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**TRANSFORMATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION
BODIES OF THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE OF UKRAINE AND
THE ARMED FORCES OF UKRAINE**

The purpose of the study is to reveal the evolution of the system of international cooperation bodies of the Ministry of Defence and the Armed Forces of Ukraine over the period from its inception to presidential election in Ukraine of 2019. The methodology of the study is based on the principles of historicism, systematization, scientific accuracy, authorial objectivity, as well as on general scientific (analysis, synthesis, comparison, generalization)



and special-historical (historical-statistical, historical-systemic) methods. The scientific novelty is this article for the first time reveals the evolution and the main stages of development of international cooperation bodies of the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine and the Armed Forces of Ukraine over the period from their inception to the presidential election in Ukraine of 2019. The necessity of establishing the system of bodies of international cooperation is substantiated, the composition of its structural units is shown, their characteristics, main tasks and the peculiarities of their performance are presented, and the conditionality of their transformation is revealed. Based on the analysis of the number of contacts of various types and forms that were made, the state programmes and plans adopted, the international treaties and agreements signed, the joint exercises conducted, and the peace support missions accomplished, the periodization based on the intensity of the international cooperation is proposed. Conclusions. The analysis of organizational changes in international cooperation bodies showed that since 1997, the areas of international cooperation have been divided between the Ministry of Defence and the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, and the bodies themselves have repeatedly been subjected to reforms. In general, over the years of independence, the Armed Forces of Ukraine created a viable system of international cooperation bodies, which responded in a timely manner to changes in political situation, ensured high intensity of contacts in various spheres and directions, and contributed to realization of the Ukrainian Armed Forces' potential.

Key words: *international, military-political, military-technical, military cooperation, verification activity, directorate, centre.*

Problem statement and its connection with important scientific and practical tasks

The current reality is that almost no country is capable of ensuring its security relying solely on its own efforts, without the assistance from international community and organizations for security (UN, NATO, OSCE, EU).

Since Ukraine regained its independence, international cooperation has been one of the ways of ensuring security and protecting its national interests in the foreign policy and military spheres.

The need of establishing, maintaining and developing relations with relevant structures of foreign countries, international organizations and other foreign partners led to the creation of a system of international cooperation bodies within the Ministry of Defence (MoD) and the Ukrainian Armed Forces of (UAF). Moreover, in the context of Russian Federation's armed aggression against Ukraine, international cooperation became a priority.

Organizing international cooperation is a complex and multifaceted process,

the implementation of which requires political will, forces, means, material resources, and proper institutions. It is for the practical implementation of international cooperation strategies in various fields of activity that the special bodies have been formed within the Ukrainian MoD and the UAF. Their organisational structure, subordination, nature, and the spectrum of tasks changed several times during the establishment and development of the system of international cooperation.

Analysis of recent studies and publications

Offered in this chapter is the analysis of recent studies and publications that started to address this problem and which the authors rely on, as well as the previously unresolved parts of the overall problem to which this article is devoted.

Many studies have been focused on the international cooperation of Ukraine in general and the UAF in particular, as well as on various aspects and directions in this area. Several directions can be specified in modern national historiography.

The problems of national security and defence, building the UAF in the context of European and Euro-Atlantic integration were analysed in the studies of O. A. Paliy (Paliy, O. A. 2005), V. A. Lipkan (Lipkan, V. A. 2003), I. A. Khraban (Khraban, I. A. 2007), O. I. Kuzmuk (Kuzmuk, O. I. 2013), O. V. Pulym (Pulym, O. V. 2001), V. F. Hrechani-
nov (Hrechani-
nov, V. F. 2001, p. 22–

26), O. F. Demenko (Demenko, O. F. 2004).

The research works by O. H. Ivchenko (Ivchenko, O. H. 1997), I. Ya. Todorov (Todorov, I. Ya. 2006), L. Aleksievets and M. Aleksievets (Aleksievets, L. & Aleksievets, M. 2020) examined general historical aspects of the international cooperation, defined historical preconditions for the beginning of partnership between the UAF and NATO, and described the principles of such relations.

The issues of political and military cooperation were presented in the studies of S. L. Rechyh (Rechyh, S. L. 2012), P. I. Lozynskiy (Lozynskiy, P. I. 2011), K. A. Bila (Bila, K. A. 2002), Yu. A. Nedzelskiy (Nedzelskiy, Yu. A. 2012). The authors conducted a retrospective analysis of the mechanisms and results of cooperation between the UAF and NATO in protecting national interests in security and defence sphere.

