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**IMPACT OF NATO VALUES ON THE ACCESSION OF NEW  
COUNTRIES: EXAMPLE OF UKRAINE**

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## **ABSTRACT**

From the beginning of the NATO Alliance, it has been argued that values have big influence on members and aspiring members. Ukraine was chosen as the example country to test that. Because due to the continuous aggression from the Russian side and a big influence of Western countries, the country lacks the ability to determine its identity and overall policy direction. Moreover, NATO sees Ukraine as one of the effective contributors to the maintenance of common security and defence. The paper will focus on establishing the overall relationship between NATO and Ukraine, how has NATO influenced the country's performance in the international arena and the ability of Ukraine to effectively adhere to established norms and values of the military alliance. The paper will be mainly based on qualitative research, analysing the existing NATO Strategic Concept and enlargement process, legal documents, relevant articles and expert interviews conducted by the author.

**Keywords:** Ukraine, NATO, impact of values, norms, accession

## INTRODUCTION

The devastated post-Cold War Europe was desperately looking for an answer to how to build and maintain a strong, stable and united Europe. As a result, major political actors started to define “security” as something that must have a close relationship with “democracy” and thus launched several projects aimed at developing and strengthening democratic institutions in Central and Eastern European Countries. Since the beginning of the new century, major institutions and politicians of the Western European security community have largely contributed to increasing and developing democracy as something that sets the overall foreign and security policy. (Lucarelli 2002, 4)

Ukraine has always been closely entwined with Russia, because of their historical background, economy, and culture. Ethnic Russians living in Eastern-Ukraine tend to have a negative attitude towards the integration into European Union and NATO, comparing to the western part of Ukraine, by claiming that it could jeopardize a long ago constructed good relationship with Russia. Thus, ever since the Ukrainian independence in August 1991, its main preoccupation and challenge has been directed towards searching for its identity and security orientation, as the pressure and feeling of continuous competition between Russia and NATO has only increased in recent years. (Simon 2009)

Meanwhile, the views of Kiev on NATO’s enlargement have brought lots of hope, but also a great amount of fear. Ukrainian minister of foreign affairs has once said: “NATO and Russia are rivals, whereas NATO and Ukraine are not” (Asmus 2005, 164). Ukrainian officials have supported NATO-Ukrainian alliance as the main counterweight towards the Russian pressure. Moreover, Ukraine has argued that they are not afraid to let NATO get close to their borders, as NATO has largely helped Ukraine to become an independent and sovereign country. On the contrary, legal membership would strengthen their connections with the West and would encourage Ukraine to become a full member of the European Union. Though Kiev had positive attitude towards Western values, they began to worry about a tepid standpoint about Ukrainian independence and that their security could be sacrificed for Moscow’s acceptance on NATO’s enlargement. (Asmus 2005, 164)

Considering all of the above, the main argument of this paper is that NATO-originated values, when considering the organization's perspective enlargement, are considerably influencing the Ukrainian overall policy orientation and are shaping its identity. Proceeding from the main argument, the three main research questions are stated:

1. What are the core values that the NATO is built upon?
2. How and why do those values influence Ukrainian policy orientation and formation of its identity?
3. Whether it is possible that Ukraine, as not a legal member of NATO, effectively adapts the shared values and strategies of the alliance?

To interpret the problem the paper will give an overview of the values that NATO is currently promoting and how those values affect new potential members of the alliance. It will represent the main international relation theory that the overall interaction between countries are now built upon. As the current topic has not yet been studied, the main focus of the paper will be mainly based on empirical studies and the analysis of existing literature, documents, and articles. The thesis will bring out what the importance of the values promoted by NATO is, how much have the values directly influenced Ukrainian values, policy orientation, shaped its identity, and integrated to the country's daily life. To disclose the topic several interrelated patterns, as the Ukrainian overall policy orientation and its adherence to the commonly established NATO values and strategies, and the overall capacity of the country to effectively integrate, and maintain those values, will be examined. Moreover, to have primary source data, an interview with a local public figure, and an influential expert in NATO topic was conducted.

The paper consists of three chapters. The first chapter will introduce an international relations theory the overall interaction between the states is built upon. The chapter will mainly depend on the researches and thoughts of different sociologist and political scientist and will try to demonstrate how values influence the relationship in the international system. The second chapter is focused on determining the main values that NATO is built upon, through analysing the existing Strategic Concept, and the main aspects of the enlargement process through the conducted interview and by analysing the thoughts and ideas of NATO's leading figures. The third and the last chapter is aimed towards uncovering the Ukrainian position towards NATO. The Chapter will focus on taking a closer look on the country's current policy orientation and thus will be trying to establishing the overall attitude towards the alliance and therefore the impact of the NATO values on Ukraine could be evaluated.

# **1. THEORETICAL BASIS OF VALUES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

The coming chapter will focus on the thesis's overall theoretical framework. Therefore, the paper is trying to establish the relationship between values and international relations. The interconnection between values and policy-orientation will help one to understand the principles of policy-making in the local as well as on international level. Moreover, the theory on which the nowadays international relations are built upon will be brought out.

## **1.1. Constructivism**

Constructivism is built upon an emphasis on the importance of normative as well as material structures and the role of values and identity in shaping political orientation and the mutual relationship between different actors and structures (Reus Smit, 2005). The first attempts of constructivism advocated the predominance of their own understanding of international politics, meanwhile forcing rationalism to move beyond the academic understanding towards the substantive analysis of international relations. Moreover, constructivism argues that no matter who interacts in international sphere, their behaviour is always guided by normative and ideational structures. (Reus Smit, 2005)

Our everyday life, behaviour understanding and ideological concerns are all built upon our values, ethnicity and culture. Therefore, the main argument of the constructivist theory is that values, culture and beliefs are the main patterns the nowadays international relations have been constructed on. In the international arena constructivism tries to involve all the potential partners to the common decision making or actions, meanwhile allowing all the sides to promote the national interest, values and identity. Therefore, its mission is to focus on the specific cultural, historical, and political aspects that are promoted by a certain group of people or a country as a whole, and study how those affect or improve international relations. (Constructivism in International Relations) Thus, the aim is to engage different leaders, groups and states that are able to pursue their ideology and values, and meanwhile contribute to the social welfare in the international arena. There are two reasons why they attach such importance to these structures.

Constructivists argue that ‘material resources only acquire meaning for human action through the structure of shared knowledge in which they are embedded’. (Wendt 1995, 73)

Norms and ethnicity and their contribution to the politics and international relations have been a central study over a thousand of years. It has not always worked towards the common cooperation and peace, but in turn through the wars people tried to pursue their interests and values, meanwhile the biggest aim of the theory has never changed. (Constructivism in International Relations) Though, people have promoted their interest and values through different patterns and methods, society as a whole has taken a big step forward in making international relations more democratic and less bloody. Thus, constructivism has been crucial in forming relations between countries as it highlights and emphasises the principles and norms of each of the actors in the international sphere. (McClelland, Pfaltzgraff 2016) Moreover, constructivism does not seek to become an overarching theory, but it rather promotes the notion that reality or interests are socially constructed, thus the values and ideas that a group of human beings represent are shaped by their social ties and identities. Constructivists also stress the importance of normative and ideational structures because these are thought to shape the social identities of political actors. (Reus Smit, 2005)

## **1.2. The origin and the impact of values on international relations**

The most characteristic feature of the modern world is the increasingly intensified interpretation of the goals and values of various countries. Psychology argues that the notion ‘value’ is used to refer to a ‘modality of selective orientation’ which is further linked to individual preferences, motives, needs and attitudes (Deth, Scrabrough 1995, 22). J.K Folsom noted that nowadays it is very common and likely to use the term ‘value’ as something that covers general patterns of human behaviour, society, culture, physical environment and or their interrelationship. Moreover, values have come of age. The concept has become a stable and staying power as it started to occupy the international sphere and therefore having a bigger weight (Schien 2004, 17). Meanwhile values and norms at the local and national level are more important than ever before, as it helps to understand the origin and the intergroup conflict.

