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Editorial

The Persistent Demand for Defense Institution Building

Philipp Fluri and Judith Reid

Transparent and accountable, efficient and effective Defense Institution Building (DIB) is one of the shared values that binds together not only NATO but also NATO's Partnership Programming. In this way, DIB is also an essential part of defense management and reform.

DIB was originally made the subject of a Partnership Action Plan (PAP) in 2004 by the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), which thus affirmed its conviction that accountable and transparent, effective and efficient state defense institutions under democratic civilian control are fundamental to stability in the Euro-Atlantic area and essential to international defense and security cooperation.[1] Defense Institution Building—already implemented or convincingly committed to—is thus also a *sine qua non* for comprehensive partnership with NATO. DIB is not an alternative to existing bilateral programs of cooperation on reform, such as the Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP); rather, it is intended to complement and support these programs by facilitating EAPC-wide exchange of knowledge and by promoting multilateral cooperation on issues of common concern.

PAP-DIB reflects Allies' and Partners' common views—thus an *acquis*—on modern and democratically responsible defense institutions, provides a EAPC definition of defense reform and a framework for common reflection and exchange of experience on related problems.[2] PAP-DIB aims to reinforce efforts

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[1] "Partnership Action Plan on Defence Institution Building (PAP-DIB)," *NATO e-Library*, Official Texts, June 7, 2004, last updated June 8, 2010, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_21014.htm.

[2] For a discussion of the early concept of DIB see Willem Van Eekelen and Philipp Fluri, eds., *Defence Institution Building: A Sourcebook in Support of the Partnership Action Plan* (Geneva: DCAF, 2006); Thomas-Durell Young and Todor Tagarev, "Planning and Development of Defense Institutions in a Time of Transformation," *Connections: The*

by EAPC Partners to initiate and carry forward reform and restructuring of defense institutions to meet their needs and the commitments undertaken in the context of the Partnership for Peace Framework Document and EAPC Basic Document, as well as the relevant Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) documents including the OSCE Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security.

The contribution to this special issue by Dr. Alberto Bin begins the discussion with an overarching look at NATO's commitment to increasing its own security by way of helping neighbors improve their defense institutions. Important lessons have been learned in the process: a broader definition of security must include a Whole-of-Government approach; institutional resiliency is the ultimate goal; individualized approaches should be designed for each partner nation involved; institutional change requires long term commitments of leadership and staff, along with multi-year action plans and funding streams – all that with the aim to promote good governance through democratically managed security sectors that are respected and trusted by their societies.

Both the U.S. European Command (EUCOM) and the Defense and Security Cooperation Agency have acknowledged the importance of DIB (the latter in the context of Defense Capacity Building – DCB) and made it a cooperation pillar. Enforced and complemented by such parallel efforts as the Building Integrity Initiative and Defense Capacity Building, and used in reconstruction contexts in Iraq and Afghanistan, the ten "PAP-DIB commandments" laid down in 2004 remain relevant, but need to be re-interpreted in each new context.

In the US context, DIB was codified into law in 2016 through the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA). As Alexandra Kerr documents in her excellent article, DIB thus rose from a relatively unknown, bottom-up effort to a premier discipline in the US DOD with importance for the whole security and defense cooperation effort whose primary objective is to enable partners to build capacities for sharing costs and responsibilities of global leadership.

In the following article, Marcin Koziel argues that hybrid activities by both state and non-state actors create ambiguity thereby paralyzing the state and leading to conditions for conflict. Defense against such a hybrid conflict requires responses by internal security forces, intelligence agencies, state-owned media, border security, non-state actors, and civil society; all of which requires DIB to have a Whole-of-Government—even a whole-of-society—strategic concept to build resilience in partners' defense systems.

According to the contribution of one of the guest editors of this special issue, Judith Reid, propaganda is used by some regimes to soften enemy terrain before full on military attack. Effective negative communications programs are targeted to a society's specific cultural paradigms so as not to be perceived by the targeted nation. These tactics can be used by outsiders (e.g. Russia on

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Quarterly Journal 5, no. 1 (2006): 1-3; Hari Bucur-Marcu, *Defence Institution Building – A Self-Assessment Kit* (Geneva: DCAF, 2010); as well as the two special DIB issues of *Connections*: Spring-Summer 2006 and Summer 2008.

Ukraine) or by insiders (Hugo Chavez in Venezuela). By using Hofstede's model to understand the pillars of collective behavior within Central and Eastern European countries, one can uncover vulnerabilities to external persuasion, and can also discover corresponding defenses against the negative exaggeration of collective emotions.

The article by Chincilla and Poast provides a case study of the Baltic experience engaging the defense institution building process as a path to NATO membership, focusing on the role the creation of the Baltic Battalion played in sharing of technical assistance and DIB resources.

The next three articles present the experience of Ukraine. First, Maksym Bugriy analyzes attempts to reform Ukraine's Security Sector Reform in view of the legacy of centralized decision making, corruption, nepotism, low salaries, a hollow reserve force, and conscripted troops. Then Leonid Polyakov takes the reader through a historical review of Ukraine's military posture since the dissolution of the Soviet Union onto today, with the transformation to an all-volunteer professional force, improved reserve forces and mobilization processes, increased financial support of defense, and massive upgrades in armaments and materiel, all that while engaging Russia's information operations. Pierre Jolicoeur wraps up this issue with analysis of the experience in the implementation of NATO's Defense Education Enhancement Program (DEEP), seen as one of the best ways for NATO to engage Ukraine in light of Russia's negative campaign on the country.

Acknowledgments

This special issue of *Connections* seeks to establish the status of Defense Institution Building in a changed and changing world, while looking into future needs and opportunities. DIB has emerged as the strategic linchpin to collective defense for NATO and its partners. Now codified in policy and staffing, what is the next step in the march toward coalition intellectual interoperability?

The editors would like to thank the authors and their colleagues in the Connections editorial team – Jean Callaghan, Sean Costigan and Todor Tagarev for the inspiring cooperation. Thanks also go to the Consortium for this great opportunity to revisit Defense Institution Building at this crucial time.

About the Authors and Guest Editors of This Special Issue

Dr. **Philipp Fluri** is assistant director of the Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces with a portfolio encompassing Eastern Europe, South Caucasus and Central Asia.

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Policy Paper

NATO's Defense Institution Building and Projecting Stability: Current Priorities and Activities

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https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_58110.htm

Abstract: Emphasizing the interdependence between the security of the Allies and that of their neighborhood, NATO's "Projecting Stability" agenda constitutes an important step in the organization's adaptation to the current security environment. Defense Institution Building (DIB) plays a key role in this agenda by supporting partners in developing their defense sectors, thereby contributing to their own stability and that of the entire region.

Under the framework of Partnership Action Plan on Defense Institution Building (PAP-DIB), several programs were developed in order to reach the objectives of the different aspects of DIB, with the ultimate goal of achieving democratic progress and maintaining stability; that is, a modern and democratically-managed security sector which is respected and trusted by the society.

As this article stipulates, the success of these programs is dependent upon many variables including credibility of DIB interventions, their continuity, and the political buy-in and national ownership of reform, as well as the extent to which the interventions are tailored to local conditions.

Keywords: Defense Institution Building, DIB, capacity, partnership, stability, security.

Introduction

"If our neighbours are more stable, we are more secure." This statement,[1] made by the NATO Heads of State and Government at their 2016 Summit in Warsaw, touches upon the core of NATO's work on Projecting Stability. However, efforts aimed at "projecting stability" are not easy to contextualize and conceptualize – 'stability' may carry different connotations depending on the circumstances. Nevertheless, in the NATO's context, "Projecting Stability" can probably be best explained as "measures to help the Alliance prepare for, deal with and overcome instability in its neighborhood, including with its partners. It is seen as a holistic approach with a spectrum of engagement, running from partnerships with key states, including capacity building, to crisis management measures relying on military capabilities."[2] Strategically, the Projecting Stability constitutes an important step in the Alliance's efforts to enhance the security area in the Euro-Atlantic region and beyond by addressing both *sources* and *consequences* of instability.

Assisting partners in developing their defense sectors through effective Defense Institution Building (DIB) plays a key role in supporting the Projecting Stability agenda. Defense and security sectors, by their nature serving as the first line of defense, are there to set up 'barriers' against internal and external instability. In this context, the DIB instruments which NATO implements with interested partners directly support implementation of the Projecting Stability agenda by responding to the call to build local capacity in the European neighborhood by training local forces, fighting corruption and enhancing democratic institutions. In the words of the NATO Secretary General himself: "the idea of NATO [of] projecting stability is very much about how can we build local capacity in different ways in different countries, not only by training local forces but also by fighting corruption, building institutions."[3]

NATO's contribution to the development of effective and efficient state defense institutions also reinforces the Alliance's commitment to international security cooperation with partners by, among others, assisting them in developing institutional resilience to effectively respond to modern threats and challenges

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[1] *The Warsaw declaration on Transatlantic Security*, issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Warsaw, July 8-9, 2016; accessed September 13, 2018, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_133168.htm.

[2] Ruben Díaz-Plaja, "Projecting Stability: an agenda for action," *NATO Review*, March 13, 2018, accessed September 13, 2018, https://www.nato.int/docu/review/2018/Also-in-2018/projecting-stability-an-agenda-for-action-nato-partners/EN/index.htm.

[3] "Projecting Stability Beyond Our Borders," Speech by NATO Secretary General, Mr. Jens Stoltenberg, at the Graduate Institute Geneva, March 2, 2017, accessed September 13, 2018, https://www.nato.int/cps/ic/natohq/opinions_141898.htm.

by strengthening relevant capacities in key areas including cyber security, counter-terrorism or border security.[4]

Over the years, NATO has developed and implemented with interested partners various DIB instruments. This article addresses current policy priorities of and practical activities implemented under key NATO's DIB programs executed by the NATO International Staff Political Affairs and Security Policy Division (PASP).

NATO's DIB: Key Building Blocks

The Partnership Action Plan on Defense Institution Building (PAP-DIB) provides a key policy framework within which to promote practical cooperation in institutional reforms in and the restructuring of defense sectors. Although it was launched as long ago as at the NATO's Istanbul Summit in 2004, and despite the changes to the security environment and the emergence of new threats and challenges, its key directions remain valid.

In the context of "Projecting Stability," suffice it to mention that the key principle of the PAP-DIB—that of NATO assisting interested partners in increasing their ability to establish "effective and efficient state defense institutions under civilian and democratic control"—remains key to both sustaining democratic progress and maintaining internal stability. Indeed, there is no stability without the state ensuring effective democratic control over its security sector which, if uncontrolled, may become a source of instability in itself.

Key examples of the programs which directly support implementation of the PAP-DIB objectives include:

- Building Integrity (BI);
- Defense Education Enhancement Program (DEEP);
- Military Career Transition Program (MCTP); and
- the Professional Development Program (PDP).

Building Integrity

Building Integrity (BI), which was launched in 2007, is part of a step by step approach to strengthening integrity and good governance in the defense and related security sector elaborated in the PAP-DIB. BI remains an integral part of the

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[4] At their 2018 NATO Summit in Brussels, NATO Heads of State and Government reinforced their commitment to help NATO's Partners to increase their ability to confront today's security challenges by reaffirming their determination to help them "to build stronger defence institutions, improve good governance, enhance their resilience, provide for their own security, and more effectively contribute to the fight against terrorism." *Brussels Summit Declaration*, issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Brussels, July 11-12, 2018, accessed September 13, 2018, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_ texts_156624.htm.

Alliance's ongoing commitment to make the PAP-DIB more operational, translating the words agreed in Istanbul into deeds. How? Since its creation in 2007, NATO BI has developed expertise and new approaches to meet the needs of nations – Allies and Partners. This support is aimed at promoting good practices at the institutional level and enhancing the skill set of civilian and uniformed personnel working in the defense and related security sector.

While some existing NATO partnership tools and mechanisms such as the Trust Fund Policy, the Partnership Planning and Review Process (PARP) and networks such as the Partnership Training and Education Centers (PTECs) were readily adapted, it was also clear that a new approach would be needed to strengthen the good governance component of the defense and security sector. To do this, a new approach was developed making maximum use of existing tools and design of new tools to fill the gaps. This approach of mixing 'old' and 'new' has led to the creation of a BI toolkit that includes diagnostic tools, references identifying good practices, certified courses, a pool of Subject Matter Experts (SMEs) providing strategic support including peer to peer exchanges and the NATO BI Policy and the Action Plan. The BI Self-Assessment Questionnaire (SAQ) and Peer Review Process is at the heart of BI and is a good example of this innovative approach.

The BI SAQ and the Peer Review Process, trailed by Bosnia and Herzegovina, Norway and Ukraine marked the first new BI tool. The BI SAQ and Peer Review Process draws on NATO's extensive defense planning experience and proven methodology in the conduct of surveys and the UNODC and OECD peer review processes. The BI SAQ is a diagnostic tool; it covers the functional areas identified in the PAP-DIB. The completed survey provides a snapshot of current institutional procedures, both good practices and areas of risk. The written information is complemented by consultations in capitals. This process provides the basis for the Peer Review and development of a set of recommendations aimed at building good governance in the defense and related security sector. The report is not the end. On request, the NATO BI provides ongoing support, helping nations in developing implementation plans, promoting best practices and developing institutional capacity. In this context, NATO BI is unique in providing tailored long-term support to strengthen integrity, transparency, and accountability in the defense and related security sector.

Implementation of the PAP-DIB objectives requires a long-term commitment of leadership and staff and a multi-year action plan. Given the number of requests for support experienced in 2007-2011, it was clear that a sustainable and structured process was needed to provide consistent and sustainable support to individual nations. As a follow up to the NATO Chicago Summit (2012), BI was recognized as part of the Allied Command Transformation (ACT) Global Programming and established as a NATO Education and Training Discipline. The PASP was designated as the NATO-wide Requirement Authority (RA) and leads on the implementation of the BI Education and Training Plan approved by the North Atlantic Council in August 2012. This was the first step toward sustainability. This

decision also provided the foundation for close civil-military cooperation, for the review of lessons learned and development of NATO certified courses conducted online, on residential basis and using mobile training teams.

BI certified courses are conducted on a regular basis at the DIB School in Georgia as well as national facilities from Colombia to Afghanistan. In 2017, the BI conducted training for 2 740 civilian and military representatives. In collaboration with the NATO Defense Education Enhancement Program (DEEP), the NATO BI team is working with Armenia, Ukraine and others to implement the NATO BI Reference Curriculum and develop the next generation of civil and military staff to strengthen good governance and implement key areas of the PAP-DIB.

At the NATO's Wales Summit (2014), BI and developing institutional capabilities were recognized as key components of the Defense Capacity Building Initiative (DCBI). As of Summer 2018, BI contributes to DCB packages for Georgia, Iraq, Jordan, Moldova and Tunisia as well as partnership packages for Afghanistan, the Kosovo Security Forces and Ukraine. NATO BI has also taken steps to contribute to NATO's efforts in other areas including combating terrorism and implementation of UNSCR 1325 and related Resolutions.

The NATO BI Policy endorsed by Heads of State and Government (HOSGs) at the Warsaw Summit (2016) established the explicit link between good governance and security and reaffirmed the importance of transparent and accountable defense institutions under democratic control for stability in the Euro-Atlantic Area and for international security cooperation.[5] The BI Action Plan developed by NATO Foreign Ministers sets the course for a strategic approach to integrity and good governance. It identifies concrete steps to make BI conceptually robust and operationally applicable across NATO's political and military lines of activity. The NATO BI Action Plan is directed at enhancing institutional capabilities, individual capacity, and at mainstreaming BI principles into the fulfilment of NATO's core tasks: collective defense, crisis management and cooperative security. The first report on the implementation of this Policy was noted by NATO HOSGs at the Brussels Summit in July 2018.

BI: Achievements in Brief

Country-specific strategies are tailored to individual nations and synchronized to national planning processes. This targeted systems-based approach is focused on processes and procedures as well as on assisting the establishment of a professional corps of SMEs to implement BI measures. There is no "one size fits all,"

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[5] HOSGs invited NATO's partners to be associated to the NATO BI Policy. As of August 1, 2018, the following nations are associated to the NATO BI Policy: Armenia, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Colombia, Finland, Georgia, Ireland, Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, Malta, Republic of Moldova, Serbia, Sweden, Switzerland, Tajikistan, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia,* Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan.

*Turkey recognizes the Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name.

though many nations share common challenges in key functional areas including: procurement, defense acquisition, and contracting; human resources management (HRM); and management of financial resources. Integrity Development Goals have been developed in nine partner nations. Progress is tracked through annual consultations and reporting making use of the PARP Process.