The issues of defence planning, reform and development of the defence industry complex of Ukraine, military and technical cooperation of Ukraine within the framework of Euro-Atlantic integration are considered in the studies of V. P. Horbulin (Horbulin, V. P. 2019), I. S. Fanin (Fanin, I. S. 2010), O. V. Lytvynenko (Lytvynenko, O. V. 2011), V. V. Kaplun (Kaplun, V. V. 2018), O. O. Sofronov (Sofronov, O. O. 2011).

Military cooperation and peace support activities as elements of the system of provision of national security of Ukraine were discussed in the works

of V. S. Venher (Venher, V. S. 1999), A. V. Hrubinko (Hrubinko, A. V. 2007), O. A. Dzhus (Dzhus, O. A. 2018), A. I. Lukhtan (Lukhtan, A. I. 2019), N. H. Stevens (Stevens, N. H. 2008), L. V. Komarova (Komarova, L. V. 2009), L. S. Holopatyuk (Holopatyuk, L. S. 2002), I. S. Rusnak (Rusnak, I. S. 2007).

The studies of I. P. Kozynets (Kozynets, I. P. 2008), O. O. Lunyk (Lunyk, O. O. 2003), V. S. Khatsanovskyi (Khatsanovskyi, V. S. 2006), S. M. Popko (Popko, S. M. 2010) have made a significant contribution to the process of scientific substantiation of various aspects of the UAF participation in international peace support and security operations, and to the studying and generalization of experience of employment of national contingents.

The issues of verification activities were addressed in the articles by A. M. Hudz and S. M. Popko (Hudz, A. M. & Popko, S. M. 2020; Hudz, A. M. 2020).

However, the analysis of the aforementioned studies shows that their authors have hardly touched upon the establishment and the evolution of international military cooperation bodies of the Ukrainian MoD and the UAF that dealt with the organisation and practical implementation of international cooperation with security organizations (UN, NATO, OSCE, EU), as well as multilateral and bilateral cooperation with partner countries.

Formulation of the purpose of the article (research objective)

The purpose of the article is to explore the evolution of the system of the MoD and the UAF international cooperation bodies from their inception to the presidential elections of 2019.

Theoretical review with full justification of the obtained scientific results

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, under the conditions that emerged after the end of confrontation of military blocs in Europe, the issue of creating a pan-European security structure on the basis of existing international institutions, such as the UN, OSCE, NATO and EU, became very important for independent Ukraine.

In 1992, Ukraine, along with other post-Soviet countries, joined the North Atlantic Cooperation Council which had been established in December 1991. Later, this structure was transformed into the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council).

In the same 1992, the **Department for External Relations** was established in the Main Headquarters of the UAF for enabling international cooperation in practical sphere, making contacts and building interaction with partners¹.

The first structural units of the Department were the Division for Cooperation with International Organizations, the Peacekeeping Division, the Region-

¹ Popko, S. M. *Personal Archive*.

al and the Protocol Divisions. The Department's main task was to facilitate international cooperation and peacekeeping activities of the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

To exercise control over nuclear disarmament, Verification Division was established on the funds of Kyiv Military District. In 1992, the Division was transformed into the **Verification Centre** of the Main Headquarters of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. The Centre consisted of four divisions: the Conventional Arms Control, the Open Skies Treaty Implementation, the Information Exchange and the Inspection Coordination division².

In order to conduct military and technical cooperation, **Committee for Military and Technical Policy of the Armament Department of the MoD of Ukraine** was established³.

Thus, the first bodies which were entrusted with tasks of international cooperation were: the **External Relations Department**, the **Verification Centre** of the UAF Main Headquarters, and the **Committee for Military and Technical Policy of the Armament Department of the MoD**.

In February 1994, Ukraine joined the NATO Partnership for Peace (PfP) Programme. It became the beginning of large-scale cooperation between Ukraine and NATO.

Some significant organizational changes took place at that time. The UAF Main Headquarters was transformed into the General Staff of the UAF, the organisational structure of which incorporated the **Department for External Relations**⁴.

Until 1997, all the issues of Ukrainian MoD and the UAF's military and technical cooperation were in the sphere of responsibility of the Committee for Military and Technical Policy of MoD Armament Department.

Then two structures were established within the MoD structure: the **Main Department for External Relations**, subordinated to the Minister of Defence of Ukraine, that was in charge of military and political cooperation, and the **Committee for Military and Technical Policy of the Ukrainian MoD Armament Department** which was responsible for the issues of military and technical cooperation.

