

CHAPTER IV THE PRE-EMPTIVE ACTIONS OF NATO TOWARDS UKRAINE CRISIS

Based on the fact aforementioned some exact concluding remarks will be "So far NATO did help Ukraine by providing an assistance such as military training, military equipment or logistics, etc". However, little did we know that even though Ukraine providing such assistance, but Ukraine also participated in numerous acts of NATO such as actively participating in "Resolute Support" of NATO in which Ukrainian national contingent are participating to gives some educating mission in Afghanistan, Ukraine also provide 10 personnel to do an observation in the context of routes, objects and local ground; doing a certain measurement on how to enhance the ability of the explosive devices and how to deactivate it, the working staff has successfully defusing approximately 12000 to 15000 explosive utilities.⁶⁴

Deploying another continent that includes engineering unit, a special operative group in KFOR HQ (part and a special instruments that act to secure. The contingent works to provide several engineering squads to supervise and create right measurements on how to use the explosives under the standard maintained by KFOR and the people lives around, do a certain observation to in order to settle the multinational forces divisions trajectory, involved in EULEX convoys of EU, and other possible duties.⁶⁵

There is an acronym TINSTAAFL which is the abbreviation of "there is no such thing as a free lunch" and in the perspective of the author, NATO possibly wanted to help Ukraine cause, after all, Ukraine also contributing in several

⁶⁴ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. (2012). *NATO – Ukraine cooperation in peace-support operations*. MOFA Ukraine. Retrieved on April 4, 2018. From MOFA Ukraine:

<http://nato.mfa.gov.ua/en/ukraine-nato/contribution#>

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

missions and operations under NATO as long as they could. This pattern is quite a fundament in international relations because everything is measured by how much you can give first or you can get abundant but at the end, the burden and the pay-off are equally big or possibly, bigger. Nevertheless, an assistance, aid, or any other forms of help is still necessary nowadays, everything is reciprocal in which states are needing each other, developing countries needs developed countries and so does developed countries although in some cases are not significant for example the Comprehensive Assistance Package for Ukraine.

A. The Comprehensive Assistance Package

In 2016, NATO compiled the Comprehensive Assistance Package, and the goal is to maximize the number of assistance that will be given to Ukraine and also to become the provision for Ukraine to be steadfast and to reconstruct their defence mechanism whilst enhancing it. In 2014, Ukraine released the thorough report of their defence aspects in which supervised by Allied advisors under the consent of NATO. Moreover, the latest reform guidelines and the National Security Strategy came into force while the Defence bulletin came into force in 2016. The reason why those abovementioned comes into force is that Ukraine wanted to standardize and resembling their Armed Forces with NATO has by 2020. In addition, helping Ukraine within the meeting is one of the main goals contained in the Comprehensive Plan.⁶⁶

The allies in collaboration with the Joint Working Group on Defence Reform along with NATO Representation to Ukraine, will diametrically ensure the implementation of strategic level advice towards the defence mechanism, and also the reformation of security aspects and institution

⁶⁶ NATO. (2016). *Comprehensive Assistance Package for Ukraine*.

NATO. Retrieved on April 6, 2018. From NATO:

https://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2016_09/20160920_160920-compreh-ass-package-ukraine-en.pdf

building, and will contain the civil watch on the defence and security aspects, the installment of more democratic values. In terms of the Joint Working Group on Economic Security Ukraine alongside with NATO will emphasis more on economical aspect.

Comprehensive Assistance Package basically planning to reach the 40 targeted support measures will be likely to bolster the security aspects of Ukraine. Basically, the CAP is setting goals in which to ensure the democracy is enforced perfectly by making sure the role of the Parliament and civil society is enhanced, socializing the reformation of security institution, bolstering the military education system and maintaining the good order in the Ukrainian defence and another targeted aspects.⁶⁷

The Comprehensive Assistance Package consists of several programs which targeted to fulfill a couple of aspects such as; Command Control, Communications and Computers (C4) that, Logistics and Standardization, Defence Technical Cooperation, Cyber Defence, Energy Security, Medical Rehabilitation, Counter-Improvised Explosive Devices and Explosive Ordnance Disposal and Demining, Security-related science, Strategic communications, Countering Hybrid Warfare, Security Services Reform, and Civil Emergency Planning.⁶⁸

From the explanation abovementioned, there is significant evidence that actually both Ukraine and NATO are contributing in many aspects and judging from various aspects, the relation, and cooperation between NATO and Ukraine are getting better and better through times amid the tension with Russia is not reduced. Judging from miscellaneous aspects, indeed the military engagement of NATO is impossible because, after all of this time, it is immensely obvious that there are no single bullets fired by NATO towards Russia even though in terms of military

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

aspects NATO can comprehend the military power of Russia, the second one is because many of NATO member states are avoiding any possible conflicts and tend to encounter a negotiation or diplomatic resolution even though they have to prepare for the worse circumstances that might happen.