Participation in NATO BI is on a voluntary basis. NATO common funds are supplemented by voluntary contributions to the NATO BI Trust Fund.[6] The NATO BI tools and methodology are being used by NATO Allies and partners alike to assess risks and to build institutional capacity. To date, 20 nations are taking part in the BI Self-Assessment Questionnaire and Peer Review Process. The NATO BI staff promote peer to peer contacts and maintain a network of SMEs drawn from the public and private sector. The expertise on offer corresponds to the subjects identified in the PAP-DIB.

Is NATO BI Making a Difference?

It is almost 15 years since the PAP-DIB was presented at the Istanbul Summit and a decade since the introduction of NATO BI. What has been the impact? In addition to the 2 740 civilian and military representatives who received BI education and training, an independent assessment of NATO BI undertaken by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) confirms that NATO BI has achieved positive medium- and long-term policy impacts. Some of the changes highlighted in the SIPRI Report include:

- 11 nations have introduced changes in legislation
- 12 nations have introduced new business practices
- 15 nations have introduced new education and training requirements; and
- 16 nations have introduced permanent structures.

What Is Planned for the BI Agenda 2019-2022?

December 2018 marks the end of more than a decade of innovation and achievement for the NATO BI agenda and the PAP-DIB. The development of a strategic political-military framework including the development of the Policy, Action Plan and creation of a new NATO Education and Training Discipline, combine to provide a favorable starting position for BI 2019-2022. While a number of gaps remain, the progress made has been considerable and provides a solid starting position for "BI 2.0" to be launched in January 2019. These NATO-led efforts have also attracted the attention of other International Organizations including the EU, the OECD, the UNODC, and the World Bank. As part of the implementation of the NATO-EU Joint Declaration, the EU will contribute 2 million euro to NATO BI in 2019-2022. In announcing this decision, the EU referred to NATO as the

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[6] Contributing nations as of 1 August 2018 are the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Poland, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom.

"partner of choice" in promoting good governance in the defense and security sector.

The BI agenda for the next phase will be focused on two inter-connected lines of effort. First, mainstreaming BI into national and NATO policies, plans, procedures, and doctrine. The aim is to shift from *ad hoc* to institutional arrangements embedding BI and the principles rooted in the PAP-DIB at the strategic, operational and tactical levels. The second line of effort will be aimed at enhancing BI's engagement; scaling up support with nations already making use of the BI toolkit and resources and raising awareness with nations who, to date, have had limited engagement with the BI agenda. Both of these lines of effort recognize the importance of ongoing monitoring and evidence-based learning.

BI is open to NATO members and partners. The BI Program has benefited considerably from nations' expertise and sharing of lessons learned.[7]

Defense Education Enhancement Program (DEEP)

Education matters – in the defense sector as in any other realm of political and social life. Defense education is key to developing mature personalities able to make responsible decisions based on a profound understanding of the complexity of modern defense and security issues, professional excellence, and a set of fundamental values and norms. Those personalities are the core of any functioning institution in the defense and military field. Hence, defense education provides an invaluable contribution to NATO's Defense Capacity Building (DCB) initiatives as well as to its Projecting Stability objectives.

Defense education is a dynamic concept. It requires a clear and comprehensive vision of how a nation's military personnel—from cadet to general officer—has to be prepared to fulfil its tasks and functions. At the same time, it has to be responsive and adaptive to new developments. International cooperation that allows the exchange of experience and best practices is the 'silver bullet' for continuous improvement.

To support the implementation of the defense education component of the PAP-DIB, in 2006 NATO Allies agreed to launch the Education & Training for Defense Reform Initiative which aimed to create a partner-wide collaborative mechanisms and tools to help to implement the PAP-DIB by supporting education of civilian and military personnel in efficient and effective management of national defense institutions under civil and democratic control. Based on this initiative, in 2007 the PASP, together with the Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes (PfP Consortium), launched the Defense Education Enhancement Program (DEEP).

DEEP works with partner nations to help to identify the needs and gaps of education institutions in the defense and military domain. The three main components—institutional, curriculum and faculty development—are operational-

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[7] For more information about BI see https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_ 68368.htm.

ized via dialogue between institutions in NATO and partner countries as well as peer-to-peer consultations among allied and partner SMEs.

Through DEEP, the Alliance helps partners to modernize and professionalize the organizational structure of Professional Military Education (PME) institutions and to provide solutions to build quality assurance processes within the system. It also helps to review or establish an army-wide concept of the military education, which guides PME institutions through the educational process at all levels.

Aside from helping individual countries to develop their educational institutions, NATO is also aiding them in developing curriculum ("what to teach"), available to all Allies and partners. Years of committed effort by prominent experts from Allied and partner countries have produced five unique products: the Reference Curriculum on Defense Institution Building, on the Professional Military Education for Officers and on the Professional Military Education for Non-Commissioned Officers, Cyber Security and Counter Insurgency (COIN). Counter-terrorist Reference Curriculum is currently under development.

Faculty development ("how to teach") is the third pillar of DEEP in addition to institutional assistance and curriculum development. NATO helps to maintain an international professional network which brings together defense and military educators from Allied and partner countries to exchange experience in teaching methodologies and support those interested via peer-to-peer advice and assistance.

The Alliance has developed and relies on a vast transatlantic web of institutions and individuals who support these projects on a voluntary basis. Some 70 defense education Allied and partner institutions have engaged in DEEP: the US Joint Forces Staff College, the US Army War College, the US Naval War College, the Bulgarian Naval Academy, the Canadian Defence Academy, the National Defense University of Poland, the National Defense University of Romania, the Czech University of Defense, the Slovak Armed Forces Academy, the German Führungs Akademie, the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, the George C. Marshall Center in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, to name just a few. The NATO Defense College and the NATO School Oberammergau also support the program. The Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes, an Austrian-German-Swiss-Canadian-Polish-US initiative, is instrumental in helping NATO to manage the network and the DEEP projects, with a dedicated working group, the Education Development Working Group.

There are currently 13 individual country DEEP programs, with different focus and at different stages of development, engaging Afghanistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia,[8] Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mauritania, the Republic of Moldova, Mongolia, Serbia, Tunisia, and Ukraine.

DEEP is and will continue to have long-term sustaining impact on partner nation professional military education systems. It has proven to be an excellent

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[8]   Turkey recognizes the Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name.

support program for the sustainment of other DCB and DIB programs, and is a core project under the Projecting Stability initiative. As a clear illustration of Allied commitment to this area of work, in 2014 at their Wales Summit, Allied Heads of State and Government stated that they "will continue to build defence capacity and interoperability through such initiatives as the Defence Education Enhancement Programme."[9] At their Summit in Warsaw, they further stated that "NATO's added-value in contributing to the international community's efforts includes its ability to offer defence reform assistance and advice in a coherent way, its recognized track record in the training and development of local forces, including in more difficult circumstances, and defense education."[10]

Military Career Transition Program (MCTP)

The NATO's Military Career Transition Program is another initiative directly supporting the successful pursuit of the DIB and Projecting Stability objectives. It aims to support the design, development and implementation of an operational, sustainable, effective and integrated approach of military personnel career transition embedded in the Armed Forces personnel management function. The program can also be implemented in other organizations of the national security sector with military formations.

A robust and effective system of military career transition to professional life is a fundamental pillar of personnel support and a tangible manifestation of the Armed Forces' positioning as an attractive employer. It allows military workforce to serve with a sense of security, knowing that they will receive appropriate assistance helping them to be prepared for civilian life including future employment after they leave the service. Employment or self-employment are often the most important pillar for this transition. Choosing which career to pursue often influences other elements of transition from the Armed Forces such as the choice of location for housing, education, health and welfare. The personnel need to address these issues before their departure and supporting them in this process constitutes a key element of modern HRM.

The experience acquired by the NATO Allies indicates that a comprehensive coverage, starting as early as the time of entry in the Armed Forces, contributes to military personnel's loyalty and to the Armed Forces' overall performance. Recruitment, retention and transition back to civilian life constitute the three main components of quality-oriented HRM in the security sector. Resettlement is another important element in military recruitment and retention of highly qualified personnel. Improving the Armed Forces effectiveness at tackling these

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[9] *Wales Summit Declaration*, issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Wales, September 5, 2014, accessed September 13, 2018, https://www.nato.int/cps/ic/natohq/official_texts_112964.htm.

[10] *Warsaw Summit Communiqué*, issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Warsaw July 8-9, 2016, accessed September 13, 2018, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_133169.htm.

issues can be described, overall, as "Managing Personnel Life Cycles": it constitutes a continuous process that covers the recruiting, developing and discharging of personnel.

Defining the overall concept for HRM, as well as the concept of military career transition system, is a policy decision typically made at the level of command and leadership. Choice of military career transition model requires the defense system leadership to set up an effective transition system and to manage the military personnel with a long-term perspective, adjusting to upcoming security challenges, emerging constraints, and societal and economic dynamics. It underlines the importance of an effective system to support re-integration of service leavers into civilian life.

With military skills that are not easily transferable to civilian life, many former military personnel must adapt their current skills or learn new ones. The current economic climate has made the transition even more difficult but NATO's MCTP helps former military personnel to carve out a new career and a new livelihood. The Program plays a significant role in the DIB process of making defense and security sectors more resilient to prevent or minimize instability and conflict. NATO applies three key elements to support interested partners in addressing these objectives: all three in Ukraine and one of them in Kyrgyzstan.

Resettlement Program

The Resettlement Program operates in Ukraine since 2000 under the NATO's civil budget. It aims to facilitate the re-integration process for the released professional military personnel by enabling them to acquire an additional professional qualification in correspondence with the demand of the civilian labor market. It thus enhances the national workforce and, in doing so, prevents social instability, especially in times of military transition and conflict.

The average percentage of the Program graduates' re-integration into the civilian labor market over the years is not less than 75%. Until June 2018, the Program assisted to around 10 200 graduates from the Ukrainian Armed Forces (UAF), the National Guard of Ukraine, the State Border Guard Service of Ukraine, and the Security Service of Ukraine in more than 65 locations all over the territory of Ukraine in vocational training and job finding assistance.

NATO has been implementing a similar resettlement program in Kyrgyzstan where some 1 200 graduates received resettlement support between 2010 and the first half of 2018.

Policy Advice Component: Military Career Transition Trust Fund (MCT TF)

Under the lead of Norway, with contributions from Albania, Croatia, Greece, Luxembourg, Portugal, and Turkey, the MCT TF assists Ukraine in developing and implementing a sustainable, effective and integrated approach of the MCT and resettlement of military personnel embedded in the personnel management function of the UAF and other participating state organs with military formations such as the National Guard and the State Border Guard Service. The MCT Pro-

gram is focused on militaries and their families; it also promotes peace through qualitative democracy, good governance principles and values such as the promotion of fundamental freedoms and human rights, justice, and the rule of law.

Since its launch, the MCT TF has delivered various analyses, conceptual work and policy considerations, as well as practical activities in a number of areas such as familiarization visits and professional development training of selected SMEs. Different resettlement systems of NATO member states have been examined along with experiences of how social adaptation is coordinated, organized and implemented in conjunction with military hierarchies and adjacent politics. A possible Ukrainian MCT model was developed, and the pre-conditions for installing the functional support at the 1st line and the 2nd line of resettlement within the state organs with military formations and the 3rd labor market assistance line within the state employment service, have been identified.

The concept, developed by the MCT TF, is a simple, evidence-based and quickly realizable model. Sets of criteria and methodological tools defining the key elements (organization, eligibility criteria and benefits) of the foreseen resettlement system also have been submitted to Ukraine for consideration by its Authorities.

Psychological Rehabilitation Component

In addition to the resettlement activities and the provision of policy advice on MCT, NATO has since 2014 assisted the Ukrainian armed personnel in managing psychological consequences of the crisis in Ukraine. Supported by the NATO's civil and the MCT TF budgets, these activities aim to address urgent short-term needs enabling former (Anti-Terrorist Operation) Joint Forces Operation participants' smooth reintegration into civilian life. The objective is to prevent and overcome the Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) by determining the ways of post-traumatic personal development. The activity also contributes to setting up an overarching sustainable system of the psychological rehabilitation inside the Ukrainian military structures.

From November 2014 until September 2018 the total of 187 psychological rehabilitation seminars for the military servicemen reached around 7 486 beneficiaries (from the Armed Forces, the National Guard and the State Border Guard Service) in 79 different locations all over the territory of Ukraine.

Professional Development Program (PDP)

State institutions play an extremely important role in ensuring democratic development and security of the state. Equally important are the personnel employed in these organizations: their skills and talents are essential to increasing the state's ability to ensure accountability, implement reforms and respond to security challenges. The Professional Development Program (PDP) is a capacity-building initiative aimed specifically at increasing skills of key civilians responsible for national security.

The NATO-Ukraine Professional Development Program

The NATO-Ukraine Professional Development Program was launched in 2005. With the United Kingdom as the Lead Nation, the Program has worked to, *inter alia*, facilitate organizational development and implementation of systematic reforms in Ukraine's public sector; support capacity building of Ukrainian professional development agencies and training centers, thereby enabling them to deliver sustainable high-quality training and education to civil servants in the wider defense and security sector; and enhance individual skills of Ukraine's civil servants engaged in Euro-Atlantic integration.

The total amount of direct financial contributions in support of the PDP Ukraine received from the donor Nations amounts to more than 2 million EUR, and in 2011-2016 alone, the PDP offered various training opportunities to some 9 000 civil servants in Ukraine. Trainings addressed areas such as policy development, civilian and democratic control of security forces, internal audit, Critical Infrastructure Protection, and others.

Strategic Reorientation of the PDP Ukraine

In 2016, the PDP initiated its internal transformation to better align its policies and activities with the strategic realities in Ukraine, and to more effectively respond to the strategic objectives of NATO-Ukraine relations. Since then, the PDP also has worked to establish an institutional framework in Ukraine that would be fully responsive to these new requirements. As a result, the Program has forged a partnership with the Office of the Vice Prime Minister of Ukraine for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration to ensure cross-ministerial cooperation, shared opportunities and joint training activities. The Program also cooperates with other institutions in Ukraine including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, the Presidential Administration, the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine, the *Verkhovna Rada* (the Parliament) of Ukraine, the Ministry of Defense, and other organizations.

What Is New about the Approach?

In addition to its traditional mission of working together with Ukraine to increase the effectiveness of civil and democratic control of security forces, the Program now focuses on skills of key civilians responsible for national security policy and reform while enforcing the country's capacity to respond to security challenges. It also assists Ukraine in implementing various NATO-Ukraine instruments more effectively. New concepts which the Program has introduced include specific modules for representatives of Ukraine's public sector focusing on, *inter alia*, foreign policy, Hybrid Warfare, Strategic Communications, Leadership, Management, and Gender, the NATO Crisis Management and Response Planning, and the Annual National Program of Ukraine (ANP) – a key policy and implementation instrument which Ukraine uses to design and implement its cooperation with NATO.

As part of its transformation, the Program has also developed a new concept to assist the Government of Ukraine in identifying and increasing professional skills of the key personnel involved in reform efforts, thus helping Ukraine to establish the pool of certified professionals able to handle reform in the security and defense sector of Ukraine. The new principle is to effectively target the Ukrainian civil servants from the wider defense and security sector, directly involved in Euro-Atlantic integration, and to intensify the PDP efforts aimed at establishing sustainable training capacities within a number of the Ukrainian educational institutions, including the Diplomatic Academy.

As a practical activity in the above areas, the PDP Ukraine has developed a new comprehensive modular training concept to facilitate enhanced understanding of Euro-Atlantic principles and standards – the so-called "Champions 100" project. The participants in the project are expected to attend a series of training modules, each developed with the relevance to the critical reform initiatives underway in Ukraine. To assist Ukraine in maximizing the effectiveness of NATO-Ukraine instruments, particular attention is also directed towards supporting the Government of Ukraine in increasing the Ukrainian civil servants' skills to manage assistance available under the NATO Comprehensive Assistance Package (CAP), and providing training enabling the Ukrainian staffs to effectively implement the ANP. To support Ukrainian civil servants in addressing their routine tasks, the Program also offers practical "soft skills training" including project management, computer skills and presentational techniques. All these skills are vital for establishing the Euro-Atlantic working culture and interacting with international experts.

The NATO-Georgia Professional Development Program

The NATO-Georgia Professional Development Program is an instrument provided by the Allied Nations to support Georgia's Euro-Atlantic integration aspirations. The Program was established in 2009 based on the request of the Government of Georgia. It aims to support Georgian Government in ongoing reforms and enhance the professional skills of key civilian officials, particularly in the security sector, in order to strengthen capacity for effective democratic management and oversight.

