

Case Study

# Institutional Instruments of Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic Integration

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Received: 20-03-2022

Revised: 29-05-2022

Accepted: 04-06-2022

## ABSTRACT

The article is devoted to improving the Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine. The authors investigated the main stages and the current state of the Euro-Atlantic integration of the state and outlined the institutional mechanisms for implementing state policy Ukraine-NATO. The authors elaborated on the main mechanisms of implementation and the Euro-Atlantic course of the state in the context of each of the ministries responsible for implementing the provisions of the Association Agreement identified "weaknesses", analyzed the experience of countries, and proposed institutional tools for Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration. The study has a significant political impact and contributes to the stable development of the state, maintaining the institutional and legal foundation for further reforms and continuing a coherent and consistent state policy in the field of Euro-Atlantic integration after the change of Parliament and E-Government.

## HIGHLIGHTS

- NATO's cooperation with Ukraine is of great importance for guaranteeing peace and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area.
- The introduced Strategy for joining NATO should be considered not as a static document with an exhaustive list of mutual obligations, but as a "living" and flexible tool that should ensure the gradual integration of Ukraine into NATO.

**Keywords:** Euro-Atlantic integration, E-Government, institutional instruments, NATO, Ukraine

NATO's cooperation with Ukraine is essential to guarantee peace and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area. Geographically, Ukraine is a critical crossroads of Eastern and Western Europe, sharing borders with four NATO countries – Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, and Romania.

Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration is a nationwide task in which all legitimate branches of government (legislative, executive, judicial) take part. Ideally, Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic course should be legally (constitutionally) defined, institutionally inviolable, and independent of the personal qualities of the

head of state.

Among the advantages of Ukraine's accession to NATO, the main ones are [1-3]:

1. Providing security guarantees, according to which an attack on Ukraine means an attack on all NATO members (today, without Ukraine, NATO includes 30 countries).

**How to cite this article:** Ptashchenko, O., Panasenکو, H., Liapa, M., Sokhatskyi, O., Mudra, Y. and Pylypenko, N. (2022). Institutional Instruments of Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic Integration. *Econ. Aff.*, 67(03): 337-344.

**Source of Support:** None; **Conflict of Interest:** None



2. The provision of “nuclear guarantees”, according to which an attack on Ukraine with the use of nuclear, chemical or bacteriological weapons would mean an adequate response from the nuclear NATO member states (USA, Great Britain, France).
3. Joining NATO greatly reduces the risk of war against Ukraine. Ukraine is strategically important, in contrast to neutral Finland and Sweden. The geostrategic advantages that control over Ukraine may outweigh the risk of a potential aggressor accompanying aggression against Ukraine.
4. As a result of joining NATO, Ukraine will strengthen its political independence. Protection from external interference in the internal affairs of Ukraine and the political process in Ukraine of foreign states (primarily non-NATO members) following NATO internal security standards.
5. NATO does not demand the deployment of its military bases on Ukraine in exchange for membership. Ukraine has sufficient military, human, and technological potential to guarantee security, using only the political “roof” of NATO and having behind it only the theoretical possibility of support from 26 NATO member states in wartime.  
Therefore, Ukraine’s entry into NATO will be “on paper” without creating large new military bases near the borders with Russia, which should be discussed separately, which can relieve tension with Moscow.
6. Absolutely eliminated the possibility of foreign policy provocations against Ukraine, as it was, for example, with Tuzla.
7. Due to joining NATO, Ukraine will strengthen its territorial integrity. Separatism will lose the power base for its possible realization. The separatists will be forced to consider reality and adapt to life in a united, independent Ukraine.
8. The economic pressure on Ukraine from Russia, including the energy one, will become much more complicated, considering the possible adverse reaction to such pressure from 26 influential countries in an alliance with Ukraine.
9. Accession to NATO will mean the final withdrawal of Ukraine from the influence of Moscow and the elimination of its resumption in the future. Russia understands this and, therefore, will be forced to establish equal partnerships with Ukraine, as it does with NATO members in Eastern Europe - Hungary, the Czech Republic while having strategic partners in Western Europe from among NATO members - Germany, as well as France and Italy.
10. The relatively low cost of joining - since neither NATO nor Ukraine needs to deploy foreign troops on Ukrainian territory.  
The experience of Eastern European countries joining NATO suggests that such accession can be very cheap. NATO allows guaranteeing reliable security for little money. Ukraine would never have such a level of security as if it were NATO members, even if it spent its entire budget on defense.
11. NATO does not demand the massive rearmament of the Eastern European armies, and NATO also does not require its members to purchase weapons produced by NATO member countries. Each country has the right, at its discretion, to decide what weapons and whose production to purchase for its armed forces.  
Soviet-made Ukrainian weapons will not be a problem when joining NATO. Not only new members of NATO but also such a developed country as Germany continues to use former Soviet weapons (Germany - Mig-29 aircraft, which were in service in the GDR).
12. NATO does not require its members to suspend military-technical cooperation with other states, particularly Russia; Germany and Italy carry out such collaboration with Russia.
13. A sharp increase in foreign investment after Ukraine acceded to NATO, since security is associated with the economy, for example, for Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary - the influx of foreign investment for the year after the application to join NATO increased by 3.5 times, for Romania by 141%.

