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**THE EVOLUTION OF FOREIGN POLICY, STRATEGY OF  
NATIONAL SECURITY AND MILITARY DOCTRINE OF  
UKRAINE IN THE CONTEXT OF ITS EUROPEAN  
INTEGRATION COURSE**

*The problems of the formation of Ukraine's foreign policy and the optimal model realization of its national interests in the context of globalization and European integration are observed. The evolution of major geopolitical conflicts of the situation of Ukraine in the contemporary system of international relations and national security strategy and military doctrine in the context of Ukraine's European integration course are analyzed.*

*Key words: Ukraine, national security, military doctrine, foreign policy, European integration course.*

As historical experience shows, Ukraine, as well as Slovakia, Hungary, Romania and other countries of Central and Eastern Europe, has always belonged to the zone of increased geopolitical activity. For example, they were in the midst of the great migration of peoples in the IX th and XIII th centuries., peasant uprisings and wars in sixteenth-eighteenth centuries., National liberation movements of the oppressed peoples of Empires in the nineteenth century. They were the direct reasons, later participants of the Crimean and Balkan wars, of the First and the Second World Wars, of the so called “Cold War” popular uprising and revolutions of the XXth century. After the World War I and the Russian Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire and Osman Empire collapse, active processes of national state formation started. This happened according to the decisions of Paris Peace Conference in 1919-1920 and due to active participation of leading states of Entente. On the Eve of the World War II, the countries of the

region found themselves in the midst of European political crisis, and during the war -in many military operations.

After the war, this European region became the base for conducting a new communist experiment (Sovietization of popular democracy). The deployment of "Cold War", the national democratic revolution and the overthrow of communist regimes in the Central and Eastern Europe, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of its ruins new independent states, the end of the "Cold War" in the 90-ies of the twentieth century, gave the European continent a new geopolitical significance in generale and its central-eastern part in particular. The process of full integration of its western, central and eastern parts, which resulted in the "returning to a united Europe" of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in 2004-2007. However, the stability and safety on the European continent largely depend on building and strengthening the democracy principles of the countries in Central-Eastern Europe, on the choice of their foreign policy in general, and on their relationships, in particular.

First of all, it concerns the legal basis of their statehood, political pluralism, and parliamentary system. Socio-political and socio-economic transformations of these countries in the late twentieth century were subordinated to the integration into European and Euro-Atlantic structures. Becoming full members of NATO and the EU (except Ukraine), they were at the eastern border of the united Europe, on the border between the Western Christian and Eastern Muslim and the so-called "Russian peace", a kind of "geopolitical fracture" that reinforces their geopolitical value and risks. At the same time, despite the existence of various contradictory tendencies and differences in vision problems that occur in a region, crucial for all-European security and modernity is recognized consensus concerning the inviolability of state sovereignty and the inviolability of established and internationally recognized borders. There was certain urgency with historical, military, political, national, religious and confessional factors of the region. Not always a good-neighboring historical legacy (memory) of the relations of the individual neighboring nations and territorial disputes between the countries of the region in the past, the problems of national minority rights

protection originating from the border states of the region, the dominance of at least two religions (Christianity and Islam) and a number of Christian denominations - Orthodox, Roman and Greek Catholicism, Protestantism, and others, requires all this mutual tolerance, that is a guarantee of peace and calmness in the region.

The historical experience of the recent times shows that not, even the most powerful country in the world, can not resist the existing security challenges and threats alone.

The processes of globalization require consolidation efforts. Successful entry into an effective collective security system provides for any country an involvement in the formation of a new architecture of international security in today's post-bipolar world. After the collapse of communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe, the collapse of the USSR and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact (1990) which was practically unique, effective and highly organized institution of collective security in the world remains a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which was established back in 1949. Today, the NATO – is an alliance of 28 sovereign, independent countries in Europe and North America, who share the common values of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law and the peaceful resolution of disputes. The Alliance members are oriented on high standards of human rights, the functioning of the rule of law, market economy, and social achievements. Each NATO country member retains its sovereignty, and all the decisions are made by consensus. Exactly the adherence of these postulates makes Euro-Atlantic security inseparable. However, NATO has managed to adapt to the realities of today's global world, in particular, those adopted at the anniversary summit in 2009. A new strategic concept was called for to adapt the organization to the current challenges and threats. Today the Alliance not only ensures the safety of its members, but also maintains partnerships with countries - non NATO members (including Russia and Ukraine), participates in resolving crises and conflicts, performs humanitarian, scientific, educational function that does not correspond to the aggressive image created during the "Cold War." The Alliance has actually turned into an international political-military organization that ensures the safety and progress of the Euro-Atlantic civilization. Perhaps that is why the project of common and

effective security expands and loses its appeal, and the so-called New Alliance members who have gained full membership after the collapse of the socialist bloc, including Hungary (1999), Slovakia and Romania (2004) demonstrate their support for participation.