Within the structure of the General Staff of UAF and in the framework of PfP Programme, the **Cooperation Coordination Centre** was established to perform the tasks of implementation and coordination of all UAF peacekeeping activities (instead of the Department for External Relations) related to the PfP Programme and the **Verification Centre** which was responsible for the UAF verification activities (Pro zatverdzhennia Polozhennia pro Tsentri veryfikatsii Zbroinykh Syl Ukrainy ... 1997).

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.



Thus, the period from 1991 to 1996 can be called a **period of inception** of international cooperation. The main events in it were: Ukraine's accession to the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (1991), the first visit of NATO Secretary General in 1992, the approval of the Military Doctrine of Ukraine (1993), Ukraine's accession to the PfP Programme (1994), and the approval of the first Individual Partnership Programme (IPP) between Ukraine and NATO (1994). At that time, the general principles of Ukraine-NATO relations within the framework of the PfP Programme have been defined and NATO acknowledged the need to develop special relations with Ukraine.

The MoD and the General Staff of the UAF established international cooperation bodies, defined the tools and areas of cooperation, **started** military and military-political dialogue, **participated** in joint Ukraine — NATO activities under the IPP Programme. Ukraine **joined** the peacekeeping operation in the Balkans. These efforts contributed to Ukraine's involvement in safeguarding European security, and established bilateral and multilateral relations with its partners in military sphere.

At the same time, the newly established international cooperation bodies **lacked** clear division of international cooperation into components, namely — military and political cooperation and merely military cooperation. During 1997–2003 the **special Ukraine — NATO partnership** was being formed.

The key events of that time were: opening of Ukraine's diplomatic mission to NATO, signing of the Charter on Special Partnership between Ukraine and NATO (09.07.1997), commencing of the Ukraine — NATO Commission, UAF's participation in the “Kozatskyi Step — 97” joint exercise. These events created objective conditions for the need of delimitation of functions in the field of international cooperation between the MoD and the UAF, and the establishment of a body responsible for cooperation with NATO.

In 1997, NATO Information and Documentation Centre was opened in Kyiv to facilitate cooperation on communicating NATO regulatory documents (STANAG, AP ...) to the UAF.

The approval of the “State Programme of Cooperation between Ukraine and NATO for the period up to 2001” (1998) and the intensification of military-political cooperation that followed caused further organizational changes.

On October 1, 1998, the **MoD Directorate for International Cooperation** was established to replace the Department for External Relations, which had dealt with international cooperation in general. The Directorate was located on the funds of the MoD Main Department for Foreign Relations and subordinated to the Minister of Defence of Ukraine. The main focus of activity defined for the directorate was **military and political cooperation**. The other field of activity — military and technical coop-

eration — was handled at that stage by the **Committee on Military and Technical Policy of the Armament** of the MoD⁵.

In 1997, the **Centre** for Coordination of Cooperation within the framework of PfP Programme was established and became part of organizational structure of the General Staff of UAF (cooperation in accordance with the PfP Programme, UAF peacekeeping activities). Later, in 2000, the **Centres** for Coordination of Cooperation and Verification of the General Staff of the UAF (verification activities of the AF of Ukraine) were merged into a single body — the **Centre** for Military Cooperation and Verification of the General Staff of the UAF (military cooperation, peacekeeping and verification activities of the UAF)⁶.

Thus, at the stage of formation of special partnership, the establishment and reorganization of international cooperation bodies in the MoD and the General Staff of the UAF ensured the participation in regular meetings of the NATO — Ukraine Commission at the Defence Ministers' level and the meetings of NATO — Ukraine Joint Working Group on Military Reform, the participation in the development of NATO — Ukraine Action Plan and annual NATO — Ukraine Targeted Action Plan, the expanded participation in peace support activities (UN Mission in Eastern Slavonia, UN Mission in An-

gola, the International Mine Action Organization, the UN Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo, and the NATO-led international peacekeeping force in Kosovo).

The separation of military-political cooperation (MoD of Ukraine) from military cooperation (General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine) made it possible to ensure the readiness for further deepening of interaction, expanding the areas of such cooperation, developing cooperation consultative and advisory mechanisms, improving the legal framework, training of human resources and establishing effective practical cooperation in general.

In the process of setting concrete goals and objectives of cooperation with NATO and partners (increasing bilateral and multilateral cooperation with them), gaining practical experience and analysing its first results, there was a gradually forming comprehension of the need for further rapprochement to the alliance with an ambition of full membership.

The period of cooperation development (2003–2013) included three stages: the stage of deepening and intensifying of cooperation (2003–2004), the stage of intensified dialogue (2005–2009), and the stage of pragmatic cooperation (2009–2013).