14. Unlike Russian investments, investments from NATO countries in Ukraine are legal. According to research by the organization "Transparency International", among the 20 least corrupt countries in the world are NATO member states.
15. Accession to NATO means new opportunities for competitive defense industries. It was not the high-tech defence systems in Slovakia that lost from joining NATO. And they won - high-tech, first of all, in Poland, partly in the Czech Republic.

The competitive advantage of Ukraine is the high-tech military-industrial complex, as well as the ability of Ukraine to create in closed cycles some models of weapons that are competitive on the world market, in such areas as aircraft construction, tank construction, shipbuilding, as well as rocketry and air and anti-missile defence systems.

16. Accession to NATO is associated with improving the climate for doing business in Ukraine, in particular with improving the international investment image of Ukraine.

As a result of joining NATO, in the eyes of international investors, Ukraine is losing its status of a "post-Soviet country", with a whole range of stereotypical cliches for investors - corruption, crime, etc. Western investors believe that membership in Western institutions, particularly NATO and the EU, contributes to the standardization of economic rules, which is very important for them.

17. NATO membership will dramatically improve the prospects for Ukraine's accession to the EU.

Ukraine's relations with NATO began to develop shortly after its independence in 1991. Already in January 1992, the representative of Ukraine took part for the first time in the High-Level Working Group of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. And on 22-23 February 1992, the NATO Secretary-General paid his first visit to Kyiv, during which Ukraine was invited to participate in the RPAS. Since then, active contact and cooperation between Ukraine and NATO have begun (Fig. 1).

However, despite expectations, in June 2021, NATO leaders again failed to provide Ukraine with a Membership Action Plan, so exploring the institutional tools of Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration is necessary.

## METHODS

The authors built their research on a theoretical and analytical basis. The authors used the following methods: structural and logical analysis - to make the structure and generalize the theoretical and practical provisions of the study; historical and logical analysis - to determine the stages of development of Ukraine-NATO relations; scientific abstraction, systematization, generalization, concretization, and comparative analysis - when generalizing the developments of Ukrainian and foreign scientists on the problems of scientific research; comparative legal - to assess the regulatory framework; methodological techniques of tabular and graphical - for presenting research results, grouping, scaling - for determining the format of partnership with NATO; theoretical generalization - to form the conclusions of the study.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

It is widely believed that states with unresolved territorial problems are not admitted to the North Atlantic Alliance, but this is not the case. All restrictions on joining NATO are formulated in Article 10 of the North Atlantic Treaty. The conditions for a country's entry into NATO boil down to three basic rules:

1. the candidate country must be located in Europe;
2. it must share the principles of the contract;
3. all member countries of the Alliance must agree to admit a new member [7; 8].