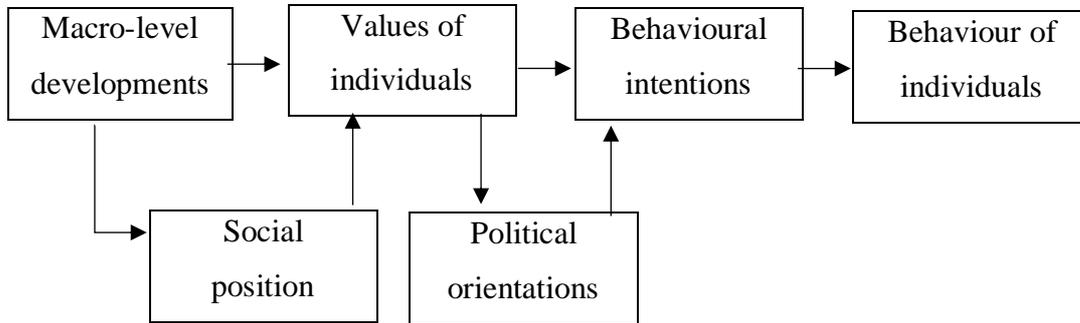
Though the notion has been changed and modified depending on the era and period of the time, it was discussed that the clarity has not subsequently been achieved. German sociologist Rüdiger

Lautmann, in his publication, resulted in 180 different definitions of the term values. John McLaughlin in turn has argued that there are three distinctive features in determining the term values: 1) values cannot be observed directly 2) values have cognitive, affective and connotative aspects 3) values do not operate independently from biological organism or social environment. (Deth, Scrabrough 1995, 25) Although McLaughlin argues that values have affective and cognitive aspect, which further unites it with the other aspect of attitude, it is not supported by a great number of philosophers and sociologists and leaves the discussion open. Thus, the aspect refers to values but does not amount to criteria for distinguishing the value concept from other concepts. (Deth, Scrabrough 1995, 25)

McLaughlin's idea that values and attitude are two interrelated patterns was also proven by Milton Rokeach (1979) in his book "UNDERSTANDING HUMAN VALUES: Individual and Societal". His main argument is that nowadays values serve as a kind of standard that people acquire and learn to employ during their whole life. Through values people become to have a certain attitude towards different object and situations. (Rokeach, 1979, 48) Moreover, values have evolved into a certain kind of standard, that guides people in specific situations, they guide people to take various decisions, on social, ideological, political, and religious matters. Milton Rokeach also brings out the fact that people are employing values as standards, that guide our conscious and unconscious justifications and decision-makings, and to rationalize our thoughts and judgements. Thus, the ultimate objective of values, is to serve as roadmap in guiding people to satisfying their needs and wants. (Rokeach, 1979, 48)

Proceeding from the Milton Rokeach main interpretation of values, it is necessary to take a closer look at the Jan W. van Deth and Elinor Scrabrough (1995) scheme where they bring and highlight many of the patterns and interpretations in value research. As Table 1 represents, they argue that values and political orientation have a meaningful ratio in determining the behavioural intentions and individual behaviour. The second assumption is that persons' values are highly dependent on their social environment and their social position in that environment. Thus, these two assumptions provide to construct connections between three analytic levels: macro-level circumstances, individual orientation, and individual behaviour.

Table 1. Analytical scheme for analysing the impact of values



Source: Deth, Scrabrough 1995, 6

The above scheme is a straightforward explanation of the value operation in political science and political orientations. Macro level development, equalized to international relations, has a huge impact on the values of individuals which are further determined by the behavioural intentions and behaviour of individuals. Moreover, macro level development has a direct influence on the social position and that the shift of it may result in the shift in the social position, further resulting in the change in the values of individuals. The political orientation in turn is shaped by the values of individuals and has an impact on the behavioural intentions followed by the alteration of the individual behaviour. This leads to the closed circle as one step is preceded by another one, following with the change in the second one, meanwhile influencing the third aspect. Thus, the same method is applied to understand the international relations and behavioural patterns.

Following from the scheme, a deeper and more precise conclusion of the impact of values on the international relations could be drawn. Value change has been taught to have a huge influence on the relationship between people and political system and orientation. (Deth, Scrabrough 1995, 358) Values are often used as an adequate standard to assess the political situations and objectives, as value plays the key role in determining the level of political trust or distrust. Those ones are further shaped by the trust the government acquires from the people and governmental actions on the other hand. The more the government adheres to the people’s values and needs, the more it has transparency in decision making, the more people will trust the government. (*Ibid*). “At the simplest, most direct level, shifts in value orientations are seen to induce change in the modest and

levels of political involvement. In a more complex way value shift may modify the nature of support and legitimacy.” (*Ibid.*).

Though former history and nowadays world have shown importance of values in politics, Milton Rokeach argued that value impact, and engaging value aspect into the international arena could not always be as beneficial as we might think. He argued that though values give us a certain amount of flexibility in social and political structures, the degree of value consensus may be problematic. (Rokeach 1979, 45) Author highlights the importance of stability, authority and stratification, as it may run out, that the most crucial aspects towards establishing consensus, is not the awareness of the agreement on values, but the awareness and knowledge on beliefs, such as the kind of power that exists, how it is implemented, who are responsible for what, what are the biggest aims towards the authorities are working and so on. (Rokeach 1979, 45)

The biggest claim of the symbolic politics is that profound values have a larger influence on preferences than the objective cost of the policy (Chong 2000, 21). Two researchers Donald Kinder and David Sears argue that self-interest is usually reinforced by a long-held, emotionally powerful predisposition (*Ibid.*, 22). Therefore, people gain predispositions, as racial stereotypes, or nationalism, in their early stages of life that in the future has a big influence on their political views. The perception and assessment of political events are an emotional response to hidden characters that represent the attitude towards the specific object that were formalized in the early stages of life. (*Ibid.*, 22) Moreover, Gusfield has argued that agitation and struggle of the Temperance followers has been directed towards establishing their norms and values, as a sign of a social and political superiority (*Ibid.*, 21). Nienke de Deugd (2007) in his research “UKRAINE AND NATO: The Policy and Practice of Co-operating with the Euro-Atlantic Security Community” argues that overall it is norms and identities that direct the country’s behaviour, interest and therefore its action. Peter Katzenstein (1996) argues that: “With regard to the development of a security community, this implies that a group of countries will only act in a similar way on the material level, when they display a certain degree of similarity on the ideational level.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Katzenstein, P. *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, New York, 1996

The conclusion all of the above would be that, values are deeply rooted in our behaviour and shape the understanding through which we recognize the current world. Moreover, the norms and beliefs have been studied so thoroughly that it led to the formation of separate ideology, nowadays called as Constructivism. Thereby the theory argues that the importance of normative and ideological structures is high as they shape the political orientation and actors. The next chapter will bring out the importance of values in maintaining the stability and security of such organisation as NATO.

## **2. NATO VALUES**

The first chapter intended to open up the value concept and its importance in international relations and country's policy making. Thus, the further chapter will discuss how the biggest military organisation, NATO, was born and what are the values they are currently promoting. To establish the impact of NATO values on Ukraine, first of all it is necessary to understand the NATO strategic concept 2010, what the member-states have determined and its role in guiding the everyday life of the partner countries. Moreover, the enlargement process of the concept will be researched more deeply, as it provides a specified program for the new potential members.

### **2.1. The beginning of the alliance**

NATO Secretary General, Jens Stoltenberg, delivered a speech in National Parliamentary Library in Tbilisi, Georgia. During his speech he noted several times that the beginning of the alliance marked the fundamental values the organization is now built upon. In 1949 twelve nations came together to create an organization, in the shadows of the horror of the WWII. The common security strategy based on the common values was seen crucial in building up the EU. Thus, the founding nations had to defend the fundamentals what unite so many countries- democracy, freedom of speech, freedom of media, independence of the jurisdiction, protection of minorities. (NATO's Enduring Mission...2016)

Dennis Chong (2000) mentioned in his book that people gain a certain way of world conception in the early stages of life, and therefore it is assumed that it has a big influence in the formation of values. As a result, it is believed that in the future it will have a big impact on the overall policy orientation. Considering the above it could be deduced that the beginning of the alliance had a strong moral obligation as the biggest NATO promoters had to raise up a new generation who would believe, protect and promote those values, thus to ensure the longevity and the overall might of the organization. As a result, to remain relevant enough, from the very beginning, it was necessary to show the ability to change people's understanding as the most important value the 'common defence', meant a commitment to the organization, from the government as well as from the civil society.

At the beginning of the Alliance and after the Cold War era the organization had a grand strategy in promoting the liberal norms and values to the former USSR territories and to the Central and Eastern Europe. The second grand strategy was the assistance of the Western countries in matters as the necessity of maintaining international system of collective security. Therefore, NATO served as trainer in defence reforms. Despite that the beginning of the Alliance did not provide any grand strategy, the focus was set on acknowledging the necessity of the changes.

After the last biggest devastating war, World War II, especially between the years 1945-1949, Western European countries, with North-America, were confronted by the strong need of economical restructuration. Moreover, they were anxiously following the USSR expansion policy and the main methods used to implement it (NATO käsiraamat 2001, 29). The old European Union countries became to worry as Soviet Union did not intend to lessen its aggression and was moreover planning to maintain its military power and leadership, though Western Europe decreased its protection facilities and demobilized its forces (NATO käsiraamat 2001, 29). In addition to that, the statements that Soviet Union Communist Party had conveyed showed the obviousness that the requirements the United Nation had promoted, that time, were not enough to ensure the independence and sovereignty of democratic states (*Ibid.*, 29). Rise of the undemocratic states and promotion of undemocratic government reforms, suppression of human rights in many countries in the Middle-and East-Europe were bringing even more fear (*Ibid.*, 29).

The events that had continuously followed World War II, in years 1947-1949, had an extensive effect on the formation of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. The resistance between the Western European countries, the United States and USSR, began as soon as the German forces were forced to surrender. (Formation of NATO) The Soviet Union was eager to reinstall its communist power in many areas it had taken from the Nazi. Meanwhile U.S. and its Western allies dramatically started to explore ways to prevent further expansion of communist ideology on the European continent (*Ibid.*). In 1947, U.S. leaders came up with a new diplomatic initiative that afforded democratic governments the use of a special aid in order to help them to recover their after-war infrastructures and economies (*Ibid.*). The process turned wild in June 1948, when USSR blocked the access to their part of Berlin, that was divided by the Allies, the United States and the Soviets, and kindly asked them to leave the current sector of the city (*Ibid.*).