The key events of the stage of deepening and intensifying of cooperation (2003–2004) were: the establishment of the National Centre for Euro-Atlantic Integration of Ukraine; the approval

⁵ Popko, S. M. *Personal Archive*.

⁶ *Ibid.*



of the NATO — Ukraine Target Action Plan for 2004, the publication of the Decree of the President of Ukraine “On State Programmes on European and Euro-Atlantic Integration of Ukraine for 2004–2007”, the approval of the Strategic Defence Bulletin of Ukraine for the period up to 2015, and the adoption of the Law of Ukraine “On the organization of defence planning in Ukraine”.

The following changes took place in the structure of international cooperation bodies: the **Directorate** for International Cooperation of MoD of Ukraine (military-political cooperation of the MoD) was replaced by the **Directorate** for International Cooperation and Euro-Atlantic Integration of MoD of Ukraine (military-political cooperation of the MoD), the Committee for Military and Technical Policy of Armaments of the MoD of Ukraine (military and technical cooperation of the MoD of Ukraine), and the **Committee** for Military and Technical Policy of Armaments of the MoD of Ukraine was transformed into the **Department** for Military and Technical Cooperation of the Armaments Directorate of MoD of Ukraine (military and technical cooperation of the MoD of Ukraine).

In the structure of the General Staff, the **Centre** for Military Cooperation and Verification of the General Staff of the UAF (military cooperation, peacekeeping and verification activities of the Armed Forces of Ukraine) was divided in two bodies again – the **Department** for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation of the

General Staff of the UAF, which was responsible for military cooperation and peacekeeping activities of the UAF, and the **Verification Department** of the General Staff of the UAF, which was engaged in UAF's verification activities. The functions of both departments were again clearly delineated.

In general, as achievements of this stage are considered the launch of a comprehensive Defence Review (at the NATO — Ukraine Commission meeting at the level of Defence Ministers), the involvement in the NATO Operational Capabilities Concept Evaluation and Feedback Programme (OCC E&F).

The surge of military cooperation led to its further division into military cooperation with international security organizations and the individual countries (bilateral and multilateral cooperation), as well as to the search of an optimal organisational structure that would promote to effective international military cooperation.

In general, at this stage, the organizational changes in the structure of international cooperation bodies in the MoD and the General Staff of the UAF and the creation of an optimal system of international military cooperation provided the opportunity to deepen and intensify cooperation with international security organizations and partners at bilateral and multilateral levels.

The stage of Intensified Dialogue (2005–2009). This stage was marked by the following features: the beginning of the Intensified Dialogue on Ukraine's

aspiration to join NATO (2005), the holding of a joint NATO — OSCE seminar on missile fuel utilization, the signing of the Implementation Agreement on the disposal of MANPADS, small arms and light weapons and conventional ammunition (2005), the publication of the Decree of the President of Ukraine “On the National System of Coordination of Cooperation of Ukraine with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization”, the approval of the NATO — Ukraine Target Plan under the NATO — Ukraine Action Plan for 2006 and the first Annual National Programme for 2009 to prepare Ukraine for membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

At this stage in 2008, the MoD **Directorate for International Cooperation** was reorganized into the MoD **Directorate for International Defence Cooperation** (military-political cooperation of the MoD of Ukraine). The biggest changes took place in the international cooperation bodies of the General Staff of UAF. In 2005, a new Department for Military Cooperation was formed and assumed the responsibility for UAF's bilateral military cooperation activities.

In 2007, the UAF GS **Department for Euro-Atlantic Integration**, which had been responsible for cooperation with NATO, was entrusted with additional task to manage the national personnel of UAF abroad. The issues of bilateral military cooperation were assigned to the UAF GS **Department for Military Cooperation** which received a higher status of a Central Department.

All the issues related to verification activities remained in the sphere of responsibility of the UAF GS **Department for Verification Activity**.

A separate **Department for Peacekeeping Operations** of the UAF Joint Operational Command was established in the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

The newly established and reformed structures of international military cooperation bodies ensured: the launch of an Intensified Dialogue on Ukraine's aspirations for membership and relevant reforms, signing the Agreement with the alliance on Ukraine's participation in NATO anti-terrorist operation “Active Endeavour” in the Mediterranean, the announcement of Ukraine's intention to develop the State Programme of Reform of the UAF for the period up to 2011, the revised working plans of the Joint Working Group on Military Reform for 2005–2006 (meeting of the NATO — Ukraine commission at the level of defence ministers), the launch of a comprehensive Security Sector Review (October 2005), the publication of the first annual edition of the White Paper on Defence Policy for 2005 (the NATO — Ukraine commission meeting at the level of defence ministers) in June 2006, the involvement in NATO Air Data Exchange Programme, expanding the geography of peace support activities (Operation “Active Endeavour”, NATO Training Mission in the Republic of Iraq, and the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan (ISAF)).