Individual Partnership Action Plan with NATO (abbr. IPAP), a type of partnership between permanent members of the NATO alliance and third countries that are not members of it, provides for allied relations and strategic military collaboration. At the same time, countries with such a joint action plan are considered the main NATO partners outside the bloc and have specific security guarantees. IPAP should not be confused with the partnership for peace.

the representative of Ukraine participated for the first time in the High-Level Working Group of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council.	1992	
On February 8, it signed the Partnership for Peace Framework Document.	1994	The Secretary General's first visit to Kyiv took place on 22-23 February, during which Ukraine was invited to participate in the RPAS.
Ukraine appointed its first liaison officers to NATO Headquarters and NATO's Partnership Coordination Center.	1995	On 14 September, the first individual partnership program between Ukraine and NATO was approved.
The NATO-Ukraine Commission is established, the NATO Mission to Ukraine and the NATO Information and Documentation Center in Ukraine are opened.	1997	On July 9, the Charter on a Special Partnership between Ukraine and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was signed.
On January 11, the National Center for Euro-Atlantic Integration of Ukraine was established.	1999 2003	In April, the NATO Liaison Office was opened in Ukraine.
On September 14, the head of the Ukrainian government stated that Ukraine was not ready to sign the MAP.	2005 2006	An intensified dialogue on Ukraine's NATO membership was launched in April.
On December 2-3, a new format of relations with Ukraine was approved under the so-called "Annual National Program" (ANP).	2008	On January 15, an official letter was signed submitting an official statement on the possibility of Ukraine's accession to the Membership Action Plan.
On August 29, was submitted to the parliament a bill on the abolition of the non-aligned status of the Ukrainian state and on the restoration of Ukraine's course to NATO membership.	2010 2014 2020	And on July 1, the Verkhovna Rada adopted the Law "On the Principles of Domestic and Foreign Policy" which provides for the "non-aligned" status of Ukraine.  On June 12, 2020, the North Atlantic Council recognized Ukraine as an Enhanced Opportunities Partner (EOP).

**Fig. 1:** History of Ukraine’s relations with NATO (compiled by the authors according to [4-6])

**Table 1:** Countries participating with NATO in the Individual Partnership Action Plan format (compiled by the authors according to [2; 3; 9])

Country	Partnership for Peace	Individual Partnership Action Plan	Accelerated Dialogue	Membership Action Plan
Bosnia and Herzegovina	December 2006	January 2008	April 2008	April 2010
Ukraine	February 1994	November 2002	April 2005 - June 2010; 2014 - present	
Georgia	March 1994	October 2004	September 2006-present	
Azerbaijan	May 1994	May 2005		
Armenia	October 1994	December 2005		
Kazakhstan	May 1994	January 2006		
Moldova	May 1994	May 2006		
Serbia	December 2006	March 2015		
Montenegro	December 2006	June 2008	April 2008	December 2009 / NATO Member (June 2017)

A country with an IPAP can usually apply for NATO membership as a permanent member. For example, countries such as Georgia, Ukraine, Bosnia and Herzegovina are aiming at joining NATO, while Kazakhstan and Armenia are concentrating more

on military-technical cooperation with the Alliance without applying for permanent membership. Countries participated in this partnership format with NATO (Table 1).

Thus, we see that all countries have their path of cooperation with NATO in the long term. For example, countries such as Georgia, Ukraine, Bosnia, and Herzegovina are aiming at joining NATO, while Kazakhstan and Armenia are focusing more on military-technical cooperation with the Alliance without applying for permanent membership.

In more detail, we will consider the existing institutional instruments of cooperation between Ukraine and NATO. The institutional structure is shown in Fig. 2.

The implementation of this plan is directly linked to the performance of the Sustainable Development Goals, the status of which is shown in Fig. 3.

We will reveal the departmental aspect of the Euro-Atlantic course of the state, in the context of each area, provides information on the main achievements of the responsible ministry and "weaknesses" that need special attention of all stakeholders to ensure the implementation of the

prospects described in the "Opportunities / Next Steps". We will also explain the risks that may arise for the country in the event of delays in the continuation of European integration and Euro-Atlantic reforms in this direction (Table 2).

To implement Ukraine's strategic course towards acquiring full NATO membership in August 2021, the Communication Strategy on Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic Integration for the period up to 2025 was approved. The purpose of the document is to establish a system of communication between state bodies and citizens of Ukraine to explain the content and practical significance of Ukraine's membership in the Alliance to every Ukrainian, to carry out appropriate reforms, and explain their connection with the Euro-Atlantic integration of our country.