Following all the previous events, the negotiations between the devastated Western-Europe and United States and Canada, for the creation of the common North-Atlantic alliance continued. The

main principles, that were promoted and advocated, were the common security guarantee and mutual obligation between North-America and Europe (NATO käsiraamat 2001, 30). Thus, to have a more pragmatic cooperation, the North Atlantic Treaty was created on the mutual agreement between the member states, where every new member can become a voluntary participator, after the corresponding negotiations and procedures (NATO käsiraamat 2001, 30). Proceeding from the above the main security tasks were set. The prevailing principles of NATO were the assurance of independence and security with all political and military means according to the North-Atlantic treaty and the main rules of the UN organisation. (*Ibid.*, 30) From the very beginning the organisation has worked towards ensuring fair and permanent constitutional states based on the common democratic values (*Ibid.*, 30).

As a result of the continuous aggression and pressure from the USSR towards the Western countries it is evident that the first goals and objectives NATO was then promoting were strongly directed towards the military and defence issues. It largely lacked the political interoperability between the member countries, the further enlargement beyond the Euro-Atlantic area, and sharing the necessary values and norms with third countries. Though the values and norms were included into the legal framework of the organisation, they are now believed to be vague and inconsistent, as it lacked the mutual benefit cooperation and relationship, strong political engagement and value interpretation in the governmental decisions. Moreover, it is argued that the most characteristic feature of nowadays politics is the increase of interpretation of different preferences, motives, and attitudes of various of countries in common policy making.

For now, it is evident that after the World War II and even more after the Cold War NATO faced a big moral dilemma. It was no doubt that from the one side the former allies would not pose any serious threat towards each other, but from the other side there was a new serious aggressor coming. Thus, to continue to contribute to the common European security, for the organisation, it was essentially relevant to find its identity and initiate a new wave of transformations, by deepening and integrating the common values as much as possible, thus to be prepared to tackle the potential and actual threats inside and outside its borders. Moreover, as the old strategies and goals largely only included the aspect of common security and democracy, the process of transformation also had to include enlargement beyond its borders.

In the broadest sense it has developed into a culture of civil society on the defence and security issues, in a narrow one- a politico-military culture of dominance, of the military and civil servants,

who work in the defence and security sector (Україна - НАТО 2018). As the Cold War left Europe devastated and in ruins, NATO had to serve as a saving boat, to strengthen the union's stability, sovereignty and democracy. Therefore, the Alliance became to promote the liberal-democratic way of governance, by aiming towards establishing and maintaining the rule of law, respect for human rights and dignity, and transparency of defence system. (Україна - НАТО 2018)

## **2.2. NATO strategic concept**

NATO's Strategic Concepts have been the key elements in determining the organization's overall structure and guiding the organization's everyday life. Therefore, it has been classified as an essential military document, and therefore outside of the public sector. Since the year 1991 there was no doubt that the concept had to be published. The year 1991 was revolutionary as NATO's Strategic Concept no longer had only the responsibility to guide the organization in military means, but also to have political and military missions, which in fact are the key aspects and tools for good public diplomacy. (Aybet, Moore 2010, 35)

NATO standards are defined by the concrete operational, logistical, organisational, administrative values and strategies which represent the Alliance's demands, called STANAG, which meanwhile hides the pragmatic question of interoperability, i.e. the compatibility with the Alliance of Defence Culture to protect and defend the democratic values and ways of maintaining and protecting it (Україна – НАТО... 2018). Any state wishing to join some specific program of the NATO organization, must sign a legal document defining the borders of the cooperation. It gives the opportunity to establish the goals, and values the partnership is built upon. Moreover, as Ruslan Miroshnichenko indicated in an interview to the author: "The document had to prove the commitment of the state to follow the principles of international law, the ability to contribute to the fulfilment of the UN Charters and adhering to the values and norms of the declaration of human rights to refrain from territorial conflicts, or using force against other sovereign states, respect the existing borders and contribute to the peaceful solving of the global defence question." Largely the strategic initiative of NATO involved the persuasion of the former enemies to integrate the above-mentioned responsibilities, which meanwhile marked the end of the Cold War (Miroshnichenko 2018)

At the peak of the new security concept NATO has a clear moral obligation to have a clear vision of the common transatlantic security and of tools to promote and strengthen the organization's ability to react. Moreover, a mission for maintaining common Euro-Atlantic norms and values for the effective cooperation between the institution, especially with the European Union, must be sustained. Thus, to maintain and propagate its values and norms it has nowadays, as those ones are now believed to act as a pattern showing the overall policy goals and orientation and fulfil the necessary action of being the main security provider in Europe, NATO's Strategic Concept must act as a kind of tool in uniting the various values, policy orientation, and visions, with the overall security mission of the organization. It can no longer act as a pure technocratic body.

NATO's strategic concept is a document that defines the main tasks and objectives of the organisation, meanwhile gives the top-level political and military guidelines, thus to ensure the achievement of the set goals (NATO käsiraamat 2001, 45). It has now stepped into a new era, as the organisation has become an essential source of certainty in an unstable and unpredictable society (NATO 2020 2010, 5). Concept defines the main approaches for the 21<sup>st</sup> century security, by reaffirming the importance of the current organisation, the transatlantic connection and the maintenance of the military power in Europe (NATO käsiraamat 2001, 45). The goals and approaches described and defined in the concept, by all the member states, set the alliance's main objectives and tasks, moreover the main strategic perspectives are compared with the developing strategic environment and main security risks in today's world (*Ibid.*, 43). In the concept member states have closely focused on the specific elements that may shape the stability and security of the organisation, especially the European Security and Defence Identity, conflict prevention and crisis management, partnership, cooperation, and dialogue (*Ibid.*, 43).

The above-mentioned strategies and approaches were all used as a foundation for the guidelines for the country's military preparation. Moreover, it enables countries to reconfirm the bond between members of the alliance, to defend each-other against an attack, including new or potential threats against the citizens of the member states. (Active engagement... 2010, 4) The main strategic goal of the alliance has not changed over time, and still reinforces the importance of unparalleled community of freedom, peace, security and shared values (*Ibid.*, 4). The core principles and tasks of the alliance are largely based on the Charter of the United Nations and Washington Treaty, which states that the Security Council is essential for the maintenance of the international peace and security (*Ibid.*, 6). Therefore, the main democratic principles that brought the organisation together still remain accurate and trustworthy (NATO 2020 2010, 5). Thus, the

main values are promoting and encouraging respect for human dignity and rights, and perpetual freedom for all without any discrimination concerning race, sex, language or religion (United Nation: Chapter I). Moreover, the concept is built upon the principle of the necessity of the indivisible partnership for the preservation of peace and security and the defence solidarity on the shared purpose and fair-burden sharing (Active engagement... 2010, 6). A document created by the NATO researchers in 2004 about the organisation's renewal "Uuenev NATO" (2004) states that further concepts, strategies and principles must consider the necessity of involving global contexts as terrorism, sabotage, organised crime and the prevention of availability of the essential resources.

In order to ensure and maintain a stable security in the area the Alliance has to be responsible for promoting the three essential core tasks, all of which will effectively contribute to the common safeguard and will act in accordance with the international law. (Active engagement... 2010, 7) A collective defence is the basic idea the organisation is built upon as members are responsible for assisting each other against the attack, relying on the principles described in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty. NATO and its members must deter and prevent any emerging security threats that may affect the stability and fundamental security of member states' individuals and Allies as a whole (*Ibid.*, 7). NATO has come up with the detailed action plan to assist and employ the relevant political tools to correctly advocate the real and potential crisis that may have an influence on the maintaining Alliance's overall security. The policy of the organisation is to act and use appropriate tools even before they grow into an actual conflict and will have a yet bigger effect on the Alliance's security. Further, the alliance plays a crucial role in helping to consolidate and manage the post-conflict territories, if it contributes to the maintenance of the common transatlantic security. (*Ibid.*, 8) The third aspect of NATO's essential core tasks is the cooperative security. The organisation is influenced by and in turn can affect the political and military progress outside its territory. The Alliance will continue to use the open-door tool in order to enhance the international security by contributing to the mutual partnership with other appropriate countries and organisations. (*Ibid.*, 8)

The above-mentioned bond, common values and defence and core tasks do not give countries a unique opportunity to assist each-other against any attack, but moreover it has a rationality in it. As Dennis Chong (2000) in his book "Rationality Lives: Norms and Values in Politics and Society" argues that everyone of us is rational in the sense that he or she does the best for him or herself, within the unique understanding of how world is build up. The author moreover argues

that people will not cooperate unless they assume that current action or understanding are coherent and will be mutually beneficial. When contributing to the preservation of environment, national and international defence, group members will benefit only when all rational individuals will actively contribute and do their share. (Chong 2000, 15) The benefit that one active individual will gain when contributing to the organisation, is seen inadequate comparing to the social benefit. Thus, NATO's Strategic Concept had a strong responsibility in promoting the common values, thus to influence every single person in the targeted country, as collective and international problems are usually addressed by directing the structure towards the individual benefit.