Subsequently, waiting for Russia to pull out their forces out of Crimea is way-way impossible, Russia thinks that annexing Crimea is the right way to protect their interest over there while maintaining the demand of Crimean people that as the author has mentioned "Russian-descendants" to be counted as Russian passport holder even though, seeing from a lot of aspects such as law it is truthfully incorrect. Vladimir Putin is naturally wanted to maintain the tradition of many Russia leaders before him in which it is to keep their influence over Ukraine even though Ukraine already gain their independence and it is already acknowledged internationally.

B. Membership Action Plan as The Second Strategy of NATO

Ukraine is in a full preparation in bolstering their relationship with the west, especially with EU and of course, with the NATO. Petro Poroshenko in many opportunities has signaled their interest in preparing themselves for the Membership Action Plan (MAP) as he posts in Facebook on March 10, he stated that MAP was Ukraine's "next ambition" on the path toward eventual membership in the 29-country Western alliance.⁶⁹

Later on, he added "This is what my letter to Jens Stoltenberg on February 2018 was about, where, with reference to Article 10 of the North Atlantic Treaty, I officially [set out] Ukraine's aspirations to become a member of the Alliance" the statement was came after NATO updated its

⁶⁹ RFE/RL. (2018). *Poroshenko: Ukraine Seeking NATO Membership Action Plan*. Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty. Retrieved on April 7, 2018. From RFE/RL: <https://www.rferl.org/a/nato-ukraine-poroshenko-membership-action-plan/29090212.html>

website to include Ukraine alongside three other countries -- Bosnia-Herzegovina, Georgia, and Macedonia -- that have declared their aspirations to NATO membership “Countries that have declared an interest in joining the Alliance are initially invited to engage in an Intensified Dialogue with NATO about their membership aspirations and related reforms.”⁷⁰

Membership Action Plan, in a nutshell, is a long set of formal political dialogue and also military reform take several years, it is also meant to set the interest of countries and that fitting it with the NATO criterion. Poroshenko was planning to have a negotiation with NATO regarding MAP in July 2017.⁷¹ For the past three years, Ukrainian people are tremendously eager if Ukraine joins the NATO.

Last April, 46 percent of Ukrainian are supporting the membership plan and later on join the NATO and surprisingly, only 27 percent of them against the idea of joining NATO. A month beforehand, 43 percent of Ukrainian disagreed if Ukraine joins the NATO and 34 was in favor while back in the 1990s only finished on 25 percent.⁷²

Based on 1975 Helsinki Final Act, any sovereign, and free states has a right to pick any preferable alliances or organization which means, Ukraine has a right join NATO and NATO also have a right to pick the desirable state to be the additional members. Even though there is huge intention from Ukraine and NATO give a very positive response towards their intentions.⁷³ Little did Ukraine know that if in 2020 or so on and so forth NATO accept their membership, but based on the Comprehensive Assistance Package that NATO provide to

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Pifer, Steven. (2017). *How Ukraine views Russia and the West*. Brookings. Retrieved on April 8, 2018. From Brookings: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2017/10/18/how-ukraine-views-russia-and-the-west/>

⁷³ Steven Pifer, Loc. Cit.

Ukraine, it is clear that NATO is not going to involved militarily in Ukraine crisis, from thirteen provided packages, there is no single military operation that has been planned or even discussed.

The war in Donbass already takes approximately 10.000 lives not to mention 300 lives within flight MH17, sanctions from the west keep raining on Russia, the preparation of Ukraine in chasing the MAP is getting slower because of the conflict but does not stop the belligerents from fighting each other.⁷⁴ The problem is as long as the belligerents kept on maintaining the conflict by pursuing their own interest, the conflict is likely to be continued. On the flip side, hoping those belligerents to be submissive to one another is also way-way impossible.

Based on the facts and seeing the foreseeable future of Ukraine and the crisis that happen there, the author believes that NATO will not deliver any military operation in helping Ukraine to fight the Russian army stationed in the eastern part Ukraine, or act as the key actor who solved the problem, even though Ukraine for several times helped NATO on the NATO-led operations or another contribution that they did a few years ago.

NATO will likely to provide an assistance in terms of military assistance in a form of training and logistics. As the author has mentioned before, there are a lot of considerations that the allies have in mind that they do not want to start further friction with Russia.