In the past eight years, the Program has expanded from a narrow focus on the Ministry of Defense (MOD) to the wider defense and security sector and, finally, to the whole civil service – from individual skill building to system level impact. The PDP Georgia has been actively involved in planning and implementing the HRM reform at the MOD; the planning of the Civil Service Reform; conducting the Functional Analysis projects; development of the National Policy and Strategy on Critical Infrastructure; the drafting of the National Military Strategy; development of the Code of Ethics; introduction of the evidence-based decision making in policy; facilitating inter-agency cooperation and coordination; establishment of the Professional Development Center in Georgia (currently the Defense Institution Building School – the DIB School); institutional enhancement of

governmental professional development entities; "training of trainers" activities; development of handbooks, manuals and educational videos; engagement in strategic defense planning and the Total Defense concept; and support of the cyber security development at a national level.

Following its transformation in 2016, the Program's ultimate objective is to ensure a positive impact on Georgia's public sector development by creating a lasting legacy that can support the country's NATO aspirations beyond the Program's life-span. Specific priorities of the Program in the current phase aim to continue:

- supporting the Georgian Government in key ongoing reforms with a specific emphasis on defense and security including in the areas such as defense and security architecture building and critical infrastructure policy development and implementation;
- ensuring coherence with the NATO instruments in Georgia including in the framework of the Annual National Program of Georgia, and, last but not least,
- contributing to maximizing the effectiveness of parliamentary oversight over the defense and security sector.

Conclusion

Since the adoption of the PAP-DIB in 2004, NATO has developed a set of DIB instruments aimed at translating its objectives into action. Focused on various aspects of DIB, these programs of practical cooperation contribute to developing capacities necessary to increase the effectiveness of civil and democratic control of security forces. Regardless of whether they aim to enhance ways in which nations develop and manage their defense and security sectors, seek to assist nations to promote good governance in their security structures, address corruption as a security risk, enhance their defense education, increase skills of their personnel or provide expertise in modern HRM, they are all intended to address the prerequisite of achieving democratic progress and maintaining stability, that is, a modern and democratically-managed security sector which is respected and trusted by the society.

Obviously, as NATO's and partner experience shows, the success of DIB is dependent upon several factors including credibility of DIB interventions, their continuity, and the political buy-in and national ownership of reform. To the maximal extent possible, DIB activities should also be tailored to local conditions and take into account specific circumstances under which a partner government implements reforms in their defense and security sector including legacy issues and cultural factors. In addition, DIB should be addressed in the context of a national security architecture of a partner nation, rather than sectoral requirements, in order to avoid fragmentation of effort and ensure a lasting and positive impact on the security sector, taken as a whole.

Finally, the successful pursuit of NATO's DIB objectives has been possible due to the funding made available under the NATO civil budget. In addition, the NATO staffs have, for years, established innovative ways in which Allied and interested partner countries have been able to contribute to implementing DIB activities through either financial and in-kind contributions or making their national personnel (Voluntary National Contributions) available to support NATO's efforts in these areas. This unique community of effort is behind the success of the Alliance's DIB activities which have assisted many partner countries in modernizing their defense structures, thus increasing their national security and maintaining or restoring stability. For this, if for no other reasons, the PAP-DIB was worth adopting back in 2004.

Disclaimer

The views expressed in this article are those of the author and not necessarily those of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

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Research Article

Defense Institution Building in the U.S. Context

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Abstract: This article aims to provide readers, especially those outside the U.S. Defense establishment, with an overview of U.S. Defense Institution Capacity Building (DIB), including its origins, key developments in the past decade, what it means in the U.S. context, who is responsible for its planning and implementation, why the U.S. undertakes DIB, some of the challenges U.S. DIB practitioners have faced to date, and finally a look at where DIB can be improved in the future.

Keywords: Defense Institution Building, U.S. security cooperation, U.S. security assistance, institutional capacity building, security sector reform, defense sector reform, ministerial reform.

The United States has been in the business of assisting partner nations' militaries for decades. The original security assistance framework that was first developed in the 1960s, however, has proven insufficient to keep up with the demands of the 21st century security environment. As such, the broader U.S. security cooperation framework has undergone a deliberate and significant transformation and restructuring in recent years, moving toward a system that is organized more effectively to build longer-term, sustainable partner capacity, rather than just provide short-term material assistance.

Defense Institution Building (DIB) is a cornerstone of this new approach, helping partners to lay the foundations upon which effective and legitimate democratic defense sectors can be established, and future U.S. security assistance absorbed. In 2016, DIB reached an inflection point in the United States when it was codified into law through the 2017 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA), reflecting the rise of DIB in the United States in the past few years from a rela-

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tively unknown, bottom-up effort to a premier discipline in the Department, particularly among those responsible for security cooperation.

This article aims to provide readers, especially those outside the U.S. Defense establishment, with an overview of U.S. DIB, including its origins, key developments in the past decade, what it means in the U.S. context, who is responsible for its planning and implementation, why the U.S. undertakes DIB, some of the challenges U.S. DIB practitioners have faced to date, and finally a look at where DIB can be improved in the future.[1]

Origins of U.S. DIB

A handful of historic examples can be found across the past century or so that demonstrate U.S. contributions to building capacity in a partner's defense ministry. Yet, the current, deliberate approach to DIB—with specific programs and policies dedicated to building institutional capacity in support of effective defense sector governance—is a relatively new concept, with origins in four distinct but related developments.

First, the shifting security environment after the end of the Cold War set the backdrop for a need to revise the security assistance system. In the 40-years prior, the United States delivered weapons, equipment, and training to key partners and allies in order to forge or maintain relationships, and to strengthen their defensive postures. While U.S. security assistance aimed to strengthen its partners against Soviet-sponsored insurgencies, it did so from a strictly military standpoint, with little if any involvement in the governance aspects of the partners' security and defense sectors.

As intrastate conflict largely replaced interstate warfare, and countries became caught in cycles of violence and instability, the resulting operating environment was characterized by humanitarian interventions to end conflict, often coupled with peacekeeping operations to prevent violence from reigniting in post-conflict environments. While the existing U.S. security assistance architecture was not fundamentally realigned to match the requirements of this transformed security environment, its guiding principles shifted from containing the spread of communism, to emphasizing the promotion of democracy and civilian control of the military.[2] As a result, programs such as International Military Education and Training, the Center for Civil-Military Relations, the Defense Institute

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[1] This article is an updated adaptation of the author's chapters in Alexandra Kerr and Michael Miklaucic, *Effective, Legitimate, Secure: Insights for Defense Institution Building* (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, November 2017).

[2] "Appendix 2: History of Security Assistance and Security Cooperation" in *Green Book: The Management of Security Assistance*, Edition 1.0 (Washington, D.C.: Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management, March 2016), 4-13, www.discs.dsca.mil/documents/greenbook/v1_0/21_Appendix_2.pdf.

of International Legal Studies, and the Regional Centers were instituted in the nineties to further these objectives.[3]

Second, DIB's operating theory is a legacy of the concept of Security Sector Reform (SSR), also known as Security System Reform, which emerged during this tumultuous decade and argued that prosperity and stability cannot take hold when development is pursued without security. SSR challenged traditional notions of the link between economic development and peace, arguing instead for the importance of effective oversight, accountability, and governance of defense establishments to economic, social, and political development, as well as human security.[4]

When development was decoupled from security in the 1990s, the opportunity to help downsize or right size bloated militaries, promote civilian control, and reallocate the excess resources to civilian activities, was overlooked. Traditional security assistance paradigms focused on improving force effectiveness, while the traditional development assistance approach avoided most security aspects of the state. SSR promoted instead a holistic approach to enhancing partner capacity by improving the governance, oversight, accountability, transparency, and professionalism of security sector forces and institutions, in line with democratic principles and the rule of law, in order to provide the secure conditions necessary for societal and economic development to take place. SSR's emphasis on the governance of security institutions laid the theoretical groundwork from which DIB has grown.

Third, U.S. DIB has its roots in NATO's Partnership for Peace (PFP) program, which was established in 1994 and supported by the United States through the launch of the Warsaw Initiative Fund—later renamed the Wales Initiative Fund (WIF)—the same year. Through PfP, DOD began to tailor military engagements and target security cooperation to support former Warsaw-Pact countries as they worked to reform their Soviet-era defense sectors. Importantly, PfP did not seek to provide the new states with training and equipment alone, but rather emphasized the implementation of governance mechanisms throughout the entire security sector, including the establishment or overhaul of democratic, accountable, and professional defense institutions. Through PfP, the United States first gained experience with the value, and indeed challenges, of DIB.

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[3] The George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies was established in 1993; the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies was established in 1995; the William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies was established in 1997; and the Africa Center for Strategic Studies was established in 1999. The Near East-South Asia Center for Strategic Studies, however, was not established until the year 2000.

[4] Querine Hanlon and Richard H. Shultz, Jr., eds., *Prioritizing Security Sector Reform (SSR): A New U.S. Approach* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2016), 15.

Finally, U.S. DIB has evolved in response to a shift in the security environment in the wake of 9/11.[5] As the United States contended with the "Global War on Terrorism" after 2001, it became rapidly apparent that effective counterterrorism relied on the ability of other states to defend their own territory and secure their own populations, including sealing porous borders and shrinking ungoverned spaces. In response, U.S. security assistance and cooperation efforts were oriented toward providing tools—primarily in the form of training and equipment—to supplement the weak militaries and internal security forces of strategic partners to improve their operational and tactical proficiency.

The magnitude of U.S. security cooperation investments after 9/11 accounted for billions of defense dollars annually. Title 10 security cooperation was mainly used for putting out fires in the immediate term, but even when such assistance was successful, the outcomes were, by design, short-lived. In the years following the initial ground operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, it became increasingly evident that major investments in time, money, and personnel had not resulted in corresponding increases in institutionalized and sustainable partner capacity – the delivery of training and equipment alone, regardless of the amount, did not lead to functioning defense sectors and a concerted effort to establish governance would be necessary.

The critical flaw in the Train and Equip approach is that it misses the inextricable correlation between institutions and absorptive capacity – i.e. that foundational institutions must be in place for a partner to be able to assimilate and apply the training, knowledge, skills, and equipment that the United States provides through other forms of security assistance and cooperation.[6] And in countries rife with internal conflict and political instability, the underlying institutions of the defense sector are often weak, and in some cases, nonexistent. As a result, around 2006, defense guidance documents increasingly emphasized that security cooperation must help partners build sustainable, long-term capacity as a necessary precursor to stability.

Evolution of DIB in the Past Decade

In the past decade, the security cooperation enterprise has undergone a series of changes, largely in response to the lack of success in high profile cases like Afghanistan and Iraq, coupled with resulting Congressional frustration over questions about the efficacy of the existing security cooperation approach. It is against this backdrop that DIB has emerged as a critical component in U.S. efforts to assist partner-nation security forces and institutions in becoming more effective and accountable.

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[5]   Jeanne Giraldo, "DIB 101," Presentation (Washington, D.C., March 2017).

[6]   Christopher Paul, Colin P. Clarke, Beth Grill, Stephanie Young, Jennifer D. P. Moroney, Joe Hogler, and Christine Leah, *What Works Best When Building Partner Capacity and Under What Circumstances?* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2013), 87-93, http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG1253z1.html.

Until 2008, U.S. DIB had evolved in a decentralized and ad hoc manner, with no clear, top-down direction for DIB organization, process, and personnel development. That year, however, the Guidance for Employment of the Force (GEF)— a document that provides comprehensive strategic guidance to the Regional Combatant Commanders and their staffs—indicated a shift in how security cooperation was perceived at the strategic level by the DOD. The GEF gave prominence to the role that security cooperation plays in achieving national security goals, making security cooperation operations a primary focus of theater planning, where contingency planning had previously been central. For DIB, the GEF was particularly important as it listed institutional capacity—i.e. activities that "Strengthen [a] Partner nation's security sector [by building] long-term institutional capacity and capability"—as one of the main focus areas for security cooperation operations.[7]

The following year, DOD, the State Department, and the U.S. Agency for International Development released a report arguing for a more holistic, interagency, "3D" (defense, diplomacy, and development) approach to security sector reform, in which one of the document's guiding principles calls for U.S. practitioners and policymakers to balance operational support with institutional reform.[8] The 2010 Quadrennial Defense Review further stressed the need for security cooperation to go beyond training and equipping partner forces, focusing instead on the institutional and human dimensions required to develop partner defense capacity and to sustain U.S. security investments: "the Department recognizes that in order to ensure that enhancements developed among security forces are sustained, the supporting institutions in partner nations must also function effectively."[9] The Defense Institution Reform Initiative and the Ministry of Defense Advisors Program were thus both established during this time to spearhead U.S. efforts to help partner nations build defense capacity at the institutional and ministerial level.[10]

At this stage, because DIB efforts were piecemeal at best—with no overarching Department strategy to guide a long-term, systematic approach to the discipline or define coherent goals—DIB was frequently approached as an add-on to existing Train and Equip programs, or as a gap-filling mechanism to plug holes in capacity. In October 2015, however, the Defense Governance Management

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7   Patrick C. Sweeney, *A Primer for: Guidance for Employment of the Force (GEF), Joint Strategic Capabilities Plan (JSCP), the Adaptive Planning and Execution (APEX) System, and Global Force Management (GFM)* (Newport, RI: United States Naval War College, 2015), 11.

8   U.S. Agency for International Development, Department of Defense, and Department of State, *Security Sector Reform* (Washington, D.C.: Department of State, February 2009), 4-5, https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/ 115810.pdf.

9   Department of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review Report* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Defense, February 2010), 30, https://www.defense.gov/Portals/1/ features/defenseReviews/QDR/QDR_as_of_29JAN10_1600.pdf.

10 The Ministry of Defense Advisors program was initially only implemented in Afghanistan, but it was expanded to other countries in 2013.

Team (DGMT) was established as "an elite, leading defense governance and management organization providing the ideas, approaches, resources and capabilities necessary for DOD/USG [U.S. Government] to plan, implement, and manage DIB projects, develop methodology and doctrine, and train and educate DIB and security cooperation personnel."[11] This provided a hub from which further time and effort could be dedicated to thinking through how to do defense institutional capacity building in a more coordinated and targeted manner, and to begin to gather and disseminate lessons and knowledge to improve DIB outcomes.

In the past two years, the DOD has made significant progress in reforming and enhancing the broader security cooperation system to better address 21st century security challenges, including providing top-level guidance on DIB. The first major step was the 2016 *DOD Directive 5205.82 Defense Institution Building*, which defines DIB efforts as "activities that empower partner-nation defense institutions to establish or re-orient their policies and structures to make their defense sector more transparent, accountable, effective, affordable, and responsive to civilian control."[12] This Directive provided the department with a formal definition of the discipline and delineated the roles, aims, and responsibilities within the DOD.[13]

As noted above, DIB was then codified in law in the 2017 NDAA, which involved sweeping reforms to make the broader security cooperation framework clearer, more effective, and better integrated. This included simplifying security cooperation legal authorities, improving prioritization of security cooperation activities, adding flexibility to funding for longer-term planning, enhancing the security cooperation workforce, and expanding security cooperation beyond the traditional operational and tactical level to include strategic institution building. Specifically, in section 332 the NDAA codified a stand-alone authority for DoD to conduct defense institution capacity building, and in section 333 it requires that institutional capacity building be an element of all foreign capacity building, including Train and Equip.[14]

Finally, in line with the requirements mandated in the 2017 NDAA, the Office of the Secretary of Defense has made significant strides in overhauling the planning system for security cooperation, particularly regarding assessment, meas-

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[11] Defense Governance and Management Team, "DGMT Mission," Presentation (Washington, D.C., March 2017).

[12] Department of Defense, *Defense Institution Building*, DOD Directive 5205.82 (Washington, D.C.: Department of Defense, 2016), http://www.dtic.mil/whs/directives/corres/pdf/520582p.pdf.

[13] Department of Defense, *Defense Institution Building*, DOD Directive 5205.82.

[14] S. 2943, 114th Congress of the United States of America, *National Defense Authorization Act,* "§ 332. Friendly foreign countries; international and regional organizations: defense institution capacity building" and "§ 333. Foreign security forces: authority to build capacity," https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/BILLS-114s2943enr/pdf/BILLS-114s2943enr.pdf.

uring, and evaluation (AM&E).[15] In January 2017, the DOD released an instruction on AM&E for the security cooperation enterprise writ large, which aims to establish policy and assign responsibilities for conducting AM&E for security cooperation activities.[16] It calls for the DOD to ensure sufficient funding to carry out AM&E policy implementation, disseminate lessons learned from AM&E analysis, and train the appropriate workforce to conduct and support the technical AM&E functions. The following month, the Deputy Secretary of Defense authorized the development of new planning and AM&E processes for security cooperation, which were in the final stages of design and development at the time this article was written.