The first NATO Strategic Concept 2010 is trying to describe the Security Environment. It largely argues that today the Euro-Atlantic region is largely stable and the potential urge of the threat against the organisation is extremely low, though the conventional hazard cannot be undermined. (Active engagement... 2010, 7) The acquisition and modernisation of nuclear power and other weapons of mass destruction results in ruining international stability and fast prosperity. Moreover, terrorism has become a large issue for NATO as it promotes a direct influence on the health and welfare on the citizens of its member countries. (*Ibid.*, 11) The main environmental and resource scarcity, as health risks, climate change, water constraints, and the raise of the necessity for energy, will play a crucial role in the future in determining the organisation's strategies and values (*Ibid.*, 13).

The North Atlantic Treaty signed in the year 1949 argues that NATO should not only be based on promoting the security environment, but also brings out the next core task that NATO focuses on - the defence and deterrence, thus the current principle focuses on the responsibility of the protection of its Alliance and territory. Washington Treaty's Article 5 states that an armed attack against one or more members of the Alliance is considered as an attack against the whole organisations. (The North Atlantic Treaty 1949) The overall strategy of NATO's deterrence is based on the appropriate mix of nuclear and conventional capabilities. Thus, to ensure the absolute maintenance of security in the allies' territory, strategic nuclear forces are provided for the member states. (Active engagement... 2010, 14) Moreover, allies have come up with specific tools to ensure the capability of the partners to defend themselves and their territories. It includes a variety of nuclear and conventional forces, necessary trainings, collective defence planning summits, development of the citizens to defend themselves and the continuation of the renewal of NATO strategies. (*Ibid.*, 18)

From the very beginning NATO has been an organisation that had to have a strong identity and common understanding. The necessity of sharing common values and norms are also proved by Thomas Risse (2017). He argues that the perception of threat does not originate from a quasi-objective international power, but the overall understanding of a threat emerges from the values and norms that are widely governing the domestic political processes, which in turn have an impact on the other actors who are deeply engaged in the international system (Risse 2017, 84). His main idea is that democratic states will never fight against each-other as all democratic states perceive each-other as predisposed towards peacefulness. The main idea behind that, is that democratic norms governing the overall domestic decision-making process form the global collective identity in international relations. (Risse 2017, 71) That is why, from the very beginning it was essential for NATO to keep and maintain the common values, which further formed the identity of the organisation.

The next section will discuss the importance of the Security through crisis management and the Promotion of security through cooperation and their role in maintaining the secure environment in the Alliance' territory. As the secure environment claims, the potential and actual conflicts outside the member's territory possess a direct threat to safety of the alliance as whole, the Security through crisis management promotes legal tools in order to eliminate those threats. Thereby NATO is constantly analysing the international environment, and if it is necessary it will take certain action to stop or prevent the conflict (Active engagement... 2010, 19-20). The member countries enhance intelligence communication and share within the organisation, in order to be better equipped for the potential conflict. The doctrines and military capabilities for special operations will be developed, and more communication with the civil society will be carried out. (*Ibid.*, 20) The concept emphasises the role of partnership, cooperation and dialogue with all democratic Euro-Atlantic states in order to promote long-term policy based on peace and democracy (NATO käsiraamat 2001, 47). The main point of the section is to set every member states' direction towards ensuring common peace and security of the organisation as a whole, to not leave anybody out, and moreover it helps to overcome the biggest obstacles that may lead to bigger conflicts (*Ibid.*, 47).

### 2.3. NATO enlargement

NATO has repeatedly stated that the expansion of the Euro-Atlantic military-political alliance will strengthen the overall European security and will not contribute to the emergence of new democratic lines (Україна - НАТО 2010). The main purpose of NATO enlargement has always been to strengthen the Euro-Atlantic area and furthermore to integrate the sense of cohesion and viability in a way where none of the steps made towards the enlargement have not been directed against the security interest of any third countries (Uuenev NATO 2004, 20). NATO enlargement does not only have a purpose of strengthening common security, but also has a strong moral obligation and a clear strategy. With the moral side U.S considered the necessity of bringing back moral freedom, economic prosperity and human dignity. Thus, it promoted strengthening the value-based international relations. (Praks 2014, 2) On the other hand, the clear rational strategic role of the enlargement process, as Madeleine Albright, the former Secretary of State, stated that a larger NATO will ensure America's security and more democratic and integrated Europe, thus the main key aspect was determining the direction of the next enlargement round (Praks 2014, 2).

Henri Praks (2014) in his research about NATO enlargement, he claims that NATO enlargement has upgraded Europe's strategic map in more positive and profound ways. (Praks 2014, 1). The idea of a whole and free Europe was a mission promoted by President Georg H. W. Bush in 1989 and included a common groundwork for the later NATO widening. Former U.S. President Clinton carried out this plan, when in 1997 his administration launched a plan for united and democratic Europe in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (*Ibid*). In 2004 President Georg W. Bush highlighted in his speech the importance of NATO membership for all Europe's democracies who are ready to share the values and responsibilities that NATO mainly brings, thus mentioning the importance of enlargement beyond the Baltic and Black Sea. Elling and Maigre (2008) alternatively argue that the main strategy that NATO still promotes is that any European country that is ready to support and uphold the shared values and principles of democracy, moreover the rule of law could be invited into the discussion panel in order to negotiate further potential alliance. (Elling, Maigre 2008, 3)

The Croatian case showed a clear evidence of a strong will and readiness to uphold the established common values. From the first sight Croatia faced challenges of a very demanding policy goals, as the government saw the need of applying both the traditional and new tools of public diplomacy, such as culture, education, science, innovations and so on. (Andrić M., Tarle I., Sopta Simichen S. 2012, 484) The main goals within joining the NATO were to raise the overall level of public

support, by an open and transparent way, thus to have a public with relevant and primary information about NATO (*Ibid*). The main tool used by Croatia in order to cooperate and build a trustworthy partnership with their citizens was the public diplomacy. It enabled the government to have a direct dialogue between the two sides seeking mutual benefit. They also practised a method, where the local government did not direct its power towards influencing the international arena, but instead they tried to engage the international actors to inform and influence the domestic public and citizens. The creative way was used, thus to make use of the existing intellectual and economic resources in order to build up a positive synergy, meanwhile explaining the local citizen about the necessity of NATO membership. (*Ibid*)

In the year 1994, in the Brussels summit, the leaders of the alliance confirmed again that the alliance is open to every European country that is ready to follow the conditions of the Washington Treaty and will give material support in order to maintain the security of the area (NATO käsiraamat 2001, 63). Thus, to strengthen the alliance, members conducted a research in the year 1995, in order to focus on how and why enlargement process should further be conducted. The main outcome of the research was that the acceptance of new members would ensure stability and security in all of the Euro-Atlantic area. (NATO käsiraamat 2001, 64) Moreover, it would encourage the emergence of reforms, meanwhile establishing a democratic control over the military forces. (*Ibid.*, 64) Concerning the budget side, enlargement enables the financial part to become more transparent, by raising the trust level among the members. In a more global arena, transparency and trust would boost the ability of members to contribute and invest to European and international security organisations and support the UN and Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (*Ibid.*, 64). New members must have a deep integration of the promoted values, principles and policy procedure, therefore, the primary aspect that shows the willingness to become a next new member is the ability and readiness to accept those (*Ibid.*, 64).

Therefore Thomas Risse (2017) argued about the integration process and saw it by the means that security dilemma is almost absent among democratic countries, who meanwhile share the common values and have a common identity. Actors interacting in a democratic world are believed unlikely to fight for each-other (Risse 2017, 84). Thomas Risse (2017) moreover argues that the states engaged into the democratic world share the liberal values referring to the overall performance of the state and its political life. Further it also leads to the common understanding in terms as mutual sympathy, loyalty, the 'we-feeling' and so on. (*Ibid*) The phenomena of the need for common values and democratic integration could also be explained through a cost-benefit scheme. The

overall cost of a country to engage in war is largely overwhelmed by the benefit it acquires when maintaining peace. It is now widely believed that people are more likely to improve their economic well-being in a more democratic environment. (*Ibid*, 85)

Article 27 of the NATO Strategic Concept 2010 has largely contributed to the security of the member states. The overall stability of the organisation's territory has been assured by the prospects of the further enlargement and with the cooperative security, which in turn promoted the main goal of a whole and free Europe, by sharing common values, and the Open door and integration plan for the countries willing to join the Euro-Atlantic structures. (Active engagement... 2010, 25) The open-door policy promotes the idea that NATO is fully opened to all of the European democracies which share the common values of the Alliance, and who are willing and able to accept responsibilities and obligation of the membership (*Ibid.*, 25).

Therefore, the Membership Action Plan, henceforth MAP, has been focusing on building and intensified communication between the new potential members, and have developed a program and activities in order to assist new aspiring countries for their further membership (Membership Action Plan 2012). The programme offers the applicants a list of certain activities that may help the new potential members to prepare for the alliance. Current program does not involve any particular timeframe nor does it guarantee a certain membership (*Ibid.*, 2012). The MAP is a manifestation of Open-door programme and is divided into five separate chapters: political and economic issues, defence/military issues, resource issues, security issues, legal issues (*Ibid.*, 2012).

