showed NATO that there were significant problems of bureaucracy in the first government of Yulia Tymoshenko, which is why we see the Alliance deciding to influence the Ukrainian state apparatus through supporting NGOs since 2005: these non-governmental organizations have proven themselves actively in the Orange Revolution, and especially in the Euromaidan, becoming especially important in Ukraine's cooperation with NATO, the OSCE and the think-tanks such as the Atlantic Council. Public organizations such as the NATO-Ukraine Civic

League, in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, developed programs «Promoting Public Awareness on Euro-Atlantic Integration of Ukraine» and other issues of Euro-Atlantic integration of the country in accordance with the NATO-Ukraine Action Plan [7, 5].

For the purpose of stopping any talks about Ukraine's «non-alignment» in regards to NATO, and to further endorse Ukraine's intentions regarding Euro-Atlantic integration, the Ukrainian leadership issued a formal statement on January 15, 2008, regarding the possibility of Ukraine joining the Membership Action Plan (MAP) in NATO (this statement became known as «The Letter of Three», as it was signed by the President of Ukraine Viktor Yushchenko, Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko and Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenyuk). Despite the numerous «panic attacks» regarding NATO in Ukrainian politics and society during 2005–2013, one should not forget that Ukraine is the only NATO partner country that participated in all major missions and exercises of the organization.

A key theme of Ukrainian-Polish cooperation in the context of NATO during 2010s was the development of regional security strategies in Europe. In order to ensure the functioning of this aspect of Ukraine's foreign policy, even the presidential administration of Viktor Yanukovich, while reformulating Ukrainian policy in this direction in 2012, recognized the need «to continue cooperation, partnership and interaction with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) within the framework of existing mechanisms and instruments, in particular the Charter on Special Partnership, the NATO-Ukraine Commission, the NATO-Ukraine Action Plan and annual national programs, joint working groups, including the Joint Working Group on Military Reform; participation in security programs of the OSCE, the CIS, CSTO, BSEC, other international organizations, as well as in the development of a pan-European system of collective security», which was impossible without «maintaining partnership cooperation and expanding strategic cooperation with Poland» [6].

The related security strategy of the Republic of Poland is based on NATO membership and military-political contacts with the United States and other main members of the Alliance, which is defined as the main guarantee of the country's security, and ensuring the country's development on the border of the Black Sea and Nordic-Baltic regions. In order to realize these interests, Poland supported the transformation of NATO in every way, along with further evolution of the Alliance through the conduct and execution of various missions. Polish strategy also includes the support of «partner countries» through existing classical mechanisms of collective security. In addition, Polish security strategy is geared towards «harmonizing the European arms market with a view to providing benefits to all EU members». At the same time, in Polish-NATO relations, the security strategy is based on what contributions

Poland can make for the Alliance, its expansion and evolution. For the sake of this expansion, the Polish Security Strategy points to the importance of encouraging the creation and strengthening of multilateral subregional institutions for the development of democracy and security in Central and Eastern Europe. At the same time, Poland is vehemently opposed to the creation of any new border lines in the region, and this is especially important for Ukrainian interests, since, according to the Polish strategy, «Ukraine plays a significant role in ensuring European security», which is why Poland has intentions to «fill the formula of strategic partnership between Kyiv and Warsaw with real meaning» [2].

Russian aggression against Ukraine forced NATO to review its own regional security strategies in Eastern Europe. Russia's occupation of Crimea has posed challenges to the security of the Black Sea region, interconnected with the broad context of Euro-Atlantic security. For the sake of securing the position of the Alliance in the region, a number of measures have been taken, including the creation of a multinational brigade in the country as a land component of NATO's advanced military presence, including Poland, participating in providing the brigade's headquarters and coordinating military training [1]. Russia's invasion of Ukraine has also brought security awareness closer to the Nordic and Baltic countries, including Poland. By exploring the models of regional security strategies which could be quickly organized, and seeking tactical models of interoperability, NATO was able to find an optimal conclusion during the «Siil / Steadfast Javelin» exercises, which took place in May 2015 in Estonia. 13 thousand Estonian soldiers participated in these exercises, along with 600 troops from other NATO countries, including the Republic of Poland [13].

17 active expansion of Ukraine-NATO cooperation by the President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko, including the LITPOLUKRBRIG initiative, has determined the further development of Polish-Ukrainian partnership. The Agreement between the Government of Ukraine and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on the Status of NATO Representation in Ukraine was of great importance for this. In 2015, the NATO Delegation to Ukraine was created, and its military and civilian staff began working to strengthen and expand Ukraine's participation in all cooperation activities within the framework of the Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between Ukraine and NATO, the PfP Program, the Work Plan of the Military Committee with the participation of Ukraine, and other forms of cooperation agreed between Ukraine and NATO during 1994–2014, including the provision of advisory assistance to Ukrainian state authorities and officials in any agreed upon areas of cooperation [11]. In addition to the implementation of cooperation in the defense and security sectors during 2015, there was also cooperation on support between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the NATO Support and Procurement Agency, while the support of the

Republic of Poland made it possible to agree on the delivery and implementation of resources for the field of medical rehabilitation.