For DIB, AM&E is critical for accountability and learning, and improving the process has been a priority in recent years. AM&E helps to determine relevance, value, effectiveness, efficiency, sustainability, and impact of a DIB process. For the Congress, it helps to indicate return on investments and AM&E outcomes help policymakers make effective resourcing and policy decisions. The assessment (or "scoping") phase allows practitioners to determine strategic alignment, levels of partner support and will, the partner's absorptive capacity, and potential risks to the DIB process. Monitoring tends to focus on the shorter-term results of specific activities and achievements of milestones along the way. And evaluations assess the longer-term impact and outcomes of the DIB engagement as a whole. Because these processes for DIB are not linear or fixed, happening throughout the engagement and changing in line with evolving contexts, devising a consistent AM&E system for DIB remains a challenge.

DIB in the United States

Terminology

Before turning to DIB in the U.S. context, it is worth briefly clarifying a few terms. Defense institutions are often equated with defense ministries, but in the institutional capacity building discipline "institutions" refer to broader constructs comprised of people, organizations, rules, norms, values, processes, and behaviors that enable oversight, governance, management, and functionality of the given enterprise.[17] At a fundamental level, democratic defense institutions play an essential role in fulfilling the social contract: defending sovereign borders and territories of the state, ensuring the security and prosperity of the citizens therein, protecting the interests and values of the state abroad, and maintaining

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[15] S. 2943, 114th Congress of the United States of America, *National Defense Authorization Act,* "§ 383. Assessment, monitoring, and evaluation of programs and activities," https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/BILLS-114s2943enr/pdf/BILLS-114s2943enr.pdf.

[16] Department of Defense, *Assessment, Monitoring, and Evaluation Policy for the Security Cooperation Enterprise*, DOD Instruction 5132.14 (Washington, D.C.: Department of Defense, January 2017), http://open.defense.gov/portals/23/Documents/foreign asst/DoDI_513214_on_AM&E.pdf.

[17] Department of Defense, *Defense Institution Building*, DOD Directive 5205.82.

national and regional stability. They also safeguard civilian control of the military and are themselves accountable to the government, to legislation, and ultimately to the electorate.

The U.S. Department of Defense (DOD), which bears responsibility for the majority of DIB efforts in the United States, defines "Defense Institution Building" as security cooperation activities that empower partner nation defense institutions to establish or re-orient their policies and structures to make their defense sectors more transparent, accountable, effective, affordable, and responsive to civilian control.[18] The term itself was adopted from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)'s 2014 Partnership Action Plan on Defense Institution Building (PAP-DIB), which laid out ten objectives for NATO to assist Partnership for Peace (PFP) countries in developing democratic defense institutions.[19]

It should be noted, however, that the term "Defense Institution Building" has proven somewhat problematic for the U.S. DIB enterprise in that it evokes a sense of erecting institutions from scratch—which is not the case in the vast majority of countries in which DIB efforts are implemented—rather than helping partners to strengthen and reform the governance and management of particular elements of their existing institutional systems. This has sewn some confusion about DIB among policymakers, who are often skeptical of anything that resembles state-building, and among partners, who argue that they do not need DIB because they already have existing ministries. As a result, the term has evolved lately in the United States and DIB is now frequently referred to as "defense institution/al capacity building"; this terminology, for instance, is favored in the U.S. National Defense Authorization Act.[20]

Finally, in the U.S. government, "security cooperation" and "security assistance"—which are the chief lines of effort in the U.S. toolkit to help partners bolster their security and work with the United States to support common security objectives—are overlapping but not necessarily interchangeable. The distinction between "security cooperation" and "security assistance" activities has to do with the agency administering the program: in simplest terms, it is either an activity of the Department of Defense (security cooperation) or the Department of State (security assistance).

DOD and the Department of State (DOS) have shared responsibility for engaging with foreign partner militaries since the mid-twentieth century, with the bulk of congressional security assistance funding allocated to DOS. Any security assistance *administered* by DOD—whether funded under Title 10 (Armed Services) or Title 22 (Foreign Affairs) of the U.S. Code—is a "security cooperation"

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[18] Department of Defense, *Defense Institution Building*, DOD Directive 5205.82.

[19] North Atlantic Treaty Organization, "Partnership Action Plan for Defence Institution Building," June 2010, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_50083.htm.

[20] National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2017, Chapter 16 Security Cooperation, Section 332, November 2016, http://docs.house.gov/billsthisweek/20161128/CRPT-114HRPT-S2943.pdf.

activity.[21] After the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, the legal framework for the funding and administration of such activities evolved in response to emerging threats. Congress increasingly granted funding and authorities directly to DOD under Title 10 for security cooperation.[22] Therefore, while DOS security assistance programs can include DIB components, the majority of DIB-specific programming is currently funded under and implemented by the Department of Defense and is thus considered security cooperation.

What U.S. DIB Entails

For the United States, DIB is based on the recognition that in order to be effective defense partners, countries need professional defense sectors, which in turn require functioning defense institutions. If a country's defense sector is unaccountable, poorly managed, and not subject to civilian control, it will be difficult for the rest of the government to govern effectively or to promote social wellbeing and economic prosperity – never mind for democracy to take hold.

DIB programs help partner nations establish or reorient their personnel, organizations, rules, norms, values, processes, and behaviors to develop a functioning and professional defense sector in order to develop and manage security forces, subject to civilian control, that can defend and secure the state.[23] By improving organizations and processes, DIB helps to ensure effective oversight, management, and execution of human, materiel, and financial resources, and provides partners with the capacity to develop appropriate policies, strategies, operational concepts, and doctrine, which are vital for the partner to meet their own national security goals.

U.S. DIB is primarily a process of facilitation, not imposition; through its partner-centric approach, DIB ensures that the process of building institutional capacity stems from and remains rooted in the partner. In so doing, DIB increases the partner's ability to achieve its security priorities, maintain national and regional stability, and address shared security challenges with the United States and its allies.

DIB includes missions that "improve the civilian control of armed forces; transmit values of respect for the rule of law and human rights; improve the management methods of defense institutions, as well as their support elements (most prominently: logistics, human resources, and financial management); [and] professionalize defense personnel."[24] DIB activities generally address core functions, often referred to as the "pillars" of DIB, including Strategy, Policy, and

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[21] Nina M. Serafino, *Security Assistance and Cooperation: Shared Responsibility of the Departments of State and Defense*, CRS Report 44444 (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, May 26, 2016), https://fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R44444.pdf.

[22] Serafino, *Security Assistance and Cooperation.*

[23] Department of Defense, *Defense Institution Building*, DOD Directive 5205.82.

[24] Department of Defense, *Defense Institution Building*, DOD Directive 5205.82.

Planning; Human Resource Management; Resource Management; Logistics; and Defense Legal Systems.

DIB activities target defense institutions responsible for oversight, management, and governance of a partner's defense sector at the national level. While the preferred entry-point is the Ministry of Defense, DIB requires working across multiple levels of the defense sector (e.g., general command, joint staff, and service headquarters) and with multiple stakeholders; defense institutions are a system of systems and all must be involved in the process for the changes to truly take hold.

The length of DIB engagements varies between programs and activities; DGMT projects, for example, tend to last multiple years, and engagements between the U.S. practitioners and the partner-nation counterparts are carried out on the ground, lasting generally one to two weeks at a time, at least every quarter. The main phases of a DIB effort—which are not necessarily linear in practice, but rather necessarily blend and overlap—include scoping and assessment; capability-based planning and program design; implementation; and continuous monitoring and evaluations.

Who Does U.S. DIB

Within the U.S. government, DIB is undertaken by a mosaic of programs and actors, but as noted above, it is primarily implemented through the Department of Defense. The Global Combatant Commands (GCCs) are responsible for leading security cooperation activities within their Area of Responsibility, including integrating DIB into their plans. To ensure that the GCCs have the planning and functional expertise necessary to coordinate DIB activities in their regions, the Defense Security Cooperation Agency and the programs and centers below provide support.

The main programs and centers that support DIB activities are the Defense Governance and Management Team; the Ministry of Defense Advisors Program; the Defense Institute of International Legal Studies; the five Regional Centers for Strategic Studies; and the State Partnership Program, implemented by the National Guard Bureau. Below is a brief description of each of them.

Defense Governance Management Team (DGMT) was formed in 2015 and develops, implements, and manages DIB programs, as well as providing training and education for the security cooperation workforce. DGMT provides support across the five functional areas listed above, to "support partners in the development of defense and security governance and management institutions that are accountable to citizens, enable partner forces to perform desired roles, and strengthen US security cooperation investments."[25] DGMT implements DIB efforts primarily through the Defense Institution Reform Initiative and the DOD elements of the Wales Initiative Fund. It also provides the institutional capacity

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[25] "About Us," Defense Governance Management Team, accessed September 10, 2018, https://my.nps.edu/web/ccmr/dgmt/whatwedo.

building portions of the White House Security Governance Initiative, Maritime Security Initiative, and NATO Building Integrity Program.

Wales Initiative Fund (WIF) supports DIB for countries in the State Department-led Partnership for Peace Program. WIF was formerly called the Warsaw Initiative Fund, but was renamed after the Wales NATO summit in September 2014.[26]

Defense Institutional Reform Initiative (DIRI) supports foreign defense institutions by determining institutional needs and developing projects to meet them. DIRI "develops effective, accountable, professional and transparent partner defense establishments in partner countries that can manage, sustain and employ national forces engagements."[27] DIRI DIB programs have grown exponentially in the past few year, and can now be found in over 50 countries.

Ministry of Defense Advisors Program (MODA) contributes to DIB by providing civilian DOD employees as advisors to their counterparts in foreign ministries of defense, or equivalent defense or security institutions, for up to two years. Advisors "provide advice and other training and … assist in building core institutional capacity, competencies, and capabilities."[28] While there are around eighty MODAs in Afghanistan, there is generally only one in each other country in which the program operates.

Defense Institute of International Legal Studies (DIILS) contributes to DIB by promoting equitable and accountable defense and military justice sectors, civilian control of the military, and enhanced compliance with the rule of law and the Law of Armed Conflict, primarily through legal training and education workshops for U.S. defense partners.[29]

Regional Centers for Strategic Studies (RCs): The five RCs include the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, the Near-East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies, and the William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies. The RCs contribute to DIB efforts by conducting seminars through which military and civilian defense representatives from partner nations can discuss governance approaches to shared security concerns. The centers play a unique role for DIB, as their mandate allows them to convene not

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[26] Activities funded by WIF are conducted using the authority of three statutes (10 U.S.C. 168, 10 U.S.C. 1051, and 10 U.S.C. 2010), of which Section 1253(a) of the FY2017 NDAA repealed 10 U.S.C. and 168. Section 1243(a) repealed 10 U.S.C. 1050.

[27] Defense Security Cooperation Agency, "Defense Institution Reform Initiative," accessed September 10, 2018, http://www.dsca.mil/programs/defense-institution-reform-initiative.

[28] S. 2943, 114th Congress of the United States of America, *National Defense Authorization Act,* "§ 332. Friendly foreign countries; international and regional organizations: defense institution capacity building."

[29] Defense Institute of International Legal Studies, "DILLS Charter," accessed September 10, 2018, https://globalnetplatform.org/diils/.

only partner' defense ministry actors, but also actors involved in other aspects of the defense and security enterprise.

State Partnership Program (SPP) "links the National Guard of a State or territory with the military, security forces, and disaster response organizations of a partner nation in a cooperative, mutually beneficial relationship."[30] For the purposes of DIB, the SPP plays a role in addressing National Guard related strategic issues at the service and joint and general staff levels.

Why the U.S. Does DIB

At a time when tangential conflicts and threats originating far from the U.S. homeland frequently have direct consequences for the United States, its security, and its allies, the ability of countries to maintain their own security and stability is critical. Therefore, while the benefits of DIB to recipient countries is obvious, DIB also contributes directly to the national security of the United States in three major ways: sustaining security investments, increasing regional and global stability, and creating partners capable of sharing security burdens.

First, by increasing the partner's absorptive capacity, DIB increases the sustainability of U.S. security investments as well as the effectiveness of tactical and operational assistance. Without institution building, the following scenario frequently plays out:

> … look to the example of security cooperation in the form of large-scale military equipment. Through FMF or FMS, the United States may, for instance, provide a partner with helicopters in order to assist U.S. forces in a specific mission to fend off an insurgent group. And indeed these helicopters may serve that short-term purpose. But if the country's military does not have functioning institutional logistics, resource management, and human resources systems, then that partner will not have access to the fuel to power the helicopters or the funds to buy fuel to power them, personnel with the knowledge to fix and maintain the helicopters, access to the unique parts necessary to fix them, or the funds to buy the necessary parts. And so those helicopters will most likely be rusting on the tarmac within a year.[31]

While training and equipping partners often serves U.S. interests in the short term, the partner's long-term capacity to counter threats and secure its population is not correlatively strengthened; equipment and training that fill short-term gaps do not result in the capacity to deliver and maintain security in the longer term. DIB thus complements the gains made by other capacity-building programs by increasing the partner's capacity to absorb and sustain assistance.

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[30] National Guard, "State Partnership Program," accessed September 10, 2018, http://www.nationalguard.mil/Leadership/Joint-Staff/J-5/International-Affairs-Division/State-Partnership-Program/.

[31] Alexandra Kerr, "Introduction. Defense Institution Building: A New Paradigm for the 21st Century," in *Effective, Legitimate, Secure: Insights for Defense Institution Building*, ed. Alexandra Kerr and Michael Miklaucic (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, November 2017), ix-xxvii, quote on pp. xiii-xiv.

What's more, DIB is a low-cost, small footprint, high gain undertaking; for example, the entire DIB program in Guatemala is estimated to have only cost around $ 500,000 over 5 years, and depending on which activities are counted, DIB only makes up $ 50-70 million of the DOD's approximately $ 700 billion budget.

Second, DIB reduces state instability and fragility, which can lead to regional instability, internal conflicts (which can spread beyond state borders), terrorist safe havens, and ungoverned spaces that transnational criminal organizations can utilize – all of which threaten U.S. national interests and security. The establishment of functioning defense institutions increases stability by enhancing the partner nation's capacity to address its own security needs, protect its population, maintain governance, and ensure border security. DIB facilitates the preconditions for defense sectors to function as they should, and the resulting security allows governments and populations to focus resources on strengthening governance, civil society, rule of law, and economic prosperity – all of which are vital to long-term stability.

Third, by building long-term partner defensive capacity, DIB helps to create partners with the ability to contribute meaningfully to shared security interests with the United States and its allies. As the United States faces the increasingly complex security challenges of the 21st century, it must be able to rely on its partners and allies to share the burden of preventing conflict, ensuring lasting peace, and maintaining long-term stability. Assisting partners in their efforts to develop sustainable defense capacity is therefore vital to shaping the future security environment in the interest of U.S. national security.

Lessons

The United States has tested and developed approaches through the trial and error of mid-conflict, comprehensive rebuilding experiences in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the implementation of less wholesale efforts in countries with higher baseline capacity, such as Guatemala or Colombia. Many of the lessons that have emerged from these experiences will echo those of our European counterparts: DIB is political, it needs people who will shepherd in the changes and push the reforms at the high-levels; Isomorphic mimicry often leads to "paper-tiger" institutions that appear effective in theory but are nothing of the sort in reality; Where DIB is needed most and the environments in which it is most likely to be implemented in the future, will be those in which it is most difficult to achieve success; In many defense sectors, corruption will present a major roadblock to change because it is an institution in and of itself because DIB works with imperfect actors in imperfect systems.

In a 2017 National Defense University book, *Effective, Legitimate, Secure: Insights for Defense Institution Building*, I identified three major lessons that are consistently raised by DIB practitioners when considering their experiences on the ground: First, the length of engagement and pace of change required to catalyze institutional change present an array of challenges for DIB activities. Every element of a DIB process—from the commitment of staff and funding, to long-

term planning and adaptation amidst changing political contexts, to determining effective parameters for assessments and evaluations—is set within a much longer time frame than other security cooperation activities. Second, DIB planners must find the best fit for the partner nation's context, rather than finding the gaps in a preconceived template of best practice. It is critical to focus on customized plans for each country, informed by applicable lessons drawn from related experiences from a variety of sectors, and based on what is realistically possible in that socio-political and economic context. Finally, partner ownership is the most important element for the success of DIB. Institutions can only be built by those who use them; without ownership, reforms will not be absorbed or sustained.[32]

What's Next for U.S. DIB

The sections above give a wavetop view of the DIB enterprise within the United States, from its origins and evolution in the past ten years, to how DIB is defined, what it entails, who is responsible for its implementation, and why the U.S. undertakes DIB in the first place. Notwithstanding this progress, U.S. DIB is far from a perfected art and one that practitioners and policymakers are continuing to refine as more lessons are learned from implementing DIB on the ground. DIB efforts can be crippled by overambitious goals, inadequate budgets, unrealistic timeframes, lack of cultural appropriateness, competing goals and priorities, the wrong workforce, focusing too acutely on one institution instead of the broader system, and lack of coordination. These latter three are among the major outstanding challenges that U.S. DIB practitioners and policymakers are currently working to improve.