Moreover, NATO spends €1.29 billion (\$1.4 billion) as the basic military budget in which NATO uses it to fund its operations, the strategic command center, research, and last but not least, for research, this number is relatively low compared with the amalgamation of the military and defence

⁷⁴ Polyakova, Alina , & Haddad, Benjamin. (2018). *New sanctions on Russia are not enough*. Brookings. Retrieved on April 8, 2018. From Brookings: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2018/03/20/new-sanctions-on-russia-are-not-enough/>

budget of NATO member states which approximately costs \$921 billion. NATO also have another special budget allocated for the headquarter of NATO in Belgium and approximately costs for €234.4 million (\$252 million).⁷⁵

The numbers abovementioned is exceptional and extremely huge but still, the money is allocated to revs all of the operations and mission that NATO has, putting all of their attention to Ukraine will cost them more, that is why NATO will always support the sovereignty of Ukraine but, there is no way they will allocate an extra amount of money that exceeds their basic budget. Nevertheless, if in the future Ukraine grants their membership and NATO could not act aggravatingly towards Russia but still, it will be a good deterrence motive to pin-down Russia. On the other hand, it could possibly jeopardize the whole situation because Vladimir Putin is quite harsh and such a highly-determined person that maybe, will increase his aggressive strategy to fight the allies and will inflict other casualties.

The great and vast Soviet Union was already dissolved, and even though Russia is no longer consider as the leading countries even to the ex-Soviet states, needlessly to say that Russia indeed, still known as a prosperous country and through the rain of sanctions they still can maintain their power pretty well.⁷⁶ Moreover, Russia has an abundant of aspects such as their geographical aspects, nuclear power, and a variety of natural resources, that can help them to be stronger and more influential.⁷⁷ The dissolved Soviet Union probably affects Russia but it is not too big, and Russia now is focusing on their foreign policy alteration to boost their economy,

⁷⁵ Kottasová, Ivana. (2017). How NATO is funded and who pays what. CNN Money. Retrieved on April 8, 2018. From CNN Money: <http://money.cnn.com/2017/05/25/news/nato-funding-explained-trump/index.html>

⁷⁶ Second Sociological Congress of Russia. (2003). *Russian Society and Sociology in XXI Century: Social Challenges and Alternatives*.

⁷⁷ Baran, Z., (2007). *EU Energy Security: Time to End Russian Leverage*. The Washington Quarterly 30 (4), P. 131–144.

enhancing their image internationally, still show their hegemonic views towards another country amid the sanctions given to them.⁷⁸

On the flip side, most of the European countries decide to cut their defense budget that likely to result in the downgrading of military ability it can be seen from the fact that only three NATO member states such as the UK, US, Greece, that spend around 2% of their GDP on defense and if all of the member states of NATO combined it will only reach 1,6% while Russia decide to increase their defense budget to 4% of their GDP.⁷⁹ It is obvious that the existence of such involvement or military operation and mission in Afghanistan, Africa, and also the Middle East becomes another obstacle for NATO to be the only key actor in Ukraine Crisis⁸⁰ and even though naturally, the crisis itself somehow bolster the relationship between NATO and EU and together they create such aggressive response towards the decision of Russia annexation.⁸¹

The EU gives economic sanctions towards Russia while NATO preparing the military readiness like the RAP or the Readiness Action Plan alongside VJTF or Very High Readiness Joint Task Force towards any given situation but still, it is only a "readiness". NATO and The EU also enhance

⁷⁸ Suzen, Hasan. (2017). *Why the EU and NATO Have Failed to Manage the Ukraine Crisis*. Geopolitics & International Security, Hybrid Warfare, RESEARCH, Beyond The Horizon. Retrieved on April 9, 2018. From Beyond The Horizon:

<http://www.behorizon.org/failure-ukraine-crisis/>

⁷⁹ Congressional Research Service. (2014). *NATO: Response to the Crisis in Ukraine and Security Concerns in Central and Eastern Europe*. CSR. P.1

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Zyga, Ioanna-Nikoletta. (2015). *The Ukraine Crisis has Brought The EU and NATO Closer*. European Leadership Network. Retrieved on April 9, 2018. From European Leadership Network:

<https://www.europeanleadershipnetwork.org/commentary/the-ukraine-crisis-has-brought-the-eu-and-nato-closer/>

the joint efforts to fight the hybrid warfare of Russia. The EU and NATO have strengthened their officials meeting while enhancing the political consultations.

The High Representatives for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Federica Mogherini joins the Ministerial meetings; the Secretary-General of NATO Jens Stoltenberg sit together alongside the European Commission President Jean Claude Juncker, and also joined some of EU Council Meetings to discuss about the defense and security issues. The evidence of EU and NATO cooperation abovementioned does not change the fact that facing Russia is not an easy things to do. Therefore, Ukraine have to wait for Comprehensive Assistance Packages and also Membership Action Plan as the immediate response of NATO do in the future.