The previous arrangements, drawn up during the early period Polish-Ukrainian cooperation in the Atlantic context, had a positive influence on solving Ukraine's current issues in relations with other NATO countries. Recently, Ukraine ended up in a diplomatic conflict with Hungary, which, as a NATO member, began to block the Euro-Atlantic initiatives of the Ukrainian side because of disagreement with the new Ukrainian educational reform. From the Polish side, Ukraine immediately received offers of «alternative dialogue with NATO»: as the Foreign Minister of Poland Jacek Czaputowicz stated, the NATO-Ukraine Commission meetings would simply have to find another format for meetings despite Hungary's position [10]. Prior to Mr. Czaputowicz's announcement, the Prime Ministers of Poland and Ukraine confirmed the strategic partnership of both countries in these areas during a telephone conversation: «The Head of the Council of Ministers stressed that Poland supports and will support the Euro-Atlantic aspirations of Ukraine» [5]. Also, the President of Ukraine, Petro Poroshenko, noted the important role of Poland in Ukraine's interaction with NATO countries, and recalled the historic NATO Summit in Warsaw and the decision of the NATO-Ukraine Commission, the adoption of important decisions on the establishment of Trust Funds of NATO, the approval of the Program on Strategic Communication and Cybersecurity, and other important areas of Ukraine's support and its further integration into the North Atlantic Alliance [4]. That is, we see the active interest of the Republic of Poland in joining Ukraine to the NATO bloc, which is particularly active today, despite the wishes of some other members of the organization (such as Hungary).

In conclusion, it is worth agreeing with Prof. I. Todorov, that in the early years of the 21st century the main direction of the Polish-Ukrainian Atlantic cooperation was mostly about the «creative borrowing» of the Polish experience of joining the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Only after 2015, after the confirmation of Ukraine's European aspirations through the Association Agreement with the EU, we see the return of Ukrainian leadership to wider cooperation with NATO, as well as strong support from Poland on this issue. Overall, the development of Polish-Ukrainian cooperation in the Atlantic context has led to positive results in the areas of defense capabilities of both countries, ensuring Ukraine's sovereignty, an important part of the security strategy in the eastern region of Europe. Further research would benefit from more Polish archival documents and sources, to further discuss the motivation of the Republic of Poland to support Ukraine's Atlantic integration Polish aspirations for their own security strategy can still play an important role in the history of Eastern Europe in the 21st century, especially with the promotion of the Interregional project.

Анотація

Стаття демонструє важливість фактора польсько-українського співробітництва у відносинах обох країн з блоком НАТО, зокрема, як Польща впливає на зусилля України щодо євроатлантичної інтеграції. Дослідження показує, як польсько-українські відносини стали каталізатором внутрішньої української політичної підтримки співпраці Україна–НАТО; польські урядовці допомагали своїм українським колегам у здійсненні реформ, а також у втіленні життя окремих частин політики НАТО в Україні. Ці тенденції подібні до польської «адвокації» щодо інтеграції України до ЄС, але вони мають значні відмінності у ширшому колі учасників міжнародних відносин у процесах атлантичної інтеграції. Реалізацію реформ можна розглядати як «домашнє завдання» України перед офіційним приєднанням до лав НАТО. Проте ці позитивні зрушення зіткнулися з проблемами геополітичної ситуації в Україні після 2014 р., а також внутрішніми політичними питаннями. Вивчаючи архівні документи обласних адміністрацій, можна побачити польську підтримку в реалізації пронатовської політики і на регіональному рівні, так і по всій країні загалом.

Ключові слова: Україна, Республіка Польща, НАТО, стратегії безпеки, Вінницька область.

SOURCES AND LITERATURE

1. Анастасов П. Чорноморський регіон: стратегічне перехрестя. URL: <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/2018/Also-in-2018/the-black-sea-region-a-critical-intersection-nato-security/UK/index.htm>
2. Герасимчук С. Стратегії наших стратегічних партнерів: куди йдемо? *Євроатлантична Україна*. URL: http://www.ea-ua.info/main.php?news_id=185&news_show_type=1&parts_id=5
3. Kapuśniak T. Ukraina jako obszar wpływów międzynarodowych po zimnej wojnie. Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej. Warszawa-Lublin 2008. 320 s.
4. Ми вдячні Польщі за підтримку нашого шляху до НАТО – Петро Порошенко. URL: <http://www.president.gov.ua/news/mi-vdyachni-polshi-za-pidtrimku-nashogo-shlyahu-do-nato-petr-45038>
5. Польща підтримує рух України в напрямку НАТО і ЄС, – польський прем'єр. *ZIK*. URL: https://zik.ua/news/2018/03/29/polshcha_pidtrymuie_ruh_ukrainy_v_naprjamku_nato_i_yes__polskyu_premier_1295117
6. Про Стратегію національної безпеки України. *Верховна Рада України*. URL: <http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/105/2007>
7. Державний архів Вінницької області. Ф. Р-6147. Оп. 3. Спр. 1090.
8. Державний архів Вінницької області. Ф. Р-6147. Оп. 3. Спр. 1298.
9. Тодоров І. Я. Україна на шляху до європейської та євроатлантичної спільноти. Донецьк: ДонНУ, 2006. 268 с.
10. У Польщі запропонували змінити формат комісії Україна-НАТО через угорське вето. *Espresso*. URL: https://espresso.tv/news/2018/04/28/u_polschi_zaproponuvaly_zminyty_format_komisiyi_ukrayina_nato_cherez_ugorske_veto

