

The democratic transformations in Ukraine and their consequences on Foreign and Security Policy

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The creation of independent state in Ukraine has formulated the need of a new Foreign and Security policy elaboration. The country is located in geographical area, where the borders of existing Security institutes are in a process of alteration: NATO and EU enlargement and own European security and defense policy development in the West; the Tashkent's Treaty was concluded in the East. More over, Ukraine borders on such clashing countries as Russia or Moldova. Besides, there is an aggravation of regional conflicts in postbipolar world.

Taking into account the domination of power and force determinants in the international relations (even if they are ideologically and morally hidden) the activity of neighboring countries, aspiring to exercise influence on sovereign Ukraine and use the country in their own interests seems to be totally real. With a territory that equals the one of a France, 48 millions of population, the quality of rich black soil and waterways Ukraine is attractive for foreign actors from the point of view of their resources and potential. At the same time, the unstable situation in Ukraine determines the aspiration of the West-European World to be protected from Ukrainian internal problems by effective borders.

It is only natural, that Ukraine had to elaborate optimum security models in order to protect its own national interests, considering the real forces' layout on Euro-Asian and international strategic scale.

Ukraine's recent foreign policy was not clear for the countries of the West. On the one hand, the multivectorial doctrine has been declared from the beginning of the Ukrainian independence; on the other hand, the European integration has been elected as a strategic direction. The Strategy for Integration of Ukraine into

the European Union was approved by the presidential decree No. 615 on June 11, 1998.

According to the constitution, Ukraine is a neutral state. However, in May, 2002 National Security and Defense Council has declared country's intention to enter NATO, and in July, 2004 the notion "membership in NATO" was excluded from the military doctrine of Ukraine, giving way to "carrying out of an euroatlantic integration".

It seems that the multivectorial doctrine which has received both positive, and a negative estimation in France has not been developed at all at a theoretical level. Hesitation with the joining NATO blocks Ukrainian analysts' efforts to develop the bases of State security, due to lack of understanding whether the doctrine should be developed within the collective or individual security framework.

The transformations in Ukraine and the Foreign Policy

"Orange revolution" in Ukraine has proved that the first years of independence of Ukraine have not been vain: in Ukraine there is the feeling of unity of people, despite numerous contradictions that are generally emphasized. Ukrainian people have proved to the world that they can assert basic principles of democracy. The strategic line of foreign policy of the government of Victor Yushchenko is precise and transparent – membership in the EU. Oleg Rybachuk was appointed vice-prime minister on European integration. Thus the EU appeared before a dilemma: whether or not to give Ukraine the prospect of membership. It is clear, that based on geographical parameters Ukraine is an European state, more European than Turkey, where the issue of possible EU membership is being actively discussed at the moment. In terms of political institutions Ukraine has entered an stage of system transformations, efficiency of which only time can prove. Crucial question for Ukraine is the success of economic reforms and struggle against corruption.

Giving Ukraine a precise and concrete prospect of association with the EU would be the best possible solution of a problem. It is a matter of increasing aid

not only in economic, but also in other spheres, transferring of experience of reforms of governmental institutes, administrative reform, an explanation of positions where the new members of the EU have met the greatest difficulties, increase of educational programs for scientists and functionaries.

In Ukraine realists do not insist on immediate adherence to the EU considering country's objective unpreparedness at the present stage. But for Ukraine it is important that the new government does not run into a postrevolutionary euphoria and limits to a degree of declaration the European choice and Europeanization of Ukraine, forgetting about a practical component of democratic processes. Ukraine should not repeat the mistake of the previous government. It is imperative to engage in studies of opportunities and conditions of Ukraine's EU membership the unbiased specialists and researchers. In Ukraine there is a problem of prejudiced approach to analytics by some authorities and the so-called "administrative responsibility" that makes them submit the information in the light of desired vision and do not focus on contradictions and possible ways of their overcoming. As a result highest authorities which define strategy of State development, receive incomplete information. Probably, this problem is much more sharp in Ukraine than in the West and this fact is not absolutely known by old members of the EU. In this case, the states of the EU that already have some experience, could help with administrative and institutional reforms and acquaint the Ukrainian researchers and functionaries with activities of the institutes and their structures.