The first chapter of the MAP, the Political and Economic Issues, offers the opportunity to discuss the willingness and capability to fulfil all the obligations and commitments under the Washington Treaty (*Ibid.*, 2012). The future applicants must settle their international disputes by peaceful tools. As NATO largely promotes the rule of law and democracy the aspirants must demonstrate the liability to those values and the ability to settle the external territorial or internal jurisdictional disputes in accordance with the OSCE values, norms and principles and promote friendly neighbouring relations. (*Ibid.*, 2012) As the biggest military organisation, NATO demands the establishment of an appropriate democratic and civilian control over the armed forces. Moreover, aspirants must contribute to maintaining friendly and peaceful international relations, by promoting and strengthening the free institutions, stability and well-being. (*Ibid.*, 2012)

MAP and the whole enlargement process has not been focusing only on distributing the commonly shared values and norms, but moreover has an obligation to share the knowledge and understanding of those values. It is widely believed that the more individuals are engaged in the common norms and have a generalized morality, the more the scope of the cooperation will expand. It also works vice versa as the more the scope of the cooperation expands the more people, states, and institutions will adhere to the common norms and universal principals, which in the broader sense will have a bigger impact on the surrounding environment and the value of changes and maintaining those will also be much higher. Moreover, the enlargement process serves as a kind of a destroyer of localization of countries, as if the distribution of the commonly established values would stop, it gives push for the creation of very centralized communities, who will develop values different from the modernized society and will pose a big threat to the other states, organisations and institutions.

Nor those only the institution or organisation contribute to the maintenance of the commonly established values and norms. Thus, the applicant must show the commitment to economic liberty, social justice and environmental liberty. (Membership Action Plan 2012) The second phase of the MAP plan is the defence and military issues, which gives the ability of the applicant country to contribute to the collective defence and commitment to the gradual improvements, which largely sustain the whole NATO membership (*Ibid.*, 2012). The most essential part of the defence chapter is the aspirant's commitment to the Partnership for Peace action plan, as it will help to deepen the political and military ties with the organisation and thus they will be prepared for the Alliance's shared roles, risk, responsibilities, subscription to the Strategic Concept (*Ibid.*, 2012). New potential members will have to be ready for the provision of forces for the collective defence, participation in the military structures and collective defence planning, to continue to support the Partnership for Peace action plan and develop collaborative relations with non-NATO partners (*Ibid.*, 2012).

The biggest objective the NATO enlargement has been aiming towards is the civilian and democratic control over the armed forces. The enlargement process certainly argues that the establishment of civilian supremacy over the military forces is a key element of a state's wider democratization. Moreover, it is believed that the democratic control over the military forces needs a strong and effective governance of the defence sector, especially the democratic accountability and transparency. (NATO and its..., 2003) The fact of the need of the strong democratic civilian-military relations was already proven in 1957, by Samuel P. Huntington and Samuel Phillips. They

argued that a democratic civilian-military relationship is key aspect in order to build up a national security policy. Its main purpose is to enhance the security of nation's social, economic, and political welfare. Civilian control over the armed forces and the military security program are develop, thus to eliminate or neutralize any actual or potential efforts to weaken or destroy the nations by armed forces. (Huntington, Phillips 1957)

There have been various theories aiming towards explaining the NATO enlargement. The international socialization approach has been argued to be the most relevant one in explaining the organization's enlargement. As enlargement process has also affected the CEE countries, then the strive for the NATO membership has been as they share the mutually recognized values and norms, but largely because they aspire for the recognition by the Western countries. (Schimmelfennig 2007, 199) A country that has internalized the local society's values and norms, meaning changed its internal and foreign policy attitudes, it is recognized as one of the full members of the organization. The second biggest aim of the enlargement process was the expansion for strengthening the liberal democracy, but the focus was already set on Central and Eastern Europe, thus to build up a stable and peaceful community, based on the common values. (Schimmelfennig 2007, 199)

The next essential part for the new member is the capability of efficient contribution of financial resources to meet the standards and commitments of the transatlantic membership. The Resource Issue chapter promotes the understanding that aspirants must provide a place for the necessary structures, thus to plan and carry out the defence budget that is essential to meet the defence priorities. (Membership Action Plan 2012) The potential members will have to prove the capability of ensuring that national structures are able to deal with the defence budget (*Ibid.*, 2012). One of the core tasks of NATO, besides the common security, is to maintain the security of the most cardinal information, as it is laid down in the NATO's Security Policy. Thus, the aspirants are to be expected to guarantee a sufficient security of the information and to lay down necessary safeguards. (*Ibid.*, 2012) The Legal Issues enable aspirants to examine and get acquainted with the appropriate legal agreements which largely govern the cooperation within and outside the NATO (*Ibid.*, 2012). It would help new members to change and alter the domestic law in accordance with the NATO rules and regulations. One of the biggest demands of the current chapter is that domestic law should be tied as much as possible with the arrangements and implementations which direct the everyday life of the Euro-Atlantic cooperation. (*Ibid.*, 2012)

The enlargement process did not only give the opportunity to develop the country's democracy, and the ability to settle the conflicts using peaceful tools. In order to widen a specific concept into a comprehensive one, a country's military institutions had a responsibility not only to integrate the military dimensions but also involve the political, social and environmental aspects of the security as well, was mainly argued by Deugd. (Deugd 2007, 33) Largely it meant, that the challenges through which the Euro-Atlantic went in the aftermath of the Cold War, had to be eliminated, and the only rational way to ensure that was to change the work structure of the organization's institutions. The reforms pushed the military institutions to adhere and act in accordance with the principles of democracy, the rule of law, respect for freedom and human rights, market economies, social stability, and environmental protection. (Deugd 2007, 33)

NATO enlargement process involves specific aspects that aspiring countries have to adopt. As the transatlantic organisation is extremely dependent on maintaining established cooperation, security and peace in the EU territory, it is also crucial for the new potential members to accept the rule of law, democracy and scrutinize the domestic law as much as possible with the NATO' established rules and regulations. The next chapter will focus on bringing out NATO' values described in the previous section meanwhile trying to establish the impact of those on Ukraine.

### **3. UKRAINE AND THE IMPACT OF NATO' VALUES**

The first chapter intended to explain the role and necessity of involving values in nowadays international relation. The second chapter explained the norms and strategies the NATO organization is built upon. The last chapter will elucidate the impact of NATO values on Ukraine integration policy towards becoming a European Union member country, one of NATO's allies, on the security and defence policy of the country, and last, but not least on the civil society. Thus, to have up to date and a primary information, an interview was conducted with the Vice President of Youth Centre of Atlantic Council of Ukraine Ruslan Miroshnichenko. Mr. Miroshnichenko has dedicated himself to promoting NATO among Ukraine youngsters, for them to have a deeper understanding of the organization and its values.

#### **3.1. The historical patterns of the Ukraine-NATO relations**

The geopolitical position between Europe and Asia, and its natural wealth have been the biggest allies and simultaneously the worst enemies of Ukraine. It is no surprise that the country has been a battleground for numerous conquerors, legions and people that wanted to get as much benefit from the area as possible. Meanwhile, the natives are the ones that have suffered the most, as they have lived through centuries of memorable superiority, humbling deaths, and occupation of national territory in inhumane ways. (Polyakov 2004, 4) Bebler (2010) meanwhile notes that in 1991 Ukraine finally declared its independence, thus ever since then, the main security orientation has been directed towards the search for identity. The fact was moreover supported because of the long partnership with Russia, which meanwhile has become extremely competitive with NATO and EU, and the strive towards integrating into the Euro-Atlantic community. (Bebler 2010, 105) Though the Ukrainian political leadership has been much slower than its neighbours to publicly promote the virtues of NATO integration, its military integration towards NATO and the EU has been an impressive one. (*Ibid.*, 107) Moreover, despite the Russia-Ukraine conflict, Ukraine still continues to actively contribute to the NATO-led operations and missions. (Relations with Ukraine 2018)

Ukraine first officially stated its intention to join the Alliance at the Reykjavik NATO-Ukraine Foreign Ministers session in May 2002 (Bebler 2010, 107). The Declaration of 2009 showed a

clear evidence of the will of further integration, as the complementation to the NATO-Ukraine Charter were carried in for the implementation of the Euro-Atlantic standards. (Relations with Ukraine 2018) The overall priority was still given to support the comprehensive reforms, especially in the security and defence sector, thus to ensure the Ukrainian democratic development and strengthening its abilities to defend itself (*Ibid*). NATO experts are certain about the fact that the cooperation between NATO and Ukraine in the area of defence and security is crucial for the continuing transformation of Ukraine's security as an essential part of its democratic development (*Ibid*). Ukraine and NATO have worked for almost 23 years on building up the distinctive partnership, which has strengthened even more over the years. NATO has provided a strong political assistance to Ukraine in helping the country to improve its goal for stronger security and strengthening its democratic institutions through several programs. The long-term relationship has not only shown the capacity of both sides to assist each other when it's necessary, but Ukraine has also become the only partner that has actively contributed to the biggest NATO-led operations and missions. (*Ibid*)

NATO and OSCE led operation empowers Ukrainian ability to gain experience in working with the armed forces of other countries. Therefore, the integration process and common value adaption is much faster, giving Ukraine a unique chance to develop the international interoperability more effectively. (Polyakov 2004, 53) The participation value has shown the price of peacetime engagement and allowed to largely increase the range of Ukrainian interoperability with the U.S. and NATO, thus building a stronger foundation for further cooperation (*Ibid.*, 53). The biggest missions the United States, NATO and Ukraine have secured their alliance by accomplishing common peacekeeping and common military goals are in Kosovo and Iraq (*Ibid.*, 53).