At the same time, the task to increase the Ukraine — NATO relations to the level of a NATO Membership Action Plan (MAP) was not implemented and was temporarily postponed — the main argument was the need for broader public support. Ukraine did not obtain the MAP at the NATO summit in Bucharest (April 2008), but instead, the signal was received that Ukraine would “join NATO at a later time”.

In general, the structural transformations in the system of international military cooperation, and the clear distribution of responsibilities between the MoD and the GS of the UAF related to international cooperation issues allowed building the most rational structure of international military cooperation bodies, creating conditions for achieving concrete results in military cooperation with international security organizations, and starting the defence sector reform.

The stage of pragmatic cooperation (2009–2013). Major events of this stage included:

the adoption of the Law of Ukraine “On the foundations of domestic and foreign policy” on July 1, 2010, which stated Ukraine’s intention to be a European **non-aligned** state and to continue a constructive partnership with the NATO. There was a change of vector of bilateral cooperation in the direction from Euro-Atlantic toward European one, toward cooperation with the Russian Federation, and the intensification of cooperation with Middle East states.

The process of development and approval of Ukraine — NATO annual national cooperation programmes for 2011, 2012 and 2013 was continued.

The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the NATO Maintenance and Supply Organization (NAMSO) signed an Implementation Agreement for the disposal of small arms and light weapons (SALW), conventional ammunition and PFM1-type anti-personnel mines. The signing of the agreement marked the beginning of the second phase of the NATO/PfP Trust Fund project for the disposal of light weapons and conventional ammunition in Ukraine (2011). Ukraine became the first partner country to join NATO “Ocean Shield” anti-piracy operation and also received the status of a single partner country, taking part in all current operations of the alliance. In addition, some Ukrainian units performed a combat duty as contribution to the NATO Response Force (Chronology of Ukraine-NATO relations).

The official abandonment of the course for joining NATO, the definition of cooperation with NATO as secondary priority, something auxiliary in the context of European integration, conditioned structural transformations of the MoD international cooperation bodies.

The MoD Directorate for International Defence Cooperation and the MoD Department for Military-Technical Cooperation were united into the MoD Directorate for Military Policy, Strategic Planning and International Cooperation.

In 2011, three departments of the UAF GS, namely the Department for Euro-Atlantic Integration, the Central Department for Military Cooperation and the Department for Peacekeeping Operations, merged into a single **Main Department for Military Cooperation and Peacekeeping Operations** of UAF GS, and the UAF **Main Command Centre** was established in 2012 manage the Ukrainian national contingents abroad.

The cautious wait-and-see attitude on both the Ukrainian and Alliance' s sides, the reduction to minimum of a high-level political dialogue, the inventory of political priorities of cooperation — caused abstention from starting up new initiatives and projects, especially on NATO side regarding reform and democratic transformations.

At the same time, neither the legislative consolidation of the “non-aligned status” nor the announcement of a change of course from Euro-Atlantic integration toward European integration resulted in the loss of the positive results of cooperation that had already been gained. It did not cause any cancellations of the cooperation mechanisms that had existed, the curtailment of cooperation and training programmes, the recall of personnel and contingents from NATO operations and missions, the dismantling of the cooperation bodies system, or the replacement and removal of experienced personnel.

The period of increased cooperation followed by integration (2014–

2019) began with the commencement of the armed aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine in 2014.

The key events of this period were: a fundamental change in the vector of Ukraine's foreign policy with the orientation towards Euro-Atlantic integration and accession to NATO, the signing of the Ukraine-NATO Roadmap for defence and technical cooperation (2015), the publication of the Strategic Defence Bulletin (2016), the approval of the “State Programme of Development of UAF for the period until 2020” (2017), the adoption of the law of Ukraine “National Security of Ukraine” (2018) and the Alliance' s decision to recognize Ukraine as a partner with enhanced capabilities.