The European orientation and Russia

Given the success of system transformations in Ukraine and after a certain period of relations of association with the EU, the European Union could offer Ukraine prospect of membership. In France ideas that rapprochement of Ukraine with the EU and NATO can provoke tension with Russia are widely spread. But from the strategic point of view it is not favourable to Ukraine. Ukraine, due to its geographical position and various ties with Russia (not only economic, but also

human because many Ukrainians have family ties with Russian through mixed marriages) is compelled to cooperate and coexist with Russia. If leaders of two states will have good will and wisdom, they can settle contradictions. President Yushchenko has made his first visit to Russia. But at a tactical level periodic aggravations cannot be excluded (i. e. the situation around Tuzla and discussions on the Black Sea fleet in Crimea).

Categorical "not" on the part of the European Union can provoke a certain crisis of identity in Ukraine where people have protected their right on democracy, and also cause confusion among pro - European elite which has estimated, that Ukraine of "Kuchma's regime " was actually unwanted in EU, however, in the future, a country being in the center of Europe, that has reached a certain level of democracy and economy, will promote strengthening of the European security and stability as the full pledged member of EU, instead of being a neighbor.

NATO and Ukraine

The cooperation Ukraine-NATO has begun just after Ukraine gained independence. First of all, Ukraine has joined the consultative Forum of the NATO's member countries and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe - Council of North-Atlantic cooperation and became an active participant during the history of this organization's existence. It is natural that in 1994 Ukraine has joined the program "Partnership for Peace". During the Summit of the state and government leaders of NATO in July 1997 (Madrid) the chiefs of NATO and the president of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma signed the «Charter on the special partnership between NATO and Ukraine». NATO has welcomed Ukraine's decision to support the unlimited prolongation of the Treaty on non-proliferation of

nuclear weapons and its contribution on bringing out and destruction of nuclear weapons, in its possession.

The Mission of Ukraine to NATO was constituted with the status of international organization representation. The Center of the information and documentation of NATO in Kiev is noted for its work on the informational level. The common group for planning of the reaction of civil services in extreme situations is formed and the Memorandum on the mutual comprehension in the field of planning in extreme situations is signed.

The cooperation between NATO and Ukraine develops in the following fields: planning in extreme situations; military training, relations between militaries and civilians, democratic control of the armed forces, defense reform in Ukraine; ecological security, and particularly, nuclear security, scientific and technical development of space research, economic aspects of security.

The Ukrainian military range “Javorivsky” is used for realisation the common peacekeeping training according to the program «Partnership for Peace». NATO has given a huge financial support for its improvement.

The first sessions of the Commission Ukraine-NATO were held in Kiev in March 1-2, 2000. The ambassadors of nineteen NATO member countries with the Ukrainian statesman and public figures analyzed during the meeting the realization of partnership between Ukraine and NATO. The structure of the Commission Ukraine-NATO includes diplomats and militaries from NATO countries and Ukraine. The Commission Ukraine - NATO is a body that coordinates partnership in determining dynamic practical cooperation in the defense reform and in the sphere of arms control.

On the 23 of May in 2002 Ukraine officially proclaimed its intention to enter NATO. This decision was taken during the National Security and Defense Council session, headed by President Leonid Kuchma.

Under the president's July 2004 decree, a mention of the country's preparations for membership in NATO and the EU was excluded from the country's military doctrine.

The new president and the goal of NATO membership

President Yushchenko has stated that the final goal is NATO integration and he brings it back to the country's military doctrine, where it was excluded from by his predecessor Leonid Kuchma. In accordance with the new text: "Based on the fact, that NATO and EU are guarantors of security and stability in Europe, Ukraine is preparing itself for full-fledged membership in these organizations". As well as in the previous variant it is mentioned that "profound reforming of the state's defense sphere is one of the most significant priorities of both foreign and domestic policy".