The U.S –NATO-Ukrainian cooperation in Iraq began in 2003 when Ukraine sent its CBR-protection battalion to Kuwait to settle down the active hostilities. Leonid I. Polyakov (2004) is arguing that the first deployment to the aggression zone proved several things. The case with Kosovo has risen again as the individual equipment of Ukrainian personnel remained. Though the operation once more lacked proper advanced planning, there was hesitation about the professionalism of Ukrainian troops and their readiness to act. The participation of Ukraine in the peacekeeping operation in Iraq, and previously Kosovo, contributed to gaining real-life experience, to teach and train each-other, and lastly to deeply assess the value of peacetime engagement. (Polyakov 2004, 63) The common trainings have generally shown that though

Ukraine is able to produce a continuing success, there is a still need for a systematic approach in order to develop a long-term capability for deploying the interoperable units. (Polyakov 2004, 65)

### **3.2. Ukraine integration into NATO**

Ukrainian constitution states that Ukraine is a unitary state and parliamentary republic. It represents all the basic principles one modern state should have: democracy, sociality, and rule of law. At first sight, all the signs of a democratic state as political parties, elected Parliament, and an elected president are present. Though constitutionally Ukraine represents all the values of democratic state, there has been a great struggle for the country to become unified. Fight for the governance has turned local political life into a big battlefield, among dominant oligarchs, opposing leftist grouping and national democratic forces, with democratic values rather announced than imposed. (Polyakov 2004, 4) Thus the integration into the Euro-Atlantic area with a further aim of aspiring the membership in NATO was seen as the key priority of the national interest of Ukraine. In order to develop mutually beneficial relations among Ukraine and NATO, at the highest level possible, the decision on the abandonment of the Ukraine's non-block policy was made. (Distinctive Partnership... 2012)

In the year 2017 Radio Liberty conducted an interview with the head of the civil league called "Ukraine-NATO" Sergei Djerge and the deputy director of the institute of world politics Sergei Solodky. Sergei Djerge mentioned several times the necessity for the deeper Ukraine integration in NATO. His main argument was that the decision of the Supreme Council about the change of internal and foreign policy of the country should have been made long ago. After the 2014 Crimea annexation a common decision was made about the annulment of the non-alliance and the objective aiming towards NATO membership was renewed once again. (Украина и НАТО... 2017) Though the focus was set on achieving membership, Ukraine had big difficulties in determining the responsible institution dealing with the integration issues. In year 2017, almost 74% of Ukrainians supported the NATO membership, but it is widely believed that the number will decrease if only the Crimea and the Donbass area are returned to Ukraine. (Украина и НАТО... 2017)

As Ukraine had difficulties in determining their attitude towards NATO and its membership, it has also been difficult to determine their identity. For now, it is thought that Ukraine acts as a kind of

consumer. (*Ibid*) Before the Ukraine-Russian war Ukraine did not really need NATO, but now as soon as the country became desperately in need of the organisation, the integration process into the Euro-Atlantic alliance was seen inevitable (*Ibid*). Both Sergei Solodky and Sergei Djerger noted that for Ukraine as well as for NATO the status of current situation is quite complex. The necessity for deeper integration was not promoted by the government nor by the society. “A contribution to the big peace keeping operations as not essential for the country and was seen unnecessary.” (*Ibid*) The complex discourse of the situation was not only fuelled with the necessity for deeper integration and the need for membership, but also with the lack of technical skill, and the inability to define the society’s attitude towards the organisation (*Ibid*).

Therefore, Ukraine as well as NATO saw the necessity for the creation of a specific plan aiming to determine the certain tasks that had to be accomplished. The overall integration program, called Distinctive Partnership between Ukraine and NATO, is directed towards engaging and using the potential, practical and consultative-advisory assistance of NATO and member countries with aiming towards increasing the defence capability of Ukraine (Президент України... 2018). The document represents the legal strategies, defining the priorities, objectives, and aims, which are planned to be achieved by the year 2020. According to the Ukraine press-service, on March 28<sup>th</sup> of 2018, the year-long national program should ensure the fulfilment of the priority task of Ukraine’s cooperation with NATO, as well as the relevant decision taken during the meeting of the Ukraine-NATO Commission. (*Ibid*)

The two experts invited to the Radio Liberty meanwhile argued about the value of the NATO-Ukraine partnership, as it is widely believed that within the NATO-Ukraine partnership NATO will face more complex situations, than it now deals with. Both experts noted that NATO itself has difficulties in determining its attitude towards the third countries, whom they should have a tight cooperation with, and who should they be aware of. (Україна и НАТО... 2017) It is hard for Ukraine as well as for NATO, but as the country has set a clear goal and strategies in becoming a full member of the organisation, the government as well as the society has been waiting for the military-technical, military-medical assistance, for experts and trust fund, more than ever. Only with the help of cooperation will Ukraine ensure a strong national peace and the identity of the country. (*Ibid*)

In the year 2007 NATO member countries’ foreign ministers and Ukrainian foreign minister met in Portugal, to discuss the issue of the working groups and their impact on democratic control of

the intelligence sector and the NATO-Ukraine partnership network of civil society expertise development (Assisting Ukraine's defence... 2007). Ukraine has now integrated the tools to increase the interaction between civil society groups, NGOs and security practitioners in NATO member countries as well as in Ukraine, meanwhile providing the opportunity for the exchange of roles of civil society in defining and integrating the national security and defence policies. The discussion also involved different ways and tools how to involve the civil society in supporting defence and security sector reforms. (*Ibid*) The important working groups are supported by 19 nations. The 2007 Ukraine-NATO meeting was trying to provide an expert advice from NATO member countries to implement the democratic reforms and to reorganize and re-educate its intelligence sector in order to effectively respond to the Euro-Atlantic and EU standards (*Ibid*). NATO and Ukraine were sharing the leading position in the process, as it is made up of experts from Ukraine as well as from NATO allies (*Ibid*).

Though Ukraine has experienced a long-term struggle over its identity and for now has been actively working towards legally defining it, the strategies and priorities towards its implementation have lacked only one thing- an involvement of civil society. It is hardly recognizable that Ukraine wants to include civil society into decision-making about further NATO-Ukraine partnership. The fact of the necessity of involving the public into decision-making was also noted by John Keane (2006) in his book "Civil Society: Old Image, New Vision". His main idea is that the public is something that cares for the common good and has the ability to talk about it democratically. The ability to share common interests and cede the common territory, moreover to work upon something common- are all crucial features for the effective governance, problem solving and peaceful resolutions. (Keane 2006) By involving civil society Ukraine will not only effectively implement the shared values, but will also maintain them, and therefore will be actively contributing the common security of the Euro Atlantic territory. The involvement of civil society is truly seen as one of the most essential things in becoming a more democratic country, but from the other side, one state cannot fully involve its citizens before it has a straight and clear view of what its goals and objectives are, thus first of all it is necessary to understand mission towards the state is aiming, and the case of Ukraine strongly shows the needs for reforms.

John Colston, Assistant Secretary General, Defense Policy and Planning, NATO, gave three reasons for the necessity of the Ukraine-NATO partnership. The first reason is that a twenty-first century, qualified, with effective armed forces and a modern state security sector Ukraine is essential for protecting its interest, contribute to the regional stability and to the international

community. (*Ibid*) The second reason is that in order to have closer partnership with the NATO and EU institutions, the key elements such as cooperation in defence and security sector are crucial for Ukraine. As John Colston said, the last but not least reason is that the democratic reforms of the defence and security sectors are the most essential elements of Ukraine's progress towards achieving a greater democracy, transparent policy, high-level accountability in its government and society. (*Ibid*)

The fact that Ukraine has been seen as an effective contributor to the maintenance of common defence, first of all because of its geopolitical location and because of its strong strive towards becoming a new member of NATO, is proved by the existence of mutually-beneficial cooperation. Understanding the essence and the value of the partnership increases the overall trust among the country and organisation, which further enables to sustain the collaboration between the two entities and highlights the value of contribution of each individual to the achievement of common goal. A tight social connectedness between Ukraine and NATO increases the amount of given and received, which raise the Ukrainian opportunity to fully adopt the commonly established values and contribute to the effective organisation's performance. It has also been highlighted that different sides adhering to the same rules, norms and values, are more prone to engage in different activities, thus building trust between each other and expanding it to the wider audience.