Training the DIB Workforce: Institutional capacity building is a complex undertaking that requires personnel with a specific skillset and knowledge base. Due to the bottom up nature of DIB, however, activities have primarily been implemented by technical practitioners, often contractors, with one functional area of expertise, such as Human Resource Management or Logistics. However, these experts rarely have the training to connect that technical area to the broader defense system, knowledge of change management, or the ability to create a version of that technical system that works for the context of the partner country (rather than mirroring a U.S. system or approach). For DIB to be successful, the DIB workforce must have the planning functions and capabilities necessary to ensure that both horizontal and vertical connections are made and reflected in DIB planning: "Tomorrow's security cooperation workforce should have enhanced skills to engage partners on a broader range of training and equipping issues, and have significantly greater capability to diagnose institu-

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[32] Kerr and Miklaucic, *Effective, Legitimate, Secure*, xxiv-xxv, 364-367.

tional and other non-material gaps to support nuanced and thoughtful design of security cooperation programs."[33]

The Department is currently working to develop a cadre of key personnel in the DOD workforce who have the requisite breadth of experience and training to understand DIB both at the conceptual and technical level, and who can help the Global Combatant Commands fulfill their DIB directives. For example, training—including on the basics of institutional capacity building, how to conduct life-cycle costing exercises, and a focus on capabilities over individual platforms—must be updated for Security Cooperation Officers who are often the front line on the ground with the partner but who's training currently focuses primarily on the material side of security assistance.

Creating a Holistic Approach: To date, DIB has focused on the strategic institutions of the defense sector, namely the ministry of defense, joint staff, or general command. However, the defense sector does not and should not operate in vacuum. The MOD interacts with the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Finance, and the Executive. Further, in many countries the lines between defense and security institutions is blurred or overlapping; for example, the French Gendarmerie. As the DIB discipline is improved and refined, it must consider the other institutions of governance that have a direct impact on the defense sector and determine how to build institutional capacity in a more holistic, perhaps even whole-of-government, manner. In the United States, one program that has piloted this approach is the State Department's Security Governance Initiative (SGI).[34] Established in 2014, SGI aims to build security capacity in six countries in Africa by addressing the strategic and institutional reforms required for governments to tackle key security challenges, with an emphasis on enhancing the accountability, oversight, and transparency of both their internal security and external defense sectors simultaneously. Importantly and uniquely, SCG takes an interagency approach in how the U.S. delivers the assistance and a whole-of-government coordination approach in the partner country receiving the assistance.[35]

Improving Coordination: On the ground, bilateral and multilateral coordination is a major problem for U.S. and non-U.S. actors. Coordination mechanisms and clearing houses have been tried, but thus far these have not worked or have fallen by the wayside. Coordination needs to be improved at every level: within

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[33] David Cate, Alexandra Kerr, and Renanah Miles, "Way Ahead for Defense Institution Building," in *Effective, Legitimate, Secure*, 382.

[34] Department of State, "Security Governance Initiative: Enhancing the transparent, accountable, and legitimate management and oversight of security policy and practice," accessed September 10, 2018, https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/254115.pdf.

[35] U.S. White House Office of the Press Secretary, "FACT SHEET: U.S. Support for Peace, Security, and Countering Violent Extremism in Africa," July 27, 2015, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/07/27/fact-sheet-us-support-peace-security-and-countering-violent-extremism.

the DOD security cooperation community, across U.S. government agencies, among the international community (countries and international organizations), and even regionally. While the diversity of DIB stakeholders, competing priorities, and general difficulty of the undertaking militate against coordination, the stakes require the effort.

About the Author

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Research Article

NATO's Defense Institution Building in the Age of Hybrid Warfare

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Abstract: Defense Institution Building (DIB) plays a crucial role in NATO's "Projecting Stability" agenda by assisting Partners in developing their defense and security sectors, thereby increasing not only their security, but also that of the Euro-Atlantic region. At the same time, the current security environment is defined by complex and diffuse threats coming from both state and non-state actors, where the adversary aims at incapacitating the state. For this reason, increasing the resilience of the defense and security institutions against the hybrid threats in particular is key – a reality which should inform adaptation of the NATO's DIB instruments.

This article discusses a number of key implications of the hybrid warfare for NATO's DIB policies and processes, emphasizing that capacity building should aim to help the state institutions increase their ability to recognize and respond to hybrid warfare and, if necessary, to sustain the functioning of the state and its institutions under hybrid warfare conditions.

Keywords: Defense institution building, DIB, hybrid threats, hybrid warfare, security, stability, capacity building.

Introduction

Projecting stability through increasing resilience of NATO partners' institutions or using their unique experiences as elements maximizing the effectiveness of collective response strategies works to the advantage of NATO. By making its Partners more secure and able to effectively respond to challenges to their security, as well as by working with them to confront common threats, NATO directly contributes to security and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area. At the same time, insecurity and vulnerability of Partners negatively influence Allied security.

It is likely that in the 21st century NATO will continue to "come under increasing challenge from both state and non-state actors who use hybrid activities that aim to create ambiguity and blur the lines between peace, crisis, and conflict."[1] As experiences from Ukraine and elsewhere show, one of the key objectives of hybrid warfare is to paralyze the state, thereby creating conditions for furthering political and operational objectives of adversary.

It logically follows that if it usually is the state, which is the *key* target of a hybrid attack, then its defense and security institutions and their ability to repel attack are critically important. Therefore, one of the most effective strategies to prevent, counter, and—if necessary—respond to the use of hybrid warfare against the state is through making the state institutions more resilient to hybrid attacks through developing their institutional capacities. Such capacity building should aim to help the state institutions increase their ability to recognize and respond to hybrid warfare and, if necessary, to sustain the functioning of the state and its institutions under hybrid warfare conditions. These assumptions seem to be particularly relevant in the context of developing a role which the Defense Institution Building (DIB) should play in increasing the institutional resilience as part of the Alliance's efforts aimed at "Projecting Stability."

This article discusses a number of key implications for NATO's DIB policies and processes which "the age of hybrid warfare" has brought about, proposes a possible framework within which to develop a new strategic approach to NATO's DIB so that it better responds to the realities of the 21st-century conflict, and sets out an idea of a professional development program to be established by NATO, Allies and relevant Partners with a view to increasing their institutional capacities in the area of preventing, countering, and responding to hybrid threats. To these ends, the paper first briefly discusses the origins of DIB and hybrid warfare concepts before making an attempt to discuss key implications of hybrid threats for NATO's DIB, proposing a possible new model of NATO's DIB policy framework and, finally, offering a proposal for a possible professional development initiative.[2]

Origins of DIB

The end of the bi-polar world and the rise of intrastate violence in which non-state actors such as terrorist and criminal organizations thrive, led to recognition that development and security go hand in hand, and resulted in the "operating environment" that "was characterized by humanitarian interventions to end

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conflict, often coupled with peacekeeping operations to prevent violence from reigniting in post-conflict environments."[3] The post- Cold War security world has thus been dominated by the concept of "human security"[4] defined by development efforts to strengthen the weak states, so that they were capable of protecting their own populations and territories, thereby contributing to regional stability.

This "nexus between development and security"[5] guided the development of the concept of Security Sector Reform (SSR), which called for a "holistic approach to enhancing partner capacity in all aspects of the security sector. The SSR approach would achieve this by improving the governance, oversight, accountability, transparency, and professionalism of security sector forces and institutions, in line with democratic principles and the rule of law."[6] In turn, the SSR approach laid the theoretical foundations of DIB.

The post 9/11 environment has seen yet another shift towards the focus on capacity building of strategic partners as "effective counterterrorism relied on the ability of states to defend their own territory and secure their own populations."[7] Furthermore, the mixed results of external assistance to failed states has led to the recognition that institution building is the key to successful conflict resolution and peacebuilding.

Conceptualizing DIB

Indeed, defense institutions are central to any state's capacity to protect its citizens and territory. Therefore, "DIB is based on the recognition that in order to be effective defense partners, countries need professional defense sectors, which in turn require functioning defense institutions."[8] The agenda of DIB is thus rather ambitious—going beyond delivering security assistance in terms of providing tools—and focusing on building the institutional capacity of key partners: "As a discipline, [DIB] is a unique blend of security assistance and institutional capacity building. It is distinct from most assistance programs targeting partner defense sectors in that it focuses on institutional capacity rather than tactical or operational mission readiness."[9]

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[3] Alexandra Kerr, "Defense Institution Building: A New Paradigm for the 21st Century," in *Effective, Legitimate, Secure: Insights for Defense Institution Building*, ed. Alexandra Kerr and Michael Miklaucic (Washington DC: Center for Complex Operations, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University, 2017), ix-xxvii.

[4] Kerr, "Defense Institution Building," xi.

[5] Kerr, "Defense Institution Building," xii.

[6] Kerr, "Defense Institution Building," xii.

[7] Kerr, "Defense Institution Building," xiii.

[8] Kerr, "Defense Institution Building," xv.

[9] Thomas W. Ross, Jr., "Defining the Discipline in Theory and Practice," in *Effective, Legitimate, Secure: Insights for Defense Institution Building*, 21-46.

DIB is generally organized around two primary objectives. The first is to enable a partner nation to improve its ability to provide for its own defense, including by undertaking roles and missions that benefit shared security interests. The second objective is to empower a partner nation to undertake reforms within its defense sector that achieve greater transparency, accountability, efficiency, legitimacy, and responsiveness to civilian oversight." [10]

Therefore, DIB activities focus "on enhancing the systemic capabilities involved in governing the defense sector." [11] As a result, despite its activities being primarily situated within the defense sector, a whole range of institutional actors usually need to be involved. These actors could be divided into three levels [12]:

- the Ministry of Defense, as well as other ministries and overseeing bodies responsible for external and internal security;
- military headquarters translating ministerial-level policy into actual military policies and vested in the organization, training, and equipping of forces;
- the operational level which includes operational commands.

NATO and DIB

NATO's own approaches to DIB are guided by the Partnership Action Plan on Defense Institution Building (PAP-DIB). Adopted back in 2004, after long consultation with Partners, the PAP-DIB was the first attempt at concretizing, in a more systematic fashion, NATO's DIB policy offered to Partners. It provided a policy framework within which to promote practical co-operation in institutional reform and restructuring.

As every other policy framework, the PAP-DIB reflected political, policy, security and institutional realities at the time of its development which, in its case, indicated the necessity to further operationalize the Partnership for Peace (PfP) through the introduction of practical instruments. Influenced by experiences from NATO's enlargement and the Partnership for Peace (PfP), the PAP-DIB focuses on the "democratization" and "civilianization" of defense institutions, including recognition of the role which they play in ensuring democratic progress and maintaining stability. It is also in its entirety that the PAP-DIB reflects Allied concepts of democratic oversight of defense institutions, as well as factors which are key to the successful institutional design of defense sectors.

The main premise of the PAP-DIB is that the establishment of effective, legitimate and democratic institutions able to support the state in delivery of security is one of the key building blocks to ensure long-term security and stability. Therefore, the document extends its scope into areas such as effective and transparent arrangements for the democratic control of defense activities; civilian par-

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[10] Ross, "Defining the Discipline in Theory and Practice," 25.

[11] Ross, "Defining the Discipline in Theory and Practice," 26.

[12] Ross, "Defining the Discipline in Theory and Practice," 28-29.

ticipation in developing defense and security policy; effective and transparent legislative and judicial oversight of the defense sector; enhanced assessment of security risks and national defense requirements, matched with developing and maintaining affordable and interoperable capabilities; optimizing the management of defense ministries and other agencies which have associated force structures; compliance with international norms and practices in the defense sector, including export controls; effective and transparent financial, planning and resource allocation procedures in the defense area; effective management of defense spending as well as of the socio-economic consequences of defense restructuring; effective and transparent personnel structures and practices in the defense forces; and effective international co-operation and good neighborly relations in defense and security matters.

In 2018, a significant number of NATO's DIB tools and instruments including the Building Integrity (BI), the Defense Capacity Building initiative (DCB), the Defense Education Enhancement Program (DEEP), the Military Career Transition Program (MCTP), and the Professional Development Program (PDP) continue to reflect in their activities the PAP-DIB objectives. The question arises, however, does "the age of hybrid warfare" necessitate strategic changes to or adaptation of the Alliance's DIB, including possible development of new DIB policies and tools to help Allies and Partners better respond to the hybrid challenge.

The Age of Hybrid Warfare

Hybrid warfare has become both one of the prevailing trends in the modern warfare and a much-evoked term in the military and political discourses. The term "appeared at least as early as 2005 and was subsequently used to describe the strategy used by the Hezbollah in the 2006 Lebanon War. Since then, the term "hybrid" has dominated much of the discussion about modern and future warfare"[13] and gained further prominence in the aftermath of the Russian annexation of Crimea. Yet, hybrid warfare remains a controversial term as some have argued that it is a "catch all" term used to simply describe the modern warfare which is not restricted to conventional means.

The popularization of the term "hybrid warfare" can be attributed to American military theorist, Frank Hoffman, who made an attempt[14] to capture the complexities of the modern warfare which consists of various actors using both regular and irregular types of warfare depending on how that suits their purposes. The consequence of this "blurring of modes of war, the blurring who

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[13] Damien Van Puyvelde, "Hybrid War – does it even exist?" *NATO Review Magazine,* 2015, https://www.nato.int/docu/review/2015/Also-in-2015/hybrid-modern-future-warfare-russia-ukraine/EN/.

[14] Frank Hoffman, *Conflict in the 21st Century: The Rise of Hybrid Warfare* (Arlington, VA: Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, 2007).

fights, and what technologies are brought to bear" is "a wide range of variety and complexity that we call Hybrid Warfare."[15]

For J.J. McCuen, hybrid wars are "full spectrum wars with both physical and conceptual dimensions: the former, a struggle against an armed enemy and the latter, a wider struggle for, control and support of the combat zone's indigenous population, the support of the home fronts of the intervening nations, and the support of the international community."[16]

On its part, NATO conceptualized hybrid warfare in 2010 in its Bi-Strategic Command Capstone Concept, which stated that hybrid threats:

> are those posed by adversaries, with the ability to simultaneously employ conventional and non-conventional means adaptively in pursuit of their objectives […] Hybrid threats are comprised of, and operate across, multiple systems/subsystems (including economic/financial, legal, political, social and military/security) simultaneously […][17]

At its Brussels Summit in July 2018, NATO Heads of State and Government further shed light[18] on the Alliance's understanding of and identified NATO's responses to hybrid warfare.[19]

NATO's definition of hybrid warfare is rather broad, encompassing a wide range of actors, tactics and strategies. Therefore, examples of hybrid threats could include terrorist organizations like Boko Haram, Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) and ISIL/Da'esh, the operations of state-affiliated hackers, armed criminal groups and drug cartels, the use of resource-dependency between countries for political purposes or covert operations such as Russia's strategic use of special forces (i.e. "green men") and information in Ukraine.[20] It is, therefore, evident that "hybrid warfare does not represent the defeat or the replacement of 'the old-style warfare' or conventional warfare by the new. But it does present a complicating factor for defense planning in the 21st Century."[21] Put differently, it is a warfare that escapes the clear divisions into categories, not because of the novelty of the tools used, but because of the integrated and systematic use of those tools.

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[15] Hoffman, *Conflict in the 21st Century*, 14.

[16] John J. McCuen, "Hybrid Wars," *Military Review* 88, no. 2 (March-April 2008): 107-113, 108, http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/milreview/mccuen08marapr.pdf.

[17] *BI-SC Input to a NEW Capstone Concept for the Military Contribution to Countering Hybrid Threats* (Brussels: NATO, 2010), 2-3. http://www.act.nato.int/images/stories/events/2010/20100826_bi-sc_cht.pdf.

[18] NATO, "Brussels Summit Declaration," para 21 and 72.

[19] NATO, "NATO's Response to Hybrid Threats," last modified July 17 2018, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_156338.htm?selectedLocale=en.

[20] European Parliamentary Research Service Blog, "Understanding Hybrid Threats," last modified June 24, 2015, https://epthinktank.eu/2015/06/24/understanding-hybrid-threats/.

[21] Hoffman, *Conflict in the 21st Century*, 9.

That being said, it is important to be careful to not generalize from the specific.[22] "Hybrid wars are complex, because they don't conform to a one-size-fits-all pattern. They make the best use of all possible approaches, combining those which fit with one's own strategic culture, historical legacies, geographic realities, and economic and military means."[23] Therefore, hybrid wars ought to be understood in their particular contexts.