For Ukraine, in the context of NATO expansion to its borders the most essential is the prevention of any territorial claims from whom they were received, not the location of nuclear weapons on the territory of new members of the military-political union, prevention of the restoration of neo-imperial dominance in Europe, the inability to play division lines or spheres of influence in the European Atlantic area. However, the current political and economic development of the region largely determines the Ukrainian internal and external realities and it will affect them in the future.

Before independence, Ukraine has been extremely militarized state: its armed forces numbered about 500 thousand soldiers, and most importantly - 17% of Soviet nuclear capability was concentrated on its territory, consisting of 176 intercontinental ballistic missile silo-based nuclear warheads from 1828 and from 2000 to 3500 warheads of tactical nuclear weapons. However, it was the third-largest in the world's nuclear arsenal. In the Declaration of State Sovereignty of July 16, 1990 Parliament proclaimed Ukraine's intention in the future to be permanently neutral state that does not participate in military blocs and follows three non-nuclear principles: not to accept, not to manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons. And Ukraine, which was under constant pressure on the nuclear issue from both Russia and the U.S. and its NATO allies, took the unprecedented in the history of nuclear disarmament: in 1992 Ukraine withdrew all tactical nuclear weapons to Russia in 1994 acceded to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and after receiving the agreed security guarantees from nuclear states as the Budapest Memorandum on December 5, 1994 Ukraine lost strategic nuclear weapons and became a country without nuclear status, which was officially declared by the president of Ukraine on June 1, 1996. Basics of foreign policy of the young state were formulated in the "Foreign Policy Priorities of Ukraine", approved by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on July 2, 1993, and the basic principles of national security - in the law of Ukraine "On National Security of Ukraine"

dated on 19 June 2003. In particular, the last document provided the guarantee of full participation of Ukraine in the all-European and regional systems of collective security, obtaining the membership in the European Union and NATO, while maintaining and developing good neighborly relations with Russia, neighboring countries and other countries of the world.

Concerning the contacts between Ukraine and NATO, they take the origin back in 1991. In March 1992, Ukraine joined the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. After its transformation in 1997 into the Euro-Atlantic Partnership, Ukraine became a co-founder of the new format. Since 1994, Ukraine has been the first among the former Soviet Union that is a member of NATO's "Partnership for Peace". 1997 was marked by the signing of the Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between NATO and Ukraine. In November 2002, at the Prague Summit the Action Plan for NATO-Ukraine was approved, under which the implementation of the annual plans with specific objectives for cooperation in the areas of domestic reforms and foreign and security policy, economic and legal issues began. Since 2005, an Intensified Dialogue with NATO on Ukraine's aspirations to membership and relevant reforms, which aimed to expand areas of practical cooperation in peacekeeping, military, scientific, civilian areas, has been commenced. During the Bucharest Summit in April 2008 with the support of all member countries an unique decision in the history on the possibility of future membership of Ukraine (and Georgia) into NATO (confirmed at the NATO summit in Lisbon in November 2011) was made, and at the Brussels meeting of the North Atlantic Council in December 2008 a decision on granting Ukraine a new mechanism for further necessary reforms - annual national programs was adopted.

Thus, Ukraine has received political guarantees and practical tool for preparing to joint the NATO membership. However, after the presidential elections in Ukraine 2009, the new government adopts the Law of Ukraine "On the basis of domestic and foreign policy" from July 1, 2010, which repealed administrative ordinance of VRU "On the basic of foreign policy of Ukraine" in 1993, proclaimed Ukraine's neutral status and amending the Law of Ukraine "On national Security of Ukraine" in 2003, which removed the statute for

membership of Ukraine in NATO as the ultimate goal of Euro-Atlantic integration and one of the key principles of ensuring the national security, which radically changed the format of relations between Ukraine - NATO and the content and direction of bilateral cooperation in this vector. Now Ukraine's cooperation with NATO is in the form of a constructive partnership based on the new "mutually beneficial" relationship. Accordingly, in 2011 Annual National Program of Ukraine - NATO cooperation was rather too much formalized-utopian. According to the evaluation results of its performance, reflected in the final statement of the meeting of the Inter-parliamentary Council of Ukraine - NATO on March 14, 2012, out of 466 measures under the Programme on 2011, 93% of the tasks has been fully implemented during the last month and a half of the document. Objectives of the program were mostly focused not on providing quality changes, and quantitative parameters, not to promote reforms but to achieve statistical indicators. In particular, this affirmed in the results of the parliamentary hearings on assessing the achievements and shortcomings of the implementation of the Annual National Programme of Ukraine - NATO conducted on the 15-th of November, 2011.