For now, Ukraine has been engaged in several activities under the auspices of the Joint Working Group. This has included a strong support of Ukraine in implementing its extensive national security sector review, increasing its civil control over security and defence structures, in promoting the establishment of strategic cooperation between Ukraine's security institutions and civil society. All of the above were targeted towards reforming Ukraine's intelligence sector, in order to meet the Euro-Atlantic standards and to effectively manage the consequences of the defence and security reforms. (*Ibid*) Moreover the steps have involved the development of the ability of Ukraine's institution to manage their human resources, policy planning, civil and democratic control of the security sector. Moreover, John Colston has noted that: "we've also been helping individually and collectively Ukraine in developing its new and modern national security strategy, which I understand has now been endorsed by the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine. And these are all ways in which we're helping in a very practical manner". (*Ibid*)

The strong cooperation between Ukraine and NATO has also been also proved by Sergei Solodky and Sergei Djerge in their interview to the Radio Liberty. They noted that the cooperation, between

NATO and Ukraine, has been extremely effective, as Ukraine has become one of the few countries who was recognized as a special partner. As Russia was also once given the status of a special partner, but due to certain aggressive activities, NATO was forced to annul the status, therefore it was a moral obligation for Ukraine to maintain the status and develop their mutually beneficial cooperation. (Украина и НАТО... 2017) The cooperation did not allow Ukraine to acquire a special status, but also enabled to apply lots of changes. The annual national programs, military forces, and the legal system were all reformed under the Ukraine-NATO cooperation. For Ukraine the new standards were overly essential, to apply for the membership of the organisation as well as becoming a legal member of the EU. (*Ibid*)

The overall purpose was to identify “Ukraine’s strategic objectives and priorities in pursuit of its aspirations towards full integration into Euro-Atlantic security structures and provide a strategic framework for existing and future NATO-Ukraine cooperation Charter” (NATO-Ukraine Action Plan 2005). The main aspects contained in the Action Plan helped to establish the principles for reforms and integration: internal policy issues, foreign and security policy, economic issues, information issues, defence and security reforms, cooperation with NATO, resource implementation, information protection and security, and legal issues. The above-mentioned core elements were crucial to continuing and pursuing the goal of getting Ukraine closer to the Euro-Atlantic community, by strengthening democracy, rule of law, respect for human rights, democratic elections, judicial independence, zero-discrimination. (*Ibid*) This will include ensuring the adaptation of all relevant legislation in pursuit of these policies.

Cooperation between two countries is a unique proof that they are both striving towards achieving something common. The ability of Ukraine, as non-one of the legal members of NATO, to effectively adopt the common strategies, values, norms, and reforms its defence and security policy, shows the will to become one of the countries that has the ability to promote the socially approved standards. Moreover, as values serve as a kind of tool in determining the countries overall policy orientation, Ukraine is now proving the ability to contribute to the maintenance of the values and norms the Western countries are largely dependent on through its reforms and adoptions. Ukraine also shows its capacity to understand the overall system the institutions are built upon and will be able to effectively contribute to the common decision making.

By promoting those defence and security sector reforms, Ukraine was largely deepening its aims and missions to change and overall modify the essence of security risks in the Euro-Atlantic area,

and to move forward from the bordered territorial security concept and develop the need to support the military as well as the non-military conditions of the crisis management. (NATO-Ukraine Action Plan 2005) For the mutually beneficial cooperation it is necessary for NATO as well as for Ukraine to maintain the set values and maintain the ability of partner countries to carry them on. Thus, the Action Plan stated that Ukraine remains responsible for developing its defence and security sector reforms with the global objective of establishing and restructuring its national defence and security into democratic and controlled structure, which meanwhile is able to maintain and ensure the sovereignty and integrity of its territories, by also contributing to the Euro-Atlantic peace. (*Ibid*) Moreover, the fact that Ukraine and NATO commonly share a vision of a united and free Europe and the movement towards eliminating terrorism, Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), demand the deepening of relations between Ukraine and NATO.

Though the action plan showed off the concrete action that had to be fulfilled by the NATO as well as by Ukraine, thus ensure that the latter one has a full accessibility and ability to integrate to the Euro-Atlantic community, the plan involved the other way importance as well (Deugd 2007, 51). It established some clear objectives of the reforms and goals it had to set and achieve, for becoming a legal participant of the NATO organization, and consequently transmitted them into the behavior, the several military and non-military structures the organization is built upon (Deugd 2007, 51).

### **3.3. What has changed?**

Miroshnichenko in his interview to the author argued that the beginning of the partnership among Ukraine and NATO could be identified from the moment the country declared its intention to contribute to the “Partnership for Peace” program. Ukraine become responsible for allocating its units and personnel to participate in peacekeeping operations under the NATO auspices. (Miroshnichenko 2018) First, this involved the creation of such divisions, and then the organization that would contribute to the effective development in accordance with NATO values. The preparation phase involved various courses, including language courses as well as courses assisting Ukraine military policy in professional basis and ending with the multinational military exercises on peacekeeping as the highest form of combat training for participation in the operation. (*Ibid*) After the long preparation period the participation in various operations followed. Besides that, the main aspects of the Ukraine-NATO partnership became the support of the Alliance and

of the individual countries themselves. Member countries became eager to give the necessary impulse for Ukraine to implement the vital reforms, after the Orange Revolution in 2004, and it still remains one of the fundamental aspect of Ukraine's integration to the Euro-Atlantic structures. (Украина - НАТО 2010) The conclusion is that already on the basic cooperation phase with NATO, Ukrainian army and defence strategy started a new era of combat missions, meanwhile activating the reform mechanism to cooperate with specialists from NATO and thus have a deeper integration of the set values (Miroshnichenko 2018)

Moreover, the fact of that Ukraine has effectively contributed to establishing, implementing, and maintain the shared values was also proved by the Chairman of the Verchovna Rada Andrei Parubii. During the celebration of the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of signing the NATO-Ukraine Partnership he declared that: "NATO and Ukraine share the common values and objectives, especially the will to live in a peaceful world. "(Парубий: У України и..., 2017) The intention of Ukraine for further partnership was furthermore supported by the fact that the country does not support and accept any aggressive intention towards other countries, and any territorial claims, and shares the common will and desire to live in a stable and peaceful world (*Ibid*). Not only were the intentions towards deeper integration noted in words, but also legally, as June 8<sup>th</sup>, 2017 marked a legal beginning of the Ukraine integration into NATO as Verchovna Rada adopted a bill what consolidated the country's legal intention to join the transatlantic organization (Рада закрепила в... 2017). A law № 6470 "On Amending Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine" was a sign of the legal initiative, which aims towards applying necessary changes to the country's legislation, thus to establish a straightforward pragmatic course in order to aspire the NATO membership (Парубий: У України и..., 2017). ). The Gordonua online newspaper also noted that the document represents the main reforms necessary for strengthening the "The fundamentals of the national security of Ukraine" law, and the whole package of priorities of national interest was added to the topic of Ukraine becoming a legal member of the Euro-Atlantic community (Рада закрепила в... 2017).

The US State Department representative noted that Ukraine is only limited in its own imagination and energy. Ukraine is in desperate need of reforms, especially in the Defence policy (Представитель Госдепа США... 2017). Moreover, the fact was supported by the conducted interview where Miroshnichenko noted that the cooperation with NATO and the further legal membership gives Ukrainian army the ability to improve and develop its management system, thus to enable the high-quality education and self-development and direct them towards the

international standards, meaning the promoted values of rule of law, democracy, collective defence and so on would be deepened (Miroshnichenko 2018). Meanwhile, the system of defence planning is created on the strategic level, which further enables Ukraine to decide itself what are the necessary armed forces reforms it needs to ensure for the country's stability and integrity, based on the economic performance (*Ibid*). (*Ibid*). The ability of NATO to maintain one of the basic values, collective defence, is the readiness of the member countries to counter-react to the crisis, as fast as possible, as the value of maintaining security among members of the alliance is high (*Ibid*).

The necessity of the integration and a full contribution and commitment towards establishing the commonly shared values was also supported by Ukrainian President Petro Porošenko. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of March 2018 a local newspaper, European Truth 'Европейская правда'. published an article about Ukraine's President Petro Porošenko signing a document for the legal and strategic partnership between Ukraine and NATO called "On the approval of the Annual National Program under the auspices of the Ukraine-NATO Commission for 2018". (Порошенко утвердил годовую..., 2018) A yearlong strategic partnership should ensure an effective achievement of goals set within the Ukraine Euro Atlantic community. Moreover, it was noted that the partnership plan is a pure strategic document defining the main priority goals, that must be achieved by the end of year 2018, and a medium-term plan which is to be reached by the end of 2020. (*Ibid*) Besides that the document defines the key events for achieving a full Euro Atlantic integration, which includes several reforms in defence sector and the overall security of the country, so that in the future those ones will fully respond to all of NATO's standards (*Ibid*).

For now, it is widely believed that Ukraine steadily fulfils the task of an active participant of the Annual National Cooperation Program with NATO. Not only did the year 2017 mark the legal beginning of Ukraine's integration, but also a significant progress was made in the political sphere. The law of the Fundamentals of Internal and External Policy of Ukraine, adopted in 2010, was supplemented by the main goals, strategies and priorities of NATO organisation, thus having a legal proof that Ukraine is ready for the deep integration and the alliance. (Президент Украины... 2018) §2 of the law of the Fundamentals of Internal and External Policy of Ukraine states that the policy must establish a free and stable Ukraine, which follows the rule of law, respects human rights, ensures a social orientation of Ukrainian economy and stable and effective economic development of Ukraine (Об основах внутренней... 2010). NATO priorities, values and strategies have gradually integrated and therefore influenced Ukraine's everyday life. Thus,

Ukraine has blended them into the country's main strategic goals. From 2010 Ukraine has strongly supported sovereign equality of other states, refraining and abstaining from actual or potential threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any other foreign state. (*Ibid*) As NATO still maintains and pursues the goal of collective defence and partnership for peace, Ukraine has more or less focused on reforming its defence policy.