Russia's Model of Hybrid Warfare

Hybrid warfare became a core security issue in the aftermath of Russia's annexation of the Crimea and the ongoing crisis in the eastern Ukraine. Indeed, the Russian course of action in Ukraine can be used as a classic example of hybrid warfare designed for a specific political, social, and cultural environment. It was even argued that "Russia serves as an excellent example in support of [this] understanding of hybrid warfare. It does not possess sufficient resources to win a conventional war against NATO. Consequently, civil means must be used to the greatest extent possible. Thus, a strategy to compete with the West necessarily becomes hybrid."[24]

In other words, hybrid warfare in the case of Russia reflects "Russia trying to play a great power game without a great power's resources."[25] Furthermore, it also reflects the current context: the age of globalization. "Power dynamics are no longer based on just material means and increasingly focus on the ability to influence others' beliefs, attitudes and expectations – an ability that has been boosted enormously by new technology."[26]

Furthermore, in correspondence with the previous section, "the 'surprise' of Russia's military operations in Ukraine was not generated primarily by the tools used (deception and disinformation campaigns, economic coercion and corruption, which all play a supportive role for military action) but rather by the efficiency and versatility with which they were employed in the Crimea and beyond.

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[22] Chris Tuck, "Hybrid War: The Perfect Enemy," *Defence-in-Depth: Research from the Defence Studies Department* (London: King's College, 2017), https://defenceindepth.co/2017/04/25/hybrid-war-the-perfect-enemy/.

[23] Guillaume Lasconjarias and Jeffrey A. Larsen, "Introduction," in *NATO's Response to Hybrid Threats*, ed. Guillaume Lasconjarias and Jeffrey A. Larsen (Rome: NATO Defense College, 2015), 1-13.

[24] Uwe Hartmann, "The Evolution of the Hybrid Threat, and Resilience as a Countermeasure," *Research Paper* no. 139 (Rome: NATO Defense College, September 2017), 1-8.

[25] Mark Galeotti, "Russia's Hybrid War as a Byproduct of a Hybrid State," *War on the Rocks*, December 6 2016, https://warontherocks.com/2016/12/russias-hybrid-war-as-a-byproduct-of-a-hybrid-state/.

[26] Lord Jopling, "Countering Russia's Hybrid Threats: An Update," Draft Special Report (NATO Parliamentary Assembly, 27 March 2018), https://www.nato-pa.int/download-file?filename=sites/default/files/2018-04/2018 - COUNTERING RUSSIA'S HYBRID THREATS - DRAFT SPRING REPORT JOPLING - 061 CDS 18 E.pdf.

The novelty, in other words, was how well old tools were utilised in unison to achieve the desired goal."[27]

In the same vein, Chivvis summarizes the following key characteristics of the Russian warfare:

- it economizes the use of force (Russia avoids using military force as it is inferior to NATO's one);
- it is persistent (Russia's hybrid war breaks down the traditional binary delineation between war and peace as it is always under way);
- it is population-centric (Russia intentionally seeks popular support through information operations).[28]

Further elaborating on the specificities of the Russian model of hybrid warfare, Kankowski states that "its effectiveness is grounded in military instruments. These consist for example of unjustified concentration of troops at the borders, large-scale snap exercises based on offensive scenarios, the use of provocative maneuvers in international airspace and at sea as well as the use of the (in)famous "little green men," but also cyber-attacks, aggressive media campaigns, and other activities. One of the main features of the Russian model is deniability. How many times did we hear from the Russian side such statements as "there are no Russian troops in Ukraine" or "Russia is not providing arms to the separatists"?"[29]

This view is supported by Thornton, who argues that Russia's hybrid warfare campaign is notable for the synergy created between the civilian and military activities which is controlled by the military itself.[30]

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[27] Nicu Popescu, "Hybrid Tactics: Russia and the West," *Issue Alert* 46 (Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies, October 2015): 1-2, https://www.iss.europa.eu/sites/default/files/EUISSFiles/Alert_46_Hybrid_Russia.pdf.

[28] Christopher S. Chivvis, "Understanding Russian 'Hybrid Warfare': And What Can Be Done About It," Testimony Before the Committee on Armed Services United States House of Representatives (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, March 22, 2017), https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/testimonies/CT400/CT468/RAND_CT468.pdf.

[29] Dominik P. Jankowski, "Hybrid Warfare: A Known Unknown?" *Foreign Policy Association*, July 18, 2016, http://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2016/07/18/hybrid-warfare-known-unknown/.

[30] Rod Thornton, "Turning Strengths into Vulnerabilities: The Art of Asymmetric Warfare as Applied by the Russian Military in its Hybrid Warfare Concept," in *Russia and Hybrid Warfare – Going Beyond the Label*, ed. Bettina Renz and Hanna Smith, *Aleksanteri Papers* 1 (2017), 52-60, 55, http://www.helsinki.fi/aleksanteri/english/publications/presentations/papers/ap_1_2016.pdf.

The Age of Hybrid Warfare and NATO's DIB

In considering the impact of "the age of hybrid warfare" on NATO's DIB, the central question which needs to be addressed is that of the continuing relevance of the PAP-DIB to the new security conditions including hybrid threats.

In this author's view, an important aspect of the PAP-DIB is that it seems to have been developed based on the assumption that institutional reform in Partners' defense sectors, including the establishment of effective mechanisms of civil and democratic control of security forces, would be implemented under "static," peacetime conditions – a notion which appears to be particularly important in the context of the state exercising or re-establishing such control under hybrid warfare conditions. At the same time, when confronted with hybrid threats, the state and its defense institutions are often tempted to employ undemocratic measures to regain control. Indeed, it can be argued that if the primary target of hybrid adversaries is the democratic state, it is equally possible that one of the objectives of these adversaries is for the state to start to behave in undemocratic ways or lose control of its security sector. It is, therefore, of paramount importance for the state to examine and refine the existing mechanisms of civil and democratic control of its security forces to be used in hybrid contingencies and emergency situations. Overall, the question of civil and democratic control of security forces under hybrid warfare conditions should become one of the key elements of NATO's DIB.

In addition, the central principle of the PAP-DIB—the need to establish civil and democratic control of defense institutions—remains valid but does not seem to be conceptually sufficient as a guiding principle to inform development of NATO's DIB activities "in the age of hybrid warfare." Due to their multidimensional nature, hybrid threats have redefined the conditions under which DIB policies should be formulated and implemented. The "old line" dividing national security into "external" and "internal" has eroded and sectoral strategies focused on individual components of the security sectors appear to no longer work due to the fact that the state defense institutions are not the only responders to hybrid warfare contingencies. They are rather the nucleus around which to build national responses to hybrid threats including contributions from other actors such as internal security forces, intelligence agencies, border security forces, and state-owned media, as well as non-state actors – private sectors, civil society organizations or even religious institutions. Consequently, the ultimate success of DIB interventions in "the age of hybrid warfare" often depends on taking a holistic approach to a national security architecture of a Partner nation with a specific focus of DIB requirements, with analysis being placed on the ability of the complete security sector to effectively prevent, counter and respond to hybrid threats.

Therefore, "DIB in the age of hybrid warfare" should be developed as one of the elements of the national security architecture transformation/adaptation to hybrid conditions, and not just an isolated activity principally focusing on defense organizations. In doing so, due to its expertise in defense matters, NATO

could concentrate on the provision of expertise in defense-related aspects of managing hybrid warfare, while promoting the introduction of mechanisms to facilitate the establishment of links between defense ministries and other security sector organizations, at the same time. The point of departure for developing such a program of work is identification of the role which defense institutions play in responding to hybrid warfare as part of a wider national framework.

Secondly, the reality of hybrid conflict has also had an impact on defense institutions in terms of their ability to develop effective responses to hybrid threats. This, in turn, necessitates the expansion of DIB efforts into institutional restructuring and adaptation for the defense sectors to be able to prevent, counter, and respond to hybrid threat. In this context, broadening the scope of NATO's DIB for it to include relevant capacity building aspects of institutional resilience would be in line with the guidance which the Allied Heads of State and Government provided at their Brussels summit in July 2018, where they reaffirmed their determination to help NATO's Partners "to build stronger defence institutions, improve good governance, *enhance their resilience* [emphasis mine], provide for their own security, and more effectively contribute to the fight against terrorism."[31] As a result, developing institutional resilience should become an integral component of NATO's DIB. Key examples of such resilience seem to include the following areas:

- national security architecture preparedness;
- situational awareness;
- defense planning;
- cyber defense;
- Critical Infrastructure Protection (CIP);
- strategic communications;
- interagency coordination and establishing operational links with non-governmental actors.

Thirdly, NATO might also need to establish its own NATO/PfP hybrid response team: a permanent or semi-permanent capability composed of civilian-military experts to be deployed on request to assist a Partner nation in preventing, countering or responding to hybrid threat. Although the core of the capability could revolve around DIB, it also would need to extend to expertise outside DIB. In case NATO lacks expertise in certain areas (the Ministry of the Interior, as an example), it could draw on national expertise which interested Allies and Partners could provide or forge cooperation links with other international organizations which are more specialized in such issues. Given that some of the NATO Partners have become providers, not just recipients of hybrid warfare expertise, their experts could also be attached to the team.

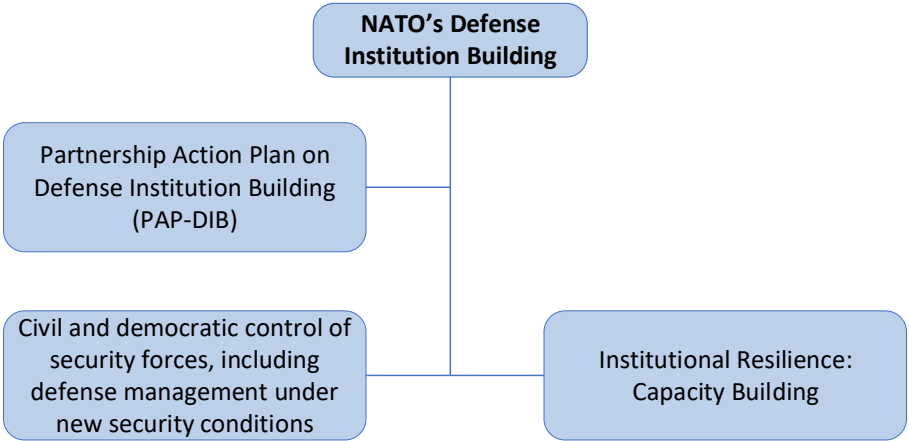[31] NATO, "Brussels Summit Declaration."

Figure 1: Possible New NATO's DIB Framework.

Finally, the Alliance might need to assess how the whole portfolio of its existing DIB programs and activities contribute to addressing the requirements of "the age of hybrid warfare." It might also need to consider aligning its DIB conceptual approaches to new security conditions, of which the hybrid threats are and will continue to be a prevailing feature, as well as launching new long-term DIB interventions to help its Partners better respond to hybrid threat. One of the first long-term initiatives which might spring from such an analysis could be focused on increasing skills of those employed in the defense and security institutions so that they are able to manage national and Allied responses to hybrid warfare.

Professional Development Program on Hybrid Warfare as a Starting Point?

Understanding the nature of the hybrid threat is key if the state is to effectively respond to it. In this context, increasing relevant skills of key personnel employed in the defense institutions of national administrations in Allied and Partner countries so that they could develop strategies for the state to be able to recognize, respond to, and—if necessary—operate under hybrid conditions should be seen as a key contribution which NATO's DIB could offer to addressing the hybrid challenge. As a practical proposal, the Alliance and/or interested Allies and relevant Partners could explore the possibility of developing a new cooperation mechanism with interested Partners to increase institutional capacities in the area of hybrid warfare – a Professional Development Program on Hybrid Warfare (PDP/HW).

A key objective of the PDP/HW would be to provide a capacity building framework to establish resilience to hybrid threats within Allied and relevant Partner countries' national administrations and wider national communities.

The PDP/HW would specifically aim to:

- identify roles which individual components of the security sector, including defense institutions, play in contributing to national responses to hybrid warfare;
- facilitate development of national policies aimed at establishing functional partnerships between state institutions, security forces, civil society and business communities, thus preparing the society, taken as a whole, for the challenges of modern warfare, including hybrid warfare;
- assist in developing or increasing state capacities to deter or prevent the application of hybrid warfare against the state and its institutions;
- provide relevant education, training and exercise opportunities to civilian authorities of Allied and Partner countries;
- create conditions for developing other forms of cooperation between NATO and other nations in identifying challenges of and developing responses to modern hybrid warfare;
- provide a platform to generate expertise in and facilitate research activities focusing on the role of national administration in preventing, countering and responding to hybrid warfare.

The PDP/HW would provide a framework within which relevant Partners and interested Allied nations would group together to develop a capacity building initiative which would be used to establish resilience to hybrid threats within their national institutions and create synergies of action at national and international levels. In other words, relevant Partners, including those with an experience in confronting hybrid threats, would not only receive assistance but also offer their knowledge and experience to promote development of effective hybrid warfare responses.

A key component of the PDP/HW could be the PDP Hybrid Warfare course covering the entire spectrum of issues pertinent to hybrid war and hybrid warfare. The general objective of the course would be to inculcate state institutions and selected members of societies with knowledge and awareness of hybrid warfare. Participation in the course would be open to political institutions, civil service, defense and security organizations and the military. Relevant representatives of business communities, media and civil society could also be invited to participate in the course.

Conclusion

The age of hybrid warfare has reshaped the security environment in the Euro-Atlantic area by producing a shift from counter-terrorism, peace-keeping missions and warfighting in places such as Afghanistan to multidimensional threats

"blurring the line between peace, crisis, and conflict." This strategic change should inform adaptation of the NATO's DIB instruments for them to contribute to developing effective responses to hybrid warfare. Although NATO should still encourage the maximum use of the existing instruments, tools and institutional networks to pursue its DIB objectives, there is a clear need for the Alliance to come to conclusion about expanding its DIB policies into developing institutional resilience to hybrid threats. Focusing on the role which skills of those employed in national administrations play in preventing, countering and responding to hybrid warfare through establishing the NATO PDP/HW could be one of the aspects of this new agenda of action and the best contribution which NATO's DIB could offer to address the challenges of "the age of hybrid warfare."

Disclaimer

The views expressed in this article are those of the author and not necessarily those of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

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Research Article

Defense Against Negative Strategic Communications

Judith Reid

U.S. Department of Defense, https://dod.defense.gov

Abstract: Strategic messaging is ever more important in the age of explosive social media, and not all information on the Internet is benign. Negative information campaigns were used by Hitler in the Austrian Anschluss, and more recently by Vladimir Putin in the annexation of Crimea and the conflicts in Donetsk and Luhansk. Similarly, seeds of public dissent and discord have been entering through Russian trolls and bots into American social media.

Central and Eastern European countries are particularly vulnerable to negative messaging from Russia, or even from terrorist groups. This article delves into cultural paradigms of the US, Russia and numerous Central and Eastern European societies to uncover cultural areas of vulnerability to outside influences; how the cultural underpinnings of power, competition, individualism, uncertainty avoidance, long term orientation and indulgence can highlight openings to negative influences. It concludes with ideas for nations to guard against unwanted information attacks.

Keywords: Propaganda, strategic communications, culture, Hofstede, Central Europe, Eastern Europe.

Strategic messaging is ever more important in the age of explosive social media. So much information flows to and through societies, governments and individuals that any attempt to organize and make sense of the data is welcome for its ability to be consumed. Not all information on the Internet is benign. Some individuals and organizations work to manipulate the information to represent their views. Some go beyond and use information as a tool to persuade. Some governments weaponize data into propaganda to purposefully harm other nations.

Central and Eastern European countries are particularly vulnerable to negative messaging from Russia, or even from terrorist groups. This article will use Geert Hofstede's cultural framework to illuminate cultural weaknesses of Central and Eastern European countries that can be exploited by malevolent outsiders. It considers how cultural characteristics make nations vulnerable to propaganda, and how nations can use their cultural strengths to combat this scourge.

Geert Hofstede's Cultural Paradigm

In his book, *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind, Intercultural Cooperation and Its Importance for Survival*,[1] Dr. Hofstede presents six underlying pillars of every culture. He calls these indices: Power Distance, Individualism, Masculinity, Uncertainty Avoidance, Long-Term Orientation, and Indulgence. Whether a country's sense of nationalism, a business's organizational culture, or a private club's way of doing business, all established groups develop and maintain a culture that can be arrayed using these indices. Understanding these pillars of any society can illuminate potential strengths and weaknesses toward foreign influences.[2]

For example, the Power Distance Indicator (PDI) highlights the use of hierarchy in a country. If a country has a rigid class system with numerous layers, then it has a high PDI. If societal layers are more fluid and the hierarchy flat, then it has low PDI. In high PDI countries, separation between the elite and the proletariat is almost complete. Centralized management, rigid inequality and formal rules mark the world of governance. There are seemingly non-ending chains of superiors without decision authority, and relations between subordinate and superior are based on emotion. Might trumps right, the leaders have privilege power and status, autocratic and oligarchic government are based on co-optation, and the elites are protected from consequences of scandals. Hierarchies can be tall and rigid, like military organizations, or have only a few impermeable layers as seen in poorer countries with a small middle class. According to Dr. Hofstede, cultures with a high PDI quotient include Romania, Russia, Serbia, and Slovakia.[3]

Hofstede arrays countries by their individualism versus collectivism (IND). Countries high on the IND index are known for their individualism, rights to privacy, merit promotion, and equal treatment under the law. The United States and Great Britain are two of the most individualistic countries in the world. More collectivist countries honor the group over the individual and seek harmony and consensus over self-actualization. In low IND groups, prevailing opinions are determined by group membership, the state plays a key role in the economic sys-

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[1] Geert Hofstede, Gert Jan Hofstede, and Michael Minkov, Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind, Intercultural Cooperation and Its Importance for Survival, 3rd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2010).