For Ukraine, Euro-Atlantic integration is a way of modernizing the economy, attracting foreign investment and new technologies, increasing the competitiveness of domestic producers, and an opportunity to enter the world market.

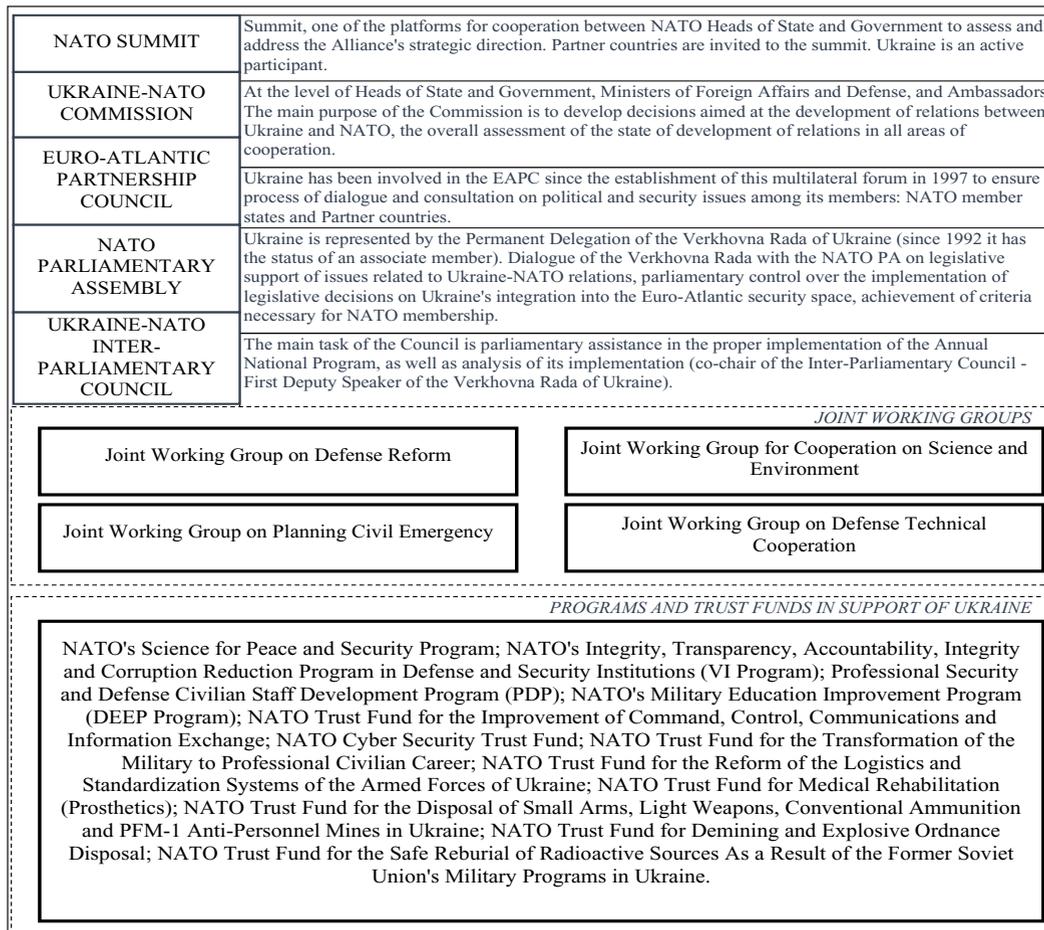
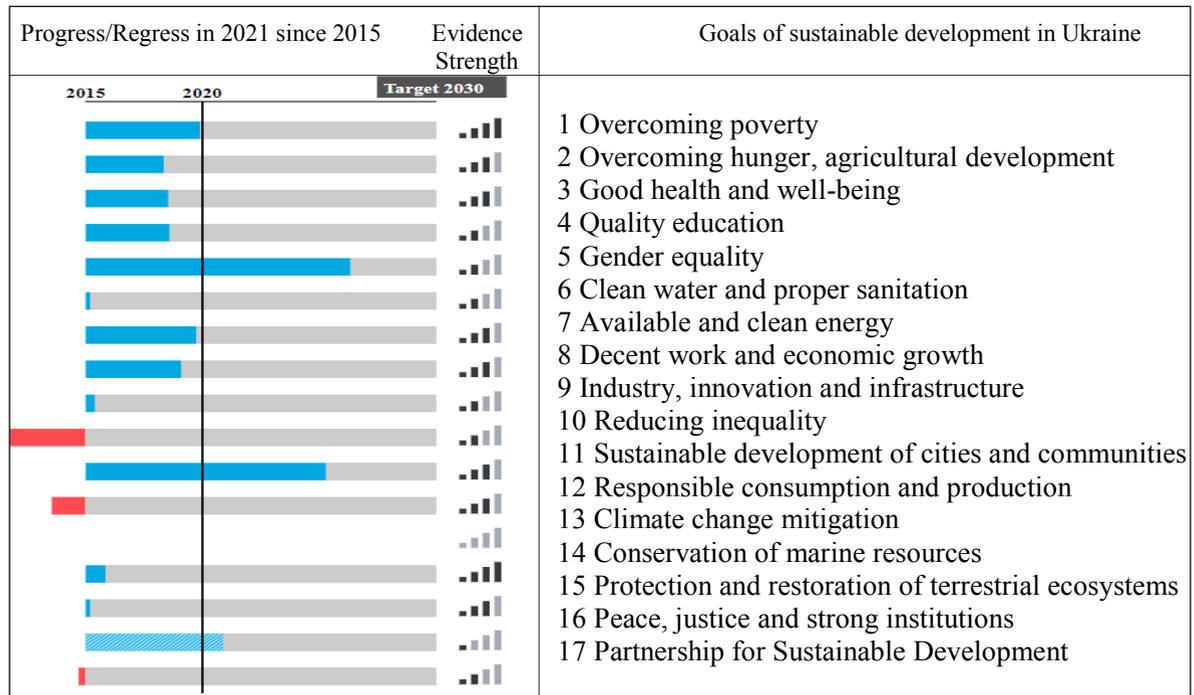