11. Угода між Урядом України та Організацією Північноатлантичного договору про статус представництва НАТО в Україні. *Верховна Рада України*. URL: http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/950_033
12. Вінницька делегація поїхала до Польщі. *20 хвилин – Новини Вінниці*. URL: <https://vn.20minut.ua/Groshi/vinnitska-delegatsiya-po-yihala-do-polschi-29168.html>
13. Як зберегти безпеку нордично-балтійського регіону. *NATO Revю*. URL: <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/2016/Also-in-2016/security-baltic-defense-nato/UK/index.htm>

References

1. Anastasov, P. (2018). Chornomorskyi rehion: stratehichne perekhrestia [*Black Sea Region: strategic perspectives*]. NATO Revю [online]. URL: <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/2018/Also-in-2018/the-black-sea-region-a-critical-intersection-nato-security/UK/index.htm>
2. Herasymchuk, S. (2006). Stratehii nashykh stratehichnykh partneriv: kudy ydemo? [*The strategies of our strategic partners: where do we go?*]. Yevroatlantychna Ukraina. [online]. URL: http://www.ea-ua.info/main.php?news_id=185&news_show_type=1&parts_id=5
3. Kapuśniak, T. (2008). Ukraina jako obszar wpływów międzynarodowych po zimnej wojnie [*Ukraine as an area of international influence after the Cold War*]. Warszawa-Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej [in Polish].
4. My vdiachni Polshchi za pidtrymku nashoho shliakhu do NATO – Petro Poroshenko [*We are grateful to Poland for supporting our path towards NATO, Petro Poroshenko says*]. Prezydent Ukrainy [online]. URL: <http://www.president.gov.ua/news/mi-vdyachni-polshi-za-pidtrimku-nashogo-shlyahu-do-nato-petr-45038>
5. Polshcha pidtrymuie rukh Ukrainy v napriamku NATO i YeS, – polskyi prem'ier. [*Poland supports Ukraine's path towards NATO and the EU, Polish prime minister says*]. ZIK [online]. URL: https://zik.ua/news/2018/03/29/polshcha_pidtrymuie_ruh_ukrainy_v_napryamku_nato_i_yes__polskyu_premier_1295117
6. Pro Stratehiiu natsionalnoi bezpeky Ukrainy. [*On the Strategy of Ukraine's National Security*]. Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy [online]. URL: <http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/105/2007>
7. State Archive of the Vinnytsia Oblast, f. P-6147, op. 3, spr. 1090.
8. State Archive of the Vinnytsia Oblast, f. P-6147, op. 3, spr. 1298.
9. Todorov, I. Ya. (2006). Ukraina na shliakhu do yevropeiskoi ta yevroatlantychnoi spilnoty: Monohrafiia [*Ukraine on the path to the European and Euro-Atlantic community: Monograph*]. Donetsk: DonNU [in Ukrainian].
10. U Polshchi zaproponuvaly zminyty format komisii Ukraina-NATO cherez uhorske veto. [*In Poland the changes of format of the Ukraine-NATO commission were*

proposed due to the Hungarian veto]. Espresso [online]. URL: https://espresso.tv/news/2018/04/28/u_polschi_zaproponuvaly_zminyty_format_komisiyi_ukrayina_nato_cherez_ugorske_veto

11. Uhoda mizh Uriadom Ukrainy ta Orhanizatsiieiu Pivnichnoatlantychnoho dohovoru pro status predstavnytstva NATO v Ukraini [*The Treaty between the Government of Ukraine and the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization on the status of NATO Mission in Ukraine*]. Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy [online]. URL: http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/950_033
12. Vinnytska delehatsiia poikhala do Polshchi [*Vinnytsia delegation went to Poland*]. 20 khvylyn – Novyny Vinnytsi [online]. URL: <https://vn.20minut.ua/Groshi/vinnitska-delegatsiya-poyihala-do-polschi-29168.html>
13. Yak zberehty bezpeku nordychno-baltiiskoho rehionu [*How to preserve the security of Nordic-Baltic Region*]. NATO Reviu [online]. URL: <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/2016/Also-in-2016/security-baltic-defense-nato/UK/index.htm>