[2] Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, *Cultures and Organizations*.

[3] Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, *Cultures and Organizations*.

tem, and rights differ by group. In these countries, relationships trump tasks, the social network is the main source of information, and people are born into families that protect them throughout life in exchange for loyalty. Countries with high IND quotient include Hungary, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland and the Czech Republic. Romania, Slovenia and Serbia represent countries that are more collectivist.[4]

The Masculinity Index (MASC) distinguishes a society's sense of competition versus cooperation, assertiveness versus modesty. In a highly masculine society, importance is placed on earning, recognition, advancement and challenge, versus a more feminine society where the goal is to have good working relationships, a desirable living situation and employment security. In more masculine societies, the gender roles are separate and distinct. Men are responsible, decisive and ambitious; women are caring, gentle and support the success of their men. In highly masculinized societies, men are subjects and women are objects, sexual harassment is an issue and homosexuality is seen as a threat to society. In feminine government, politics is based on coalitions, governments aid the needy, and international conflicts are best settled through negotiation and compromise. Highly masculinized countries include Slovakia, Hungary and Poland, whereas more feminine societies include Latvia, Slovenia and Lithuania.[5]

Uncertainty Avoidance (UAI) measures the extremes to which a society's people will go to avoid encountering the unknown. "The evil that I know is better than the good that I don't" could be their slogan. In high UAI countries, uncertainty is a constant threat that should be avoided or fought. Ambiguity and unfamiliar situations cause stress, and what is different is considered dangerous. Rules and laws are important, precision and formalization are desired. There is an inherent belief in experts and technical solutions. Citizens are not interested in politics, and civil servants tend to have law degrees. There is a preponderance of precise laws and unwritten rules. Xenophobia, nationalism, and protecting the "in group" are important facets of high UAI countries. Russia, Poland, Serbia, Romania and Slovenia are high on the UAI scale, while there are no Central or Eastern European countries that are low on the UAI scale. The rest fall in the middle.[6]

In the Long-Term Orientation (LTO) scale, persistence, thrift, ordered relationships and a sense of shame are important, versus a shorter-term orientation that honors reciprocation, respect for tradition, protecting face, and personal stability. In societies based on high LTO, work values include honesty, accountability and self-discipline. What is good or bad is situationally determined, adaptiveness and learning are important. The focus is on market position and profits in ten years. Countries high on the LTO scale include Ukraine, Estonia, Lithuania, Russia and Belarus.[7]

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4   Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, *Cultures and Organizations*.

5   Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, *Cultures and Organizations*.

6   Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, *Cultures and Organizations*.

7   Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, *Cultures and Organizations*.

Indulgence versus Restraint (IVR) measures happiness, life control and the importance of leisure. In restrained societies, gratification is curbed and controlled by strict social norms. These societies exhibit a sense of helplessness, moral discipline, cynicism, pessimism and a lower percentage of happy people. Here, freedom of speech is not a main concern, though maintaining order is. There are no Central or Eastern European countries high on the IVR scale. Those gathered on the extremely restrained side include Latvia, Ukraine, Albania, Belarus, Lithuania, Bulgaria and Estonia.[8]

By highlighting these six pillars of cultural paradigms, Dr. Hofstede provides clues to societal vulnerabilities and natural defenses from fake news and other malicious information operations.

Example: USA versus Russia

President Vladimir Putin comes from an overarching culture that believes strongly in inherent hierarchy, and Putin wants to be at the top of the heap (PDI 93), which he sees as a benefit for the greater global good (IND 39 and MASC 36). He has a strong need to control (UAI 95), and is willing to play the long game (LTO 81 and IVR 20) to achieve his vision of success.[9]

By contrast, President Donald Trump was borne of a culture of flat hierarchies (PDI 40) and very high individualism (IND 91), where anyone with a dream and enough gumption can "make it." The US overarching culture is fairly competitive (MASC 62), risk takers (USAI 46) with little restraint (IVR 68), and a very short attention span (LTO 26).[10]

It would be fair to suspect that Putin sees the US as a very easy mark to influence through propaganda. He likely sees the US as narcissistic children with short attention spans who can be easily hooked through social media, addictive as it is. He can appeal to America's sense of superiority, to its inherent optimism and future focus to undercut public messaging through a thousand messages on the Internet. Those messages will irritate and cause some confusion, but are just enough under the pain threshold to be ignored as attention stays riveted to phones and computers, to "likes" and "shares."

Russia's high uncertainty avoidance is noted in the Washington Post on a front-page article entitled "The Putin Generation," where a young journalist is quoted as saying: "What the Russian soul demands, is that there be one strong politician in the country who resembles a czar."[11] The article also states that even though Putin controls the main television channels, security services and judiciary, most of the country supports him. They feel he will stand up to US ag-

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8   Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, *Cultures and Organizations*.

9   Based on the data in Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, *Cultures and Organizations*.

10   Based on the data in Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, *Cultures and Organizations*.

11   Anton Troianovski, "The Putin Generation: Young Russians are Vladimir Putin's biggest fans," *The Washington Post*, March 9, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/world/wp/2018/03/09/feature/russias-young-people-are-putins-biggest-fans.

gression, and that he can keep everything in balance. One 18-year-old is quoted as saying that open government corruption is upsetting, "but this is no time for an untested leader ... making change could lead to the collapse of the country."[12]

Fake news swarms the American information space more each year. When the US wakes up to the nuisance and danger that it is, how much damage will have been done and will it be able to further repel the negative information invasion? On the positive side, the very cultural bias that can be exploited to Putin's advantage, is also the saving grace that can pull the US out of the trap. IND and IVR wrapped in patriotism and love of freedom will eventually awaken the American society to the danger and are the keys to resisting the fake news invasion.

European Cultural Frameworks

What about European countries? What clues can culture provide on their vulnerabilities? Germany is more like the US than Russia, with lower PDI 35, mid IND 67 / MASC 66, and UAI 65 that is between US 46 and RU 95. Both GE and RU are longer term oriented and more restrained than not. It would be interesting to study the profiles of Georgia and Ukraine, but there is not enough data in this model to be of assistance. Ukraine is very long term oriented and very restrained. Georgia falls in the low to mid-range on both LTO and IVR. The other four criteria have no data, so there is just not enough here to plot a course.[13]

In another article, this author discussed the combination of high PDI and high UAI and how environments with those characteristics were ripe for dictators as the population honored rigid hierarchies and were so uncertainty averse as to do almost anything, suffer almost any circumstance just to know the likely outcome of any daily transaction. The countries that still have that cultural profile include Russia (PDI 93 / UAI 95), Romania (PDI 90 / UAI 90), and Serbia (PDI 86 / UAI 92). The danger with this profile is the acceptance by the common person that inequity is normal coupled with the willingness to do anything to keep the status quo. In this environment, a bully could force his way in through media or force and declare a new order with fair amount of success.[14]

Other countries that have a mid-range PDI with high uncertainty avoidance include Croatia (PDI 73 / UAI 80), Slovenia (PDI 71, UAI 88), Bulgaria (PDI 70 / UAI 85) and Poland (PDI 68 / UAI 93). These countries still cling to the status quo, but give less credence to a rigid hierarchy. Collectivism is the norm in Croatia (IND 33), Slovenia (IND 27) and Bulgaria (IND 30), with Poland more individualistic (IND 60).[15] What this means in terms of an aggressive negative strategic communications plan is that outside forces would want to target elements of the uncer-

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[12] Troianovski, "The Putin Generation."

[13] Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, *Cultures and Organizations*.

[14] Judith Reid, "Cultural Foundations of Transparent Governments," *Connections: The Quarterly Journal* 16, no. 2 (2017): 81-89.

[15] Based on the data in Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, *Cultures and Organizations*.

tainty avoidance. How could outsiders upset the sense of predictability to make segments of a population cling to malicious messages? They would not have the advantage of high PDI, meaning a recognition that rigid hierarchy is normal, so the combination of high uncertainty avoidance (the world as we know it is changing fast) with high collectivism (and we are all in it together) would be the key approach to propaganda. Less "strong man" and more "every man is in danger."

Hungary has an interesting profile. It shows mid-range PDI 46, and high individualism 80, high masculinity index 88, and high uncertainty avoidance 82. Long term orientation 58 and Indulgence 31 are both mid-range.[16] With the high IND, MASC and UAI, Hungary is likely vulnerable to messages of inadequacies of the male ego.

Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia each have low PDI scores (44, 42, 40), and mid-range uncertainty avoidance (63, 65, 60). They vary somewhat in individualism (70, 60, 60) and in masculinity (9, 19, 30) but not by much.[17] A low PDI and mid-range UAI would signal that negative messaging should address a general sense of unease, exploit an uncertainty that is common to most people within each country, such as a sense of safety or scarcity.

Cultural vulnerabilities are most often opaque within one's own society, which can easily make recognizing these societal cracks difficult to see.

How an Outsider Can Use Cultural Clues to Influence

At its root, propaganda is an exaggeration of collective emotions.[18] How does an outsider pull the emotional strings inside another country?

Time orientation. Cultures are past, present or future oriented.[19] Leaders should pay attention to outside messages that pull public emotions into the time orientation that corresponds to the culture at risk. In Venezuela, Hugo Chavez's method of gaining the middle-aged vote was to conjure up the past when the government was "mired in corruption, incompetence, and poor management."[20]

Rational language. According to Jason Stanley in *How Propaganda Works*, language is a mechanism that allows negative strategic messaging to work. It presents an idea as rational, when upon closer examination, it is not. The negative statement is not exactly lying, rather it presents a truth while encouraging the reader to fill in the detail to create an overall emotional message that can

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[16] Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, *Cultures and Organizations*.

[17] Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, *Cultures and Organizations*.

[18] Jason Stanley, *How Propaganda Works* (Princeton University Press, 2015).

[19] Edward T. Hall and Mildred Reed Hall, *Understanding Cultural Differences: Germans, French and Americans* (Boston, MA: Intercultural Press, 1990); Edward T. Hall, *Hidden Differences: Doing Business with the Japanese* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/ Doubleday, 1987).

[20] William J. Dobson, *The Dictator's Learning Curve: Inside the Global Battle for Democracy* (New York: DoubleDay, 2012).

override rational judgment.[21] For example, shortly after the mass shootings at Stoneman-Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida, there were on-line stories of victims really being "crisis actors" and Russian bots engaging the gun control debate in order to sow chaos and confusion into the crisis.[22]

Over Simplification. Michael Barson and Steven Heller in *Red Scared!: The Commie Menace in Propaganda and Popular Culture*, note that "propaganda is based on the creation of recognizable stereotypes that oversimplify complex issues for the purpose of controlling mass opinion." Using this approach, the US government encouraged anti-communist "Red-baiting" during the Cold War through the mass media of the time.[23]

Snowball Conspiracy. Lisa-Maria Neudert of the Oxford Internet Institute's computational propaganda project (http://comprop.oii.ox.ac.uk/) notes that Facebook and Google's advertising technologies target specific groups and individuals with misleading and conspiratorial content since that content generates the most engagement and keeps readers "on the page," a key metric used by social media giants. Guillaume Chaslot, a former Google engineer, says the algorithms used in social media are designed to keep people engaged. For example, a conspiracy video that is favored by the algorithm encourages others to upload similar videos corroborating the conspiracy, which increases the retention statistics and continues the snowball until the conspiracy appears to be somewhat credible. This creates what Neudert calls an "environment that maximizes for outrage."[24]

In summary, outside agents could bend time references to influence a society, or use a combination of rational language, over simplification, or snowball conspiracy to twist the truth. If they use these pathways to hit a society where it is culturally vulnerable, then the results could be very effective. In highly collective societies (low IND), only a few opinion leaders would need to believe a fake news story for the collective body to be easily lead down a dangerous path.

How an Insider Can Use Propaganda to Reinforce Authoritarian Rule

Malevolent leaders have used strategic messaging to control their societies throughout time. They have used the techniques noted above, but also have an inside advantage and thus more tools at their disposal.

Chaos and division. In Hugo Chávez's Venezuela, after winning the support of the general population, he championed it against everyone else. He disallowed

21 Stanley, *How Propaganda Works*.

22 John Kruzel, "How Russian Trolls Exploited Parkland Mass Shooting on Social Media," *Politifact*, February 22, 2018, https://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/article/2018/feb/22/how-russian-trolls-exploited-parkland-mass-shootin/.

23 Michael Barson and Steven Heller, *Red Scared!: The Commie Menace in Propaganda and Popular Culture* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 2001).

24 Mathew Ingram, "Fake News is Part of a Bigger Problem: Automated Propaganda," *Columbia Journalism Review*, February 22, 2018, https://www.cjr.org/analysis/algorithm-russia-facebook.php.

dissent, calling those who questioned his brand of revolution "'traitors,' 'criminals,' 'oligarchs,' 'mafia,' and 'lackeys of the United States.' Although he originally promised to break the political parties in order to return power to the people, Chavez … centralized nearly all power in his own hands."[25]

Fear. María Corina Machado, co-founder of an election watchdog group in Venezuela noted that Venezuelans did not believe the elections were secret. About 5.6 million people there depended on government income and believed that their preferences could be seen by the government, so they perpetuated the public adoration of President Chavez to protect their income. As Ms. Machado notes: "Fear does not leave fingerprints. … It has been Chavez's biggest and best-used instrument from day one."[26]

Uncertainty. In 2009, President Chavez closed 34 radio station for "administrative infractions," and announced hundreds more were under investigation. The government never identified the other stations at risk for investigation, which kept the entire industry in check. In this way, the media could exist, but the content was censored by those very radio stations for fear of retaliation.[27]

Political apathy. According to William Dobson, "Widespread political apathy is the grease that helps any authoritarian system hum. And in the smoothest-functioning authoritarian systems, the regimes have gone to great lengths to turn disinterest in political life into a public virtue."[28]

Chaos, division, fear, uncertainty and political apathy can all contribute to negative messaging in order to control a society. As noted earlier, many Central and Eastern European countries are high on the Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI), a cultural element that makes it likely to fall prey to these tactics, particularly when coupled with a high PDI index that reveres strict hierarchy.

How a Nation Can Protect Itself

Negative strategic messaging is very subliminal. The most important defense is to see negative information campaigning for what it is. This article has attempted to expose opaque pockets of susceptibility in Central and Eastern Europe. Below are methods to counteract negative messaging from any source.

Open discussion. Free and open discourse in the public arena is key to uncovering "fake news" and other messages streaming into online and public consciousness. The public should counter political apathy by discussing current events with a wide variety of people with differing views.

Freedom of the press. The news and information feeds to the public need to remain free of bias and come from many differing viewpoints. An independent media is essential for exposing wrongs, conspiracies and corruption. Free TV and public media help disseminate a wide variety of political and social viewpoints.

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25 Dobson, *The Dictator's Learning Curve*.

26 Dobson, *The Dictator's Learning Curve*.

27 Dobson, *The Dictator's Learning Curve*.

28 Dobson, *The Dictator's Learning Curve*.

Critical thinking. According to Jason Stanley, "the antidote is to retain a core of critical thinking, to question emotional messages and to fact check anything that smacks of fake news. Deconstruct the message to uncover the fixed truth (assumed) versus the variable that takes the message into falsehood. Think of what facts are omitted, ponder the inverse of the message. Reset the conversation to focus it appropriately." [29]

Humor. In Hugo Chavez's Venezuela, the opposition created a public communications campaign of a Miss Venezuela who refused to give up her crown and was now old and ugly as a way to suggest that the current president should relinquish his position. Humor undermines the other's authority and is the best cure against fear.[30]

To help a nation move more toward openness and better critical thinking, it should tap into its cooperative and collaborative side (lower MASC). It should minimize those elements that insist on always being right and lean toward elements that promote open discourse. Nations may also want to work to increase elements of indulgence a bit more (IVR) so that the desire to maintain order can give way to freedom of speech.

Conclusion

Information warfare is widespread throughout the world. Those who cultivate it against other nations have studied the cultural vulnerabilities of their enemy. They use emotional language, irrational logic, over simplification and snowball conspiracy to soften the defenses of the enemy. To successfully fight the information war, Central European leaders and citizens should encourage open discussion, freedom of the press, critical thinking and humor. Humor knows no fear.