Struggling against Russian aggression, the Ukraine — NATO cooperation intensified to support the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine and restore its defence capabilities. It was characterized by launching new projects and initiatives, in particular, the establishment of trust funds, the allocation of additional contributions to existing programmes, a growth of the scope and volume of military cooperation with NATO in such areas as defence planning, command, control and communication system, cyber security, medical support. NATO allies provided treatment and rehabilitation of Ukrainian military personnel who were injured during the Anti-Terrorist Operation (later — Joint Forces Operation) in the East of Ukraine (Spivrobotnyts-

vo Ukraina — NATO u viiskovii sferi. 2021).

There were also other changes and transformations, especially at the Ministry of Defence level. In 2015, the **MoD Directorate for Military Policy, Strategic Planning and International Cooperation** was transformed into the **MoD Directorate for International Defence Cooperation**. However, in 2016, the latter was renamed again and got its former name — the **MoD Directorate for Military Policy, Strategic Planning and International Cooperation**. In 2019, it became the **MoD Department for International Cooperation**, in 2020 — the MoD Directorate for International Defence. In 2015, the area of military and technical cooperation was separated again, and MoD Department for Military and Technical Cooperation was established. In 2016, it was transformed into the Department for Military and Technical Policy and Development of Armament and Military Equipment of MoD of Ukraine⁷.

At the General Staff level, the task of managing national contingents was transferred to the new entity — the Joint Operations Headquarters of the UAF instead of the UAF Main Command Centre⁸.

The following changes took place in 2020. The UAF GS Main Department for Military Cooperation and Peacekeeping Operations was transformed

into the Main Department for Military Cooperation and Verification (two directions, military cooperation and verification activities, were united in one). Later the Joint Forces Command succeeded the Joint Operations Headquarters of the UAF and became in charge of organisation and support of UAF' s peace support activities⁹.

These structures of military cooperation ensured the existence of a constant military and political dialogue with NATO, the EU, the OSCE and key partners of Ukraine, supported the training of UAF personnel and units provided by foreign training missions in Ukraine. They attracted international technical assistance and launched projects aimed at developing the UAF capabilities and increasing the state's defence capabilities, facilitated practical steps in accordance the Ukraine' s status of a partner with enhanced capabilities, ensured the participation of national contingents and national personnel in international peace support and security operations.

However, the delegation of authority with respect of implementation of measures and tasks of military cooperation (by military direction) from the UAF GS Main Department for Military Cooperation and Peacekeeping Operations to General Staff' s structural units, the Commands of UAF Services and Branches — did not allow to achieve full-scale implementation of international cooperation objectives.

⁷ Popko, S. M. *Personal Archive*.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

In retrospect, a number of steps had been made in the last 28 years by the MoD and the UAF to promote the international military cooperation aiming at a full membership in NATO and the EU as well as to contribute to peace and stability in Europe.

Immediately after the declaration of independence, Ukraine joined the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and was the first of the former Soviet republics to join the PfP programme launched by NATO, and further demonstrated its ability and willingness to be a capable contributor to the joint efforts in order to ensure collective security by sending its contingents and personnel to participate in Alliance' s operations, gaining interoperability with NATO forces by participating in joint exercises and other Alliance' s training programmes.

The main achievements of the MoD and the UAF in the area of international military cooperation during that time mentioned below should be emphasised:

- maintaining the permanent military and political cooperation with NATO, the EU, the OSCE, development of equal, mutually beneficial and constructive relations with other states;

- gathering international support to Ukraine to oppose armed aggression, restore the territorial integrity of the state, protect its sovereignty and inviolability;

- deepening cooperation with military components of the EU and NATO in order to meet the criteria for membership;

- participation in multinational military formations (EU tactical battle groups, NATO Response Force), multinational exercises and joint training of troops (forces), as well as in international peace support and security operations in accordance with Ukraine' s international commitments;

- ensuring Ukraine' s participation in the activities of regional security associations (organizations);

- ensuring UAF representation in multinational strategic and operational level headquarters (Ukraine-NATO cooperation in military sphere);

- attracting international technical assistance and launching projects aimed at the development of defence capabilities of UAF and the state.

The MoD and the UAF' s many-year- experience in international cooperation allowed to outline a number of **key is- sues**:

- neglecting or untimely response of the part of MoD and UAF GS international cooperation bodies to reasonable appeals of foreign partners to improve practical cooperation damaged the image of the UAF as a “partner”;

- all levels leaders' misunderstanding of the role of the subordinate structures in the implementation of international cooperation efforts, their attempts to shift the responsibility for these efforts to the international military cooperation bodies led to a decrease in cooperation effectiveness;

- low level of language training of personnel (English proficiency level) that

affected the level of staff participation in international cooperation activities and the implementation of the acquired knowledge in everyday activities.