At the same time, according to the Law of Ukraine "On the basis of domestic and foreign policy," European choice is crucial for Ukraine, because it states that "ensuring the integration of Ukraine into the European political, economic and legal space for membership in the European Union is one of the principles of foreign policy of Ukraine". In particular, the foreign policy objectives of the state are defined: update foreign and security policy under complete Ukraine's European integration; reformation of the state agencies in the national security and defense; consolidation of Ukraine as the main contributor to regional stability and security, including the increasing contribution of Ukraine to the international cooperation conflicts resolution and peacekeeping; continuation and extension of participation in the corresponding peacekeeping operations; the development of civil-military relations; the adherence of international obligations arms control.

In June 2012 the President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich approved the National Security Strategy and Military Doctrine of Ukraine, which were discussed neither with Ukrainian society, nor with NATO partners. The last of these documents states that "Ukraine does not consider any of the states (coalition of) its military adversary, but will recognize a potential military adversary state (coalition of states), actions or intentions which will have the signs of using threat of military force against the Ukraine". In particular, the document underlines, that Ukraine considers bad-neighborly ' such intentions or actions of other states that create conditions for the emergence of armed conflict and the use of military force against it". And in the first place "no agreement with Ukraine the points of deployment of the armed forces of another State which, in accordance with the international agreements on the territory of Ukraine, as well as actions such units against the third State" (obviously talking about the Black Sea Fleet units of RF). Ukraine considers "the economic and information blockade" and "use of political and economic sanctions" as a military threat (and here, in the light of recent events, probably refers to the EU states and NATO).

Not surprisingly, in such situation, NATO, for example, accepting the Ukrainian "non-alignment" as a given, has concentrated own priorities and tasks "outside the Ukrainian territory" and has developed adequate Ukrainian non-alignment strategy for Ukraine, trying to deepen "practical cooperation" with it without joining into the open conflict or ideological confrontation with the "geopolitical interest" actors of international relations. But meanwhile Kyiv does not get any guarantees from NATO's own military security, any help in the event of a conflict with other representatives of international relations. The European Union, in turn, also avoids guarantees for Ukraine's membership, leaving only the real prospect of a free trade and association partnership, which becomes more remote. Of course, such a turn of events not only nullifies all the achievements of bilateral cooperation with the West, it puts Ukraine to choose their own identity model, supporting a scenario of balancing on the edge of west-east orientation. However, the current leadership of Ukraine is unlikely to return the role of "border state" during Kuchma's presidency.

Thus, the overall favorable attitude to Ukraine by the international surroundings does not give the state the power to refuse the assumptions about the likelihood of armed aggression against Ukraine's intention to destroy its sovereignty. Accordingly, the geopolitical strategy of the state should proceed with the choice between unilateral and collective defense of national sovereignty. However, the state of the Armed Forces of Ukraine does not allow them to fulfill its main task alone - to ensure the physical preservation of itself and its citizens. In the case of final refusal to participate in military-political associations, Ukraine's sovereignty may remain vulnerable if the current favorable foreign atmosphere changes to radically opposed. But the rejection of neutral status, payments on collective defense would not dismiss Ukraine from the task of strengthening the armed forces. Moreover, in any military-political associations, amount of the saved sovereignty will be in the direct proportion to the contribution of the country's collective security.

Along with the strengthening of the national Armed forces, Ukraine should determine the choice of the optimal model of its national interests with the maximum preservation of its sovereignty. "Isolationist" model, which involves distancing from geopolitical centers across the country gained non-aligned or even neutral status, is not able to remove the course from Ukraine "buffer zone" and prevent the foreign intervention into the internal affairs of Ukraine. Moreover, it does not solve the problems of civilization and civilized choice of Ukraine, only preserves the current uncertain state and can only be transitional and temporary. The model of "balancing between East and West", or "policy of equidistance" in the conditions of a confrontation or, conversely, the integration of the two poles becomes unproductive in terms of strengthening the resources of national sovereignty. The "Disintegration" model, which is the epitome of a policy of "two-levels or a double asymmetric integration" (economic to the East, political to the West), in the conditions of a competition for Ukraine between East and West can at least split the country into two parts with opposite vectors of integration. Finally, "integrational" model that includes Ukraine's accession to the European Union, although it would significantly limit the amount of its sovereignty, in return would give a chance to join the Western technology and



investment - on the one hand, and on the other - to protect the country from the West isolation, to strengthen its status as an equal participant in international relations, finally to acquire European civilization and to get support from the West for a possible pressure on it from outside.

The final choice of a particular model of geopolitical and geo-economic adaptation of Ukraine is inevitable, but it can be optimal only by the realization of leadership and Ukrainian society of national interests, for which the embodiment of this model is introduced, taking into account the balance of costs and benefits associated with the voluntary limitation of the sovereignty.

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