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The opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not reflect the policy of the U.S., German, or any other government.

About the Author

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[29] Stanley, *How Propaganda Works*.

[30] Dobson, *The Dictator's Learning Curve*.

Research Article

Defense Institution Building from Above? Lessons from the Baltic Experience

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Abstract: Defense institution building seeks to create the means and mechanisms that enable effective capability aggregation within NATO. Can external assistance with DIB help states become suitable NATO members? We discuss the post-Cold War experience of the Baltic States to understand the role of external assistance in defense institution building and how this can enable a state to gain NATO membership. We then consider whether lessons in the Baltic experience are applicable to Georgia and Ukraine.

Keywords: Baltic Battalion, NATO, Georgia, Ukraine, Partnership for Peace, Defense Institution Building, DIB.

Introduction

There is nothing better than 'NATO dirt' under the 'fingernails.' So said then NATO Supreme allied commander in Europe, General John Shalikashvili, in reference to the goal of the Partnership for Peace (PfP).[1] In the aftermath of the Cold War, the states of Eastern Europe looked for aid from the West. The Partnership for Peace (PfP) was NATO's response. The goal was to bring members of the former Warsaw Pact into closer cooperation with NATO. Participation in the PfP allowed these partner states to reform their defense institutions and policies, both to make their militaries more effective and to align with NATO standards.

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[1] Paul Poast and Johannes Urpelainen, *Organizing Democracy: How International Organizations Assist New Democracies* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 147.

More formally, PfP's goal is Defense Institution Building (DIB). DIB is about creating the means and mechanisms to enable effective capability aggregation within NATO. The ability of the states to combine their military capabilities for the purpose of defending a member state is the foundational principle of all alliances. As Russet and Starr wrote, "throughout history the main reason states have entered into alliances has been the desire for the aggregation of power."[2] The combined capabilities can then be used to counter—or balance—a threat.[3] Despite the fact that not all of the allies bring the same level of capability contribution to the alliance, NATO is no exception. As Morrow writes, "NATO is an example of an asymmetric balancing alliance."[4] But aggregation does not happen without allies taking concrete measures to ensure that their militaries can work together, be it on the battlefield or in support roles.[5] Effective capability aggregation is accomplished by enhancing numerous, if not all, dimensions of military interoperability between the allies. These range from ensuring civilian control of member militaries, to developing consistent budgeting practices within defense bureaucracies, to complementary weapons acquisition procedures.[6] These are all forms of DIB.

Efforts at DIB are concentrated in the PfP Planning and Review Process (PARP). Originally open only to PfP countries, PARP was extended in 2011 to other NATO partner countries on a case-by-case basis.[7] NATO carries out DIB through a host of other programs besides PARP: the Professional Development Programme (PDP), which builds the skills of civilian personnel in defense and security institutions; the NATO Defence Education Enhancement Programme (DEEP), which develops a faculty and curriculum of national defense education institutions to meet NATO standards[8]; the NATO Building Integrity (BI) Programme, which combats "poor governance and corruption" in partner countries, and the Defence and Related Security Capacity Building (DCB) Initiative, which

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[2] Bruce Russett and Harvey Starr, *World Politics: The Menu for Choice*, 3rd ed. (New York: W.H. Freeman, 1989), 91.

[3] Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987).

[4] James D. Morrow, "Alliances and Asymmetry: An Alternative to the Capability Aggregation Model of Alliances," *American Journal of Political Science* 35, no. 4 (November 1991): 904-933, 928

[5] Nona Bensahel, "International Alliances and Military Effectiveness: Fighting Alongside Allies and Partners," in *Creating Military Power: The Sources of Military Effectiveness*, ed. Risa Brooks and Elizabeth Stanley (Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 186-206, 188.

[6] NATO, "Defence Institution Building," May 2018, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_50083.htm.

[7] NATO, "Partnership for Peace Planning and Review Process (PARP)," November 2014, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_68277.htm.

[8] NATO, "Defence Education Enhancement Programme (DEEP)," December 2017, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_139182.htm.

provides advising, assisting and training at the request of a partner country.[9] Hence, DIB can ensure compatibility within NATO members and between NATO members and NATO partners.

To understand the role of DIB within NATO's partner countries, especially those with limited prospects of joining the alliance, perhaps no two countries are more critical than Ukraine and Georgia. Due to relatively recent (the 2008 Russo-Georgian War; the 2014 Russia annexation of Crimea) or ongoing (the presence of Russian forces in Eastern Ukraine) military aggression by Russia, there are no immediate prospects of either state becoming a NATO member. But NATO can and has used the above programs to assist these two countries.

In particular, we think insight into the effectiveness of DIB in Ukraine and Georgia to facilitate NATO membership can be gained by considering the pre-NATO membership experience of the Baltic states. Like Ukraine and Georgia, the Baltic states of Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia are former Soviet Republics. In addition to bordering Russia, all three states were essentially "starting from zero" following independence: "unlike the Warsaw Pact countries, the Baltic states had no military establishment or diplomatic service of their own during the Cold War. These had to be built from scratch in the 1990s."[10,11] Hence, any amount of external assistance—in the form of money or technical assistance—would have benefitted the Baltic states. While the Baltics did eventually join NATO, they achieved many defense and interoperability enhancements, primarily in the area of peacekeeping, before taking on Article 5 obligations.

After reviewing the core tenets of the "Baltic Model," we turn to considering in what respects the experience of Ukraine and Georgia are similar (and different) from that of the Baltics. Finally, we discuss the broader implications of external engagement with the Baltic States, Ukraine, and Georgia.

The Baltic Model

What is the Baltic Model? Building on the work of Poast and Urpelainen,[12] the Baltic model is about the prospective NATO members creating their own, specially tailored organizations and then using those organizations to funnel external financial and technical assistance. This assistance, in turn, fosters the DIB necessary (but not sufficient) to achieve full NATO membership.

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[9] NATO, "Building Integrity," September 18, 2017, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_68368.htm.

[10] Andres Kasekamp and Viljar Veebel, "Overcoming Doubts: The Baltic States and European Security and Defence Policy," in *The Estonian Foreign Policy Yearbook 2007*, ed. Andres Kasekamp (Tallin: Estonian Foreign Policy Institute, 2007), 9-33, 13.

[11] Quoted in Pete Ito, "Baltic Military Cooperative Projects: A Record of Success," in *Apprenticeship, Partnership, Membership: Twenty Years of Defence Development in the Baltic States*, ed. Tony Lawrence and Tomas Jermalavičius (Tallin: International Centre for Defence Studies, 2013), 242, https://icds.ee/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/RKK_Apprenticeship__Partnership__Membership_WWW.pdf.

[12] Poast and Urpelainen, *Organizing Democracy*.

As mentioned above, following independence the Baltics were starting from zero. Additionally, the Baltics' initial situation was fraught with peril due to Russia's lingering presence. In 1994, then Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt wrote in *Foreign Affairs* of the "Baltic Litmus Test": "Russia now borders Western Europe only in the Nordic and Baltic regions. More than any other part of the former Soviet empire, Russia's policies toward the Baltic countries will be the litmus test of its new direction."[13] These comments were expressed during a time where then Russian President Boris Yeltsin asserted that "the flames of war" could engulf Europe if NATO expanded.[14] But upon gaining independence, the governments of the Baltic states were unable to provide from their own resources the key public good of security. This meant that immediate NATO membership was effectively closed to the Baltics. Then U.S. President Bill Clinton put the situation bluntly: "We're trying to promote security and stability in Europe. We don't want to do anything that increases tensions."[15]

But while the door to immediate NATO membership was closed, external assistance was on offer. Taking the lead in this effort were the Nordic countries, particularly NATO member Denmark. The Nordic countries and the Baltics agreed that a peacekeeping-oriented international arrangement, the Baltic Battalion (BALTBAT), could serve as a vehicle for quickly bolstering Baltic security. This was for two reasons. First, BALTBAT was, in the words of one commentator with some involvement in the project, of "symbolic and political importance."[16] By creating and cooperating through BALTBAT, the Baltic states signaled their willingness to find joint solutions to security problems. In other words, they demonstrated a desire and ability to fulfill a core function of NATO: provide *collective* defense. Second, BALTBAT facilitated the distribution of technical assistance and material resources from the established democracies to the Baltics. With respect to technical assistance, established democracies offered training in "Western" practices of military organization (such as the proper role of civil-military relations), and even English language classes (as English proficiency is necessary for operating within NATO). With respect to material assistance, through BALTBAT the Baltic states received everything from basic military supplies (from uniforms to office equipment) to light weaponry.[17] While far from onerous for the established democracies, these basic resources helped the Baltic states not only strengthen their ties with the West but also improve their military capabilities, professionalize their armies, and learn from the West about civil-military relations in a democratic setting.

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[13] Carl Bildt, "The Baltic Litmus Test: Revealing Russia's True Colors," *Foreign Affairs* 73, no. 5 (1994): 72-85, 72.

[14] Quoted in Brendan Simms, *Europe: The Struggle for Supremacy, from 1453 to the Present* (Hachette, UK: Basic Books, 2013), 496.

[15] Poast and Urpelainen, *Organizing Democracy*, 133.

[16] Ito, "Baltic Military Cooperative Projects," 252.

[17] Poast and Urpelainen, *Organizing Democracy*, 144.

How well did the system work for the Baltics? To be clear, the Baltic performance was not perfect. BALTBAT was unable to deploy as a single unit. Following a training and deployment exercise titled BALTIC TRIAL, Danish officials found that Baltic forces were only adequate for performing "routine peacekeeping tasks" in an already peaceful environment.[18] A major problem was a lack of agreement among the three states: they each held strong views on issues ranging from the location of training facilities to the appointment of force commanders. However, this did not prevent each of the individual Baltic states from developing the capacity to deploy forces that demonstrated their usefulness in NATO operations. For instance, Latvian and Lithuanian peacekeepers deployed to Lebanon, and all three states contributed peacekeepers to Bosnia.

The "Baltic Model" shows that external assistance, especially assistance funneled through specially designed international institutions, can offer the technical and material means of enabling non-NATO members to work in tandem with NATO members. If the goal of DIB is to enable effective capability aggregation *with* NATO (if not within NATO), then the Baltic model demonstrates that this can be accomplished.

Applicability of the Baltic Model to Ukraine and Georgia

How much external assistance is required, and how should it best be channeled, to bring Georgia and Ukraine up to the Baltic level? This section compares and analyzes the pattern of NATO and U.S. military assistance offered to Ukraine and Georgia with that given to the Baltic States. We use U.S. military assistance as a proxy for overall NATO assistance, since data on dollar amounts of U.S. assistance over time by country and program is readily available. We also compare the experiences of the two states, particularly focusing on differences in the efforts of the two states to join NATO. This is important. Despite the Baltic states receiving far less material and financial assistance than Ukraine or Georgia, the Baltics were able to develop their defense institutions to a level acceptable to secure NATO membership, while Georgia and Ukraine are still working to improve their defense institutions. Why the difference in experiences? Georgia and Ukraine are similar to the Baltic States in that both countries are former members of the Soviet Union and share a border with Russia. But unlike the Baltic states, there is not the equivalent of a BALTBAT institution unifying these two Black Sea states and positioning them to contribute to NATO's mission. Furthermore, NATO membership has been difficult to achieve for Ukraine and Georgia due to political constraints on NATO enlargement, and on the part of Ukraine, previously weak political will to reform defense institutions and pursue NATO membership.

Ukraine received substantial security assistance from the United States between 1992 and 2014. As shown in Figure 1, the majority of U.S. security assistance to Ukraine, nearly $1.1 billion, went toward the Cooperative Threat Re-

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18 Poast and Urpelainen, *Organizing Democracy*, 145.

duction (CTR) program – removing Ukraine's strategic nuclear weapons, securing nuclear material, operating laboratories for disease prevention and increasing facility safety, as well as countering smuggling of weapons of mass destruction.[19] While CTR funding filled a critical role in reducing the threat posed by nuclear materials, it did not strengthen defense institutions within Ukraine or build the capacity of its military.

The remainder of the funds to Ukraine, around $222 million, was spent on Foreign Military Financing, International Military Education and Training, and other Military Assistance Programs. But despite this external funding, Ukraine's military was ill-equipped to oppose the 2014 invasion by Russia. The US and NATO responded by dramatically increasing aid to Ukraine, focusing on enhancing Ukraine's military capabilities.[20] The United States initiated the European Deterrence Initiative (formerly the European Reassurance Initiative) to provide for
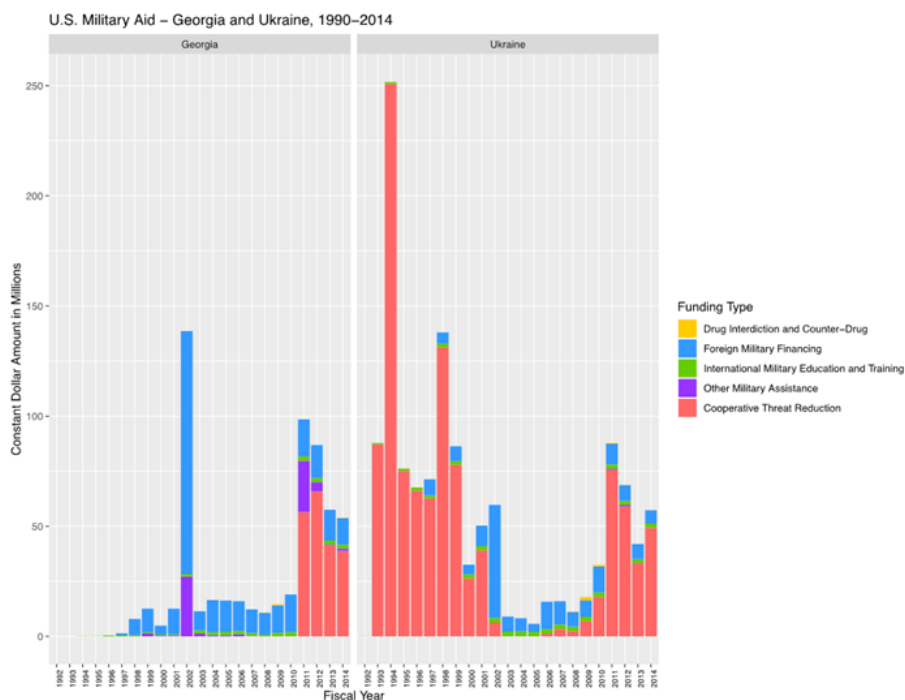
Figure 1: U.S. Military Aid to Georgia and Ukraine, 1990-2014.

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[19] "Fiscal Year 2017 President's Budget Cooperative Threat Reduction Program," Defense Threat Reduction Agency, 2017, https://comptroller.defense.gov/Portals/45/ Documents/defbudget/FY2017/budget_justification/pdfs/01_Operation_and_Maint enance/O_M_VOL_1_PART_2/CTR_OP-5.pdf.

[20] Adriana Lins de Albuquerque and Jakob Hedenskog, "Ukraine: A Defense Sector Reform Assessment" (Stockholm: FOI, December 2015).

joint interoperability and deterrence exercises with NATO and theater partners, as well as specifically earmark security assistance for Ukraine, including lethal and non-lethal equipment needed to fight in Eastern Ukraine. Since 2014, Ukraine has received $850 million in security assistance from the United States.[21] Ukraine has also received varied capacity building assistance from NATO, such as programs to increase its logistics capability as well as efforts at DIB, including the Defence Education Enhancement Programme (DEEP) that started in 2013 to reform the military education system in Ukraine.

The combination of substantial external assistance and the Russian threat to Ukraine's territorial integrity have provided the impetus for crucial reforms to Ukraine's military. Ukraine has made significant changes to its military to handle Russian aggression. It increased the defense budget by over 50 percent since 2013 and enacted reforms such as gradually switching from a conscript to volunteer military.[22] As a result, Ukraine will likely emerge from conflict with a military significantly more interoperable with NATO and able to add to the alliance's capabilities. Furthermore, Ukraine finally shows consistent political will to join NATO, recently becoming an official aspirant country after years of past tepid engagement with NATO. Nevertheless, Ukraine has not fully reached NATO standards. Ukraine's military at the moment remains underequipped and in need of technical modernization.[23] Ukraine also faces challenges with fully entrenching democratic values in its security sector. While democratic control of the military is legally installed in Ukraine, the presence of volunteer battalions that are not fully under democratic control or whose leadership is involved in politics undermines that norm.[24]

Like Ukraine, Georgia received substantial security assistance from the United States – around $592 million between 1994 and 2014, with around $202 million spent on the CTR and around $390 million on Excess Defense Articles, the Foreign Military Financing Program, International Military