The intensity of contacts, events and activities related to international coop-

eration is the basis of the periodization of international cooperation of the MoD and the UAF in the period from 1991 to 2019, proposed by the authors (*Fig. 1*).

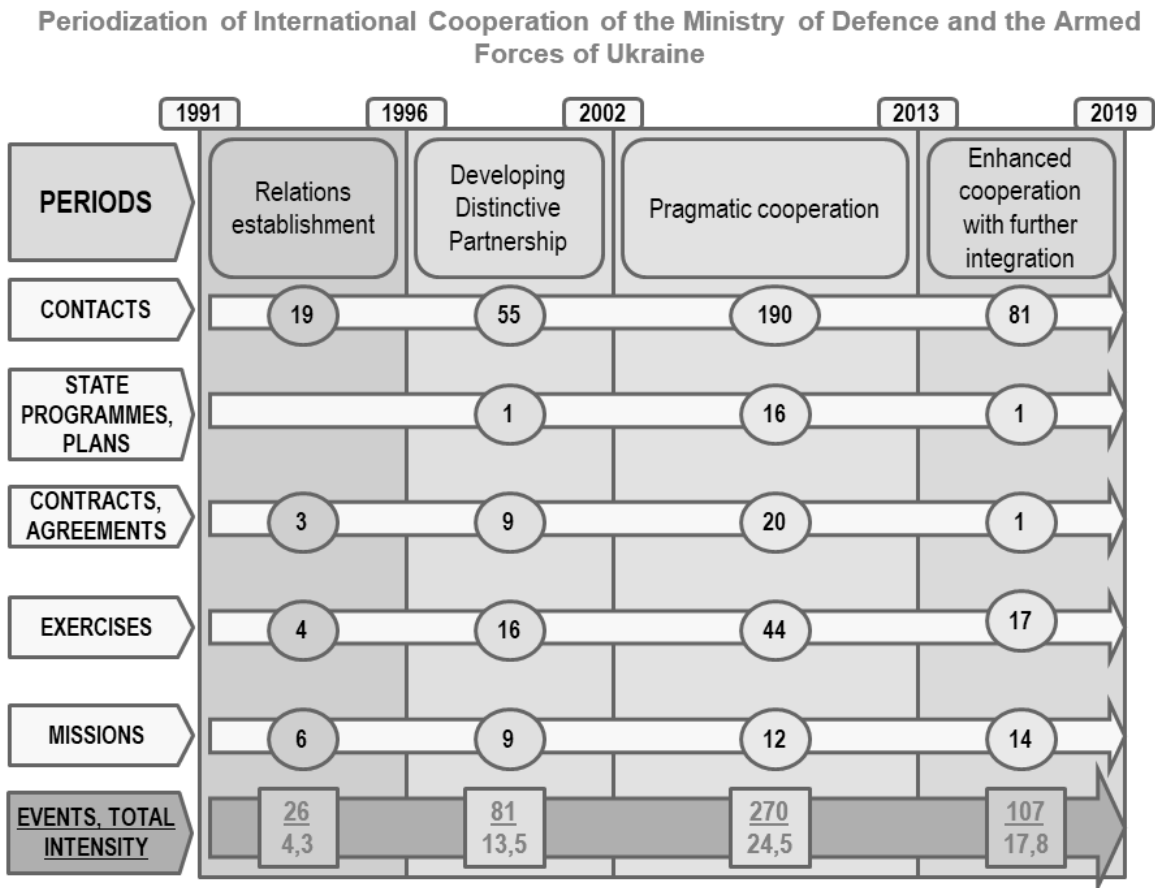


Fig. 1. Periodization of International Cooperation of the Ministry of Defence and the Armed Forces of Ukraine

The analysis of intensity of international cooperation for the period of 1991–2019 showed that about one hundred mutual visits of various levels were made during this time. There were 71 meetings of the NATO — Ukraine Commission, 50 meetings of joint working groups and committees of NATO, 26 meetings of the NATO Council, more than ten consultations on

different levels, a total of 345 contacts at different levels. 18 state programmes and plans (State Programmes and Plans, 2019) were adopted. There were 33 international treaties and agreements signed, as well as 81 joint international exercises conducted and 36 international missions performed, in particular: 22 operations (61%) — under the auspices of the UN; 10 (28%) — NATO; one op-

eration (3%) — EU; two (5%) OSCE; one (3%) — CIS. Ukraine has participated in eight NATO summits.

The dynamics of international cooperation shows that the number and variety of contacts and various activities has been constantly increasing.