Fig. 2: Institutional structure of NATO-Ukraine cooperation bodies (compiled by the authors)



**Fig. 3:** Current progress in terms of goals and objectives of the Sustainable Development Goals (compiled by the authors according to [10])

**Table 2:** Analysis of the implementation of state policy in the field of Euro-Atlantic integration (compiled by the authors according to [10])

Main characteristics	Content	Period of execution
	Training of Civilian Personnel in the Security and Defense Sector of Ukraine	
What's Done	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ A system for raising the professional level of civil servants and service members involved in cooperation with NATO and reforming Ukraine's security and defence sector has been established.</li> <li>◆ A modular course on the state policy of Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine, "CHAMPIONS 100", was launched with the participation of 54 government agencies (219 people).</li> <li>◆ In 2018, 9 modular course modules were conducted, five of which were focused on developing SMART-based annual national programs under the auspices of the NATO-Ukraine Commission.</li> <li>◆ Annual regional seminars for DAOS diplomats on leadership development and analytical thinking have been launched.</li> <li>◆ The Young UA Summer Academy Advanced Training Program for young specialists of state bodies of Ukraine was conducted.</li> </ul>	
Opportunities	Development of special courses on Ukraine's cooperation with NATO for implementation in higher education institutions of Ukraine. Establish in Ukraine its own national institutional capacity to provide quality, modern and effective training, retraining, and advanced training of personnel involved in all cooperation issues with the Alliance, particularly in Ukraine's preparation for NATO membership.	Until the end of 2020
	Integration of methods and approaches to training, retraining, and advanced training of civilian personnel in the security and defense sector of NATO member states into the national training and retraining of specialists in the Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine. Development of programs of highly specialized targeted training/seminars/courses taking into account the needs of state bodies on Euro-Atlantic integration and reform of the security and defense sector of Ukraine.	Until the end of 2021
Risks / Threats	Lack of legal framework for improving the vocational training, retraining and advanced training of specialists in Euro-Atlantic integration. Insufficient level of financial and resource provision.	