Thanks to the annual programs Ukraine has become able to formalize the working groups depending on the overall interest, emerge new institutions in order to cooperate on algorithms, on what the NATO is built upon. When mentioning military cooperation, we can clearly see some interesting projects, which are meanwhile strengthening the country's overall defensive capacity. But as the statistics show those projects are more locally orientated, they are not yet systemic thus to talk about that Ukrainian Military Forces are significantly are significantly acquiring those strategies that NATO is largely promoting. (Президент України... 2018)

Many experts argue the assumption that Kiev undertook reforms of its armed forces only before the 2014, by proving that in 2004, in the wake of the Orange Revolution, the government questioned whether its military strategy was adequate enough to defend the national interest (Reforming Ukrainian Defence... 2017, 17). In the year 2015 the main focus of the Ministry of Defence was on the key priorities in the active phase of warfare. Ukraine still has a daily fight with the so to say hidden but meanwhile visible Russian aggression. Thus, the National Security Strategy of Ukraine was formed in taking into account the big norther neighbour as well as the fundamental changes in the external and internal environment. (Strategic Defence Planning Documents) The new strategy focuses on addressing the actual and potential threats that may have an impact on the sovereignty and integrity of the state. Moreover, it tries to ensure a new quality in economic, social, and humanitarian development, thus to ensure Ukraine not become engaged in the actual warfare. (*Ibid*)

Though Ukraine has experienced a period full of reforms and implementation of new reforms, some observers point out the slow progress of the working groups within the Ministry of Defence's Reform Council, that only half of them have begun to actually work or have been successfully implemented (Reforming Ukrainian Defense... 2017, 23). An apparent gap has been discovered as there has been a rapid growth of the new commanders at the tactical level, compared to the old commanders at the strategic level. The adaption of the common strategy and values have been slowed down as the lowering of ranks is not yet a common practice of the delegation authority.

*(Ibid)* Moreover, the lack of implementation skill has resulted in different constitutional conflicts, as some experts argue that it has created lots of ambiguity in the country's policy. The tension rises as the complex division of responsibilities between the National Reform Council and National Security and Defence Council lead to the hallmark of a rivalry situation between the government institutions. *(Ibid)* All of this emphasizes the Ukrainian inability to coordinate the institutions. The Ukrainian authorities also admit the lack of competency in establishing the cooperate work among the department, and therefore promoting the commonly established values. *(Ibid)*

Ukraine has experienced extreme ups and downs in its policy. The development of its identity has been essential for the country's further development and existence in today's bipolar world. Ukraine has shown a strong will towards becoming one of the legal members of the Euro Atlantic community. It has not only marked the will in words but also a lot of legal documents and pacts have shown a desire for the deeper integration into the Euro Atlantic community. The necessity of the partnership has also been noted several times by the organisation and the leading figures themselves. NATO sees Ukraine as a member with high potential to effectively contribute to the common defence and peacekeeping operation, though the former history of the country and public figures themselves note that Ukraine had difficulties in determining its identity and attitude towards the organisation. Moreover, the country has experienced a lot of reforms, to have a deeper integration of the shared values across the organisation. Lots of legislations and laws theoretically prove the fact of the impact of values, but indeed it is now hard to conclude anything deep, as though the partnership has been effective and Ukraine has implemented lots of values and strategies in its policy making and policy orientation, it has still not become one of the legal members of NATO. The topic itself is extremely contradictory as from the first sight Ukraine has truly experienced lots of reforms and new legislation, thus to improve its capability to effectively function in the modernized society and being accepted by the Western countries, as a legal member of EU or NATO, but from the other side lots of experts and NATO members themselves have serious doubts about the Ukrainian ability to effectively contribute to the maintenance of democratic principles and common security and defence.

## SUMMARY

The current paper was aiming towards interpret the impact of values on shaping the country's identity, understanding, and policy orientation from two sights- NATO and Ukraine. Therefore, the main focus was directed towards conducting the empirical analysis in order to establish the relationship between NATO's main priorities and their impact on Ukraine. Thus, it was necessary to highlight the main values the NATO is built upon and prove the impact of those in guiding Ukraine's everyday life and security policy orientation and priorities. All of the above was crucial in order to determine that Ukraine adheres to the common values NATO is promoting.

The overall argument of the paper was that NATO-originated values, when considering the organization's perspective enlargement, are considerably influencing the Ukraine's overall policy orientation and are shaping its identity. Therefore, to address the current argument the paper tried to solve three research questions, for which the following steps were completed:

1. The overview of the relevant to the topic international relations theory was brought out, which established the cost of value in today's world
2. The overview of the main NATO promoted values was brought out, for which the analysis of the current Strategic Concept and enlargement process were done
3. The main reasons why those values are essential for NATO and their influence on the overall performance on the member countries were brought out
4. The main direction of the Ukrainian policy and the necessity for a deeper NATO values integration were mentioned
5. To have a deeper overview of the value impact on the country, different NATO-Ukraine strategic action plans, legal documents, and relevant articles, were analysed
6. An interview, with the local NATO expert, was conducted for the procurement of primary source information

Therefore, it has only been theoretically proved that NATO values have had a strong influence on Ukrainian policy orientation and have shaped its identity, as nowadays the main priority of the security policy is to defend themselves, but not being a non-block country, whit extremely low identity. Though, all the legal documents and different reforms refer to the deep NATO value integration, in reality it is hard to claim anything deep, as Ukraine is still not one of the legal member and is only striving to become one. Moreover, as the paper was mainly focused only on

empirical findings, therefore it cannot largely argue about the practical integration of the current values into the country's everyday life.

As proven in the first chapter, values and norms are now seen as a necessary component in international relations as it does not matter who is interacting in the political arena, the behaviour will always be guided by its normative and ideational structures. According to the political science scholars the main argument of constructivism is that values, culture, and beliefs are the main patterns that shape the nowadays intentional relations. Moreover, the paper highlights that values and political orientation have a meaningful ratio in determining the behavioural intentions and individual behaviour. Thus, nowadays, it has been crucial to understand the essence of the values and their impact on the country's policy orientation, as it has become the main tool for promoting the main principles.

From the very beginning NATO was responsible for building up a stable, sovereign, and democratic Europe. Thus it, for the organisation, was extremely necessary to being able to maintain and transmit those values, to every new member or aspirant. Therefore, to establish the main values the organization is promoting its impact on Ukraine, the analysis of the Strategic Concept was conducted. The Strategic Concept is designed to adhere to the all the values of democratic state as freedom, peace, security, respect for human dignity and rule of law, using concrete tools, which have been negotiated among all members of the Alliance. Moreover, it still reinforces the necessity of maintaining a secure, stable, united and sovereign Europe in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The essential part of the Strategic Concept, NATO enlargement, has been seen as an essential tool in maintaining the shared values, as it promotes the understanding that new aspirants must show a strong liability to the common values, norms and principles.

The study of Ukraine and the impact of NATO' values, was directed towards establishing the relationship and especially the impact of the organization's values on the country. NATO Strategic Concept and the enlargement process have established that it is crucial for the new aspiring countries to adhere to the main principles of a democratic state. To ensure stability in the Black Sea area and country's fast development towards becoming a sovereign state, with strong and clear identity, NATO understood that it is essential to have a deep reforms of the Ukraine's security policy and integrate it to the Euro-Atlantic standards. The Distinctive Partnership program indented to establish a consultative-advisory assistance, to increase the capability of Ukraine to

integrate to NATO. Moreover, John Colston highlighted that an integrated, with effective armed forces, and modern security Ukraine is essentially needed for the NATO as well as for the EU.

The relationship between Ukraine and NATO had to be established, as the country has been an essentially important neighbour for the organization as well as for EU. The reforms were seen crucial as NATO and Ukraine share a common border, and Ukraine has been an impressive contributor to the Euro-Atlantic security. The NATO-Ukraine Action Plan gave Ukraine the ability to develop its policy-making, economic issues and the ability to effectively contribute to the maintenance of common values as well as strengthen the common security policy. Therefore, Ukraine was equipped with high-level educators aiming towards ensuring the adherence to NATO strategies. Though the year 2017 marked a legal beginning of the integration process, significant improvement was seen before. Not only was the Internal and External Policy supplemented with the main goals of the organization, but also the country begun to educate its working groups, to engage them into the NATO related projects, and increase its reputation among civil society. Though the work the cooperation between the country and the organisation has been impressive, the evidence of the value integration into country's everyday life has been vague, as the cooperation between the two sides has not lasted for long and needs deeper analysis with the involvement of civil society.

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# APPENDICIES

## Appendix 1. Interview

1. Why it has been essential for Ukraine to become a legal member of the NATO organisation?
2. What do you think, should Ukraine aspire for NATO membership?
3. Has there been any dramatic change in Ukrainian policy- and decision making, especially in promoted values, after the collapse of the USSR?
4. The main core values that NATO is promoting are democracy, rule of law, transparent policy making, freedom of decision making. If, and how has Ukraine established those values?
5. Have those values been established only in order to get into the alliance?
6. Long discussions have been ongoing about giving the MAP to Ukraine. Whether and how would it influence the decision making?
7. Would it have any real effect on the policy and Ukrainian values?
8. What do you think is the reason for the change? Global recognition, alliance, internal policy change