In the period of inception (1991–1996), the intensity of relations counted 4–5 contacts per year; during the formation of a special partnership (1997–2002) — 13.5; the period of pragmatic cooperation (2003–2013) was the most intense (despite the fact that Ukraine's political vector changed dramatically to the opposite). The intensity of contacts during V. Yushchenko's presidency was 20 contacts per year, and 38 during the presidency of V. Yanukovich. It makes almost 25 contacts and events per year on average during that period. In the period of increased cooperation followed by integration (2014–2019), following the beginning of the Russian aggression against Ukraine, the intensity decreased, but remained quite high – almost 18 contacts and events per year.

The analysis of organizational changes in the bodies of international cooperation showed that since 1997, there has been the division of areas of international cooperation between the MoD and the General Staff of the UAF. The bodies themselves have been repeatedly reformed. Within the MoD, the structures responsible for military-political cooperation were transformed ten times, for military-technical cooperation — seven times, and both

directions were united in one body — once in that period. Within the General Staff, the structures responsible for military cooperation were transformed ten times, for verification activities — three times, and it was twice that these areas of activity were combined into one management body.

It should be noted that verification activity is a specific type of military-political cooperation that belongs to the military-political sphere (MoD's realm), however it was the UAF General Staff that assumed the responsibility.

Conclusions from this study and the prospects for further research

Thus, the analysis of changes in the organizational structure of international cooperation bodies shows that the changes took place due to the nature and conditions of international relations, the expansion of cooperation between Ukraine and NATO, other security organisations (EU, OSCE, UN), that, in turn, led to additional, often new, subdivisions of the MoD and the UAF international cooperation bodies, and a larger number of their staff.

Certain changes in the names of divisions reflected the need to specify and emphasise the tasks of international cooperation, as well as to increase the level of responsibility for the fulfilling of international cooperation tasks in each of the areas.

A steady trend in the transformation of international cooperation shows the increase in the number of structural



units and expanding the range of tasks being assigned to them.

The next trend confirms the desire of a clear delineation of functions and areas of responsibility between the MoD and the UAF. The MoD is supposed to be responsible for military-political and military-technical cooperation, while the General Staff of the UAF — for military cooperation and verification activities. The UAF Joint Forces Command controls the UAF peace support activities.

The practice of combining various activities in one body, such as the MoD Department for Military Policy, Strate-

gic Planning and International Cooperation (2013) (military-political and military-technical cooperation) and the UAF GS Centre for Military Cooperation and Verification (2002) (military cooperation, peacekeeping and verification activities) did not justify itself.

In general, it should be noted that during the years of independence, a viable system of international cooperation has been created in the UAF — the system which has responded to changes in the political situation, provided intensive contacts in various fields and areas, and contributed to realization of the UAF's potential.

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ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЯ ОРГАНІВ МІЖНАРОДНОГО СПІВРОБІТНИЦТВА МІНІСТЕРСТВА ОБОРОНИ УКРАЇНИ ТА ЗБРОЙНИХ СИЛ УКРАЇНИ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – є розкриття еволюції створення системи органів міжнародного співробітництва Міністерства оборони та Збройних Сил України від її зародження до президентських виборів в Україні в 2019 р. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, авторської об'єктивності, також на використання загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, порівняння, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-статистичний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що у статті вперше розкриваються еволюція та основні етапи розвитку органів міжнародного співробітництва Міністерства оборони України та Збройних Сил України від часу їх створення до виборів Президента України у 2019 році. Обґрунтована необхідність створення системи органів міжнародного співробітництва, показаний склад структурних підрозділів, надається характеристика та спрямованість основних завдань, особливості їх виконання, розкрита обумовленість їх трансформації. На підставі аналізу кількості контактів різних видів і форм, прийнятих державних програм і планів, підписаних міжнародних договорів та угод, проведених спільних навчань та участі у миротворчих місіях запропонована періодизація інтенсивності міжнародного співробітництва. **Висновки.** Аналіз організаційних змін в органах міжнародного співробітництва показав, що з 1997 р. відбувся розподіл напрямів міжнародного співробітництва між Міністерством оборони та Генеральним штабом ЗС України, а самі органи неодноразово реформувалися. В цілому за роки незалежності у Збройних Силах України була створена дієздатна система органів міжнародного співробітництва, яка своєчасно реагувала на зміни політичної обстановки, забезпечувала інтенсивність контактів у різних сферах та напрямках, сприяла реалізації потенціалу Збройних Сил України.

Ключові слова: міжнародне, воєнно-політичне, військово-технічне, військово-співробітництво, верифікаційна діяльність, центр, департамент.