Establishment of a National Resistance System		
What's Done	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ In 2017, Ukraine asked NATO to provide advisory assistance in establishing a National Sustainability System.</li> <li>◆ During 2018, a self-assessment of the state of civil readiness was conducted.</li> <li>◆ In February 2019, the NATO Advisory Group on Threat Resilience Building visited Ukraine.</li> <li>◆ Based on the results of the work of this Group, recommendations for further activities will be provided shortly. To implement these recommendations, as of June 2019, an interagency working group at the expert level has been established within the Commission for Coordination of Euro-Atlantic Integration. Fascinating executive bodies, state bodies, and the National Institute for Strategic Studies will be involved in the group's work.</li> </ul>	
Opportunities	Increasing the institutional capacity of state institutions in protecting and preventing threats of all kinds, ensuring flexible and prompt response to such threats, and forming a coherent, comprehensive understanding of the concept of "national stability" at the state level. Professional development of civil servants in the framework of practical seminars on specific aspects of building the National Sustainability System with the support of the NATO Mission in Ukraine and the US Embassy.	Until the end of 2020
Risks / Threats	Lack of political will to designate or establish a body responsible for this area may lead to low risk or lack of coordination of agencies within the sustainability system.	
Annual National Program Under the Auspices of The Ukraine-Nato Commission		
What's Done	<p>An innovative project for the preparation of strategic documents, particularly the ANP, has been launched according to the international results-based management methodology - Results-Based Management (RBM). The RBM methodology is officially used by the governments of Canada and the United Kingdom; it meets EU standards (SIGMA) and is used by the UN, the World Bank, and other international organizations.</p> <p>First, the basic principles of strategic planning were involved: clarity, expediency, achievability, timeliness, and continuity. Adhering to these principles, a clear and understandable logical chain is built on the current year's strategic goals, objectives, priorities, and measures to achieve them. This makes it as impossible as possible to include inconsistent and not directly related to the relevant objectives measures at the stage of development—maximum clarity and consistency.</p> <p>For the first time, performance indicators and performance indicators have been introduced. This will help direct the formation of tasks and measures solely on the result while predicting its impact on the state's life.</p>	
Opportunities	Establishment in Ukraine of a sustainable system of preparation of strategic documents and monitoring of their implementation	Until the end of 2021
Risks / Threats	Are absent	

Among other things, it is planned to comprehensively inform the Ukrainian society about state policy toward Euro-Atlantic integration by including this issue in the curricula, to involve independent experts, in particular representatives of research centers, public associations, and international partners, in planning, monitoring and evaluating the implementation of annual national programs to achieve criteria for NATO membership.

It is expected that the steps envisaged by the Strategy will contribute to the growth in the Ukrainian society of support for Ukraine's strategic course towards acquiring full membership in the Alliance and at the international level - support for Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic aspirations and the reforms necessary for this.

By this decree, the Head of State also instructed the government to develop and approve an action plan to implement the approved Strategy within three months.

It will be implemented in four stages. Among other things, it is planned to create a thematic web portal to post information on the implementation of reforms and measures for Euro-Atlantic integration, the release of several data and educational materials, etc.

Annual national programs remain the mechanism by which Ukraine promotes reforms related to its aspirations for NATO membership. Ukraine must fully use all the tools available under the NATO-Ukraine Commission. Thus, the Institutional Instruments of Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration

should be directed in compliance with the Annual National Programs.

## CONCLUSION

The goals and tasks facing the ministries in particular and the state in general in the European integration direction are based on the Action Plan for the Implementation of the Communication Strategy on Euro-Atlantic Integration of Ukraine, decisions and operational conclusions of bilateral NATO-Ukraine bodies, as well as roadmaps, concepts, and strategies, public policy. However, the Strategy should not be seen as a static document with an exhaustive list of mutual commitments but as a “living” and flexible tool to ensure Ukraine’s gradual integration into NATO. At the same time, Ukraine must make the most effective use of the experience of non-NATO countries that are integrated into NATO and the experience of countries that have recently joined NATO. Moreover, our government must study all the available capabilities and tools provided by NATO.

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