It should be noted that previous hesitation as to NATO integration caused damage to the image of Ukraine and did not allow to consider Ukraine as a reliable partner. Ukraine-NATO partnership has already its own history and demands to determine precise strategic goal: whether there will be a cooperation with NATO or a planned future full-fledged membership in this organization. The latter demands certain reforms and adoption of NATO standards such as transparency, armament, mutual relation of military representatives and soldiers rights (In Ukraine cases of mockeries at recruits are known).

Thus, there was an absence of Ukraine's precise strategic position on NATO integration or NATO partnership at a stage when, according to the chief of the Joint Staff of armed forces of Ukraine Leonid Golopasuk, effective mechanisms of military cooperation between Ukraine and the NATO have been introduced. Today a ratline and laborious work on effective realization of existing plans and initiatives is required.

A new stage of cooperation between Ukraine and NATO has started in April, 2005 with the beginning of an intensified dialogue concerning the intention of Ukraine to become a NATO member, based on the results of Vilnius Ukraine-NATO Commission session, by NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer and Ukrainian Foreign Minister Tarasiuk.

Intensified dialogue is the first stage of official preparation of the countries - candidates to NATO membership. The countries aspiring to become members of North-Atlantic alliance pass through this stage.

Thus, in opinion of Boris Tarasuk, Ukraine-NATO relations have been transformed into a new stage - Intensified dialogue. NATO Secretary General stressed that much will depend on a Ukrainian policy.

"It is crystal clear that the Ukrainian government will be at the wheel of that car. There will be NATO petrol stations along the road to refuel that car."

Minister of Defence of Ukraine Anatoly Gritsenko is the supporter of the integration Ukraine in NATO. His position is based on the following postulate:

- Concrete date of the Ukrainian integration to NATO is not as important as the achievement by the Ukrainian armed forces of NATO standards of battle readiness, technical maintenance of armies, level of social protection of military men, the European standards of democracy, market economy, protection of the rights and freedom of citizens.

Problems of integration of Ukraine into NATO

It should be noted, that the active participant of "orange revolution" the leader of Socialist party of Ukraine Olexandre Moroz thinks, that the Ukraine integration in NATO will bring nothing to the state now and further. On the 29 April 2005 he said that as a politician he can't support the idea of NATO integration, while the support of Ukrainian people in this question is only near 10 pour cent.

Presence of the Russian Black Sea fleet in Crimea can appear a problem of integration of Ukraine into NATO. It is possible, that Russia will not like the script that of its own ships and the ships of NATO will be simultaneously hasted in Crimea. Meanwhile the representatives of the NATO have taken the verified position. For example, Robert Pshell has declared, that the NATO is not going to interfere with the Ukrainian - Russian debate concerning the status of the Crimean

peninsula and the Russian fleet base in Crimea. As he said, two sovereign states are capable to solve such issues on their own.

Thus, by coming to power of new president Victor Yushchenko's team in the field of foreign and security policy the intention of integration of Ukraine to the EU and the NATO has been precisely fixed. For Ukraine it is important not to waste time while the world takes interest in its events and to take the most benefit achievement of its own goals with the help of the countries of the EU and NATO, despite some vigilance of the Western countries concerning the prospect of membership of Ukraine in EU and a date of joining to NATO. The success of transformations in Ukraine and introduction of NATO standards will approach Ukraine to its declared goal. Besides, Ukraine can benefit some additional positive factors, as, for example, the position of the population of the EU countries. The majority of Europeans appeared supporters of the joining of Ukraine to the EU, given Ukraine meets the criteria of the membership. This has been stated based on carried polls out in France, Germany, Spain, Italy, the Great Britain and Poland at the end of February and the beginning of March, 2005. The Ukraine candidacy has received more supporters among Europeans, than the one of Turkey, though Turkey has achieved essential results in negotiations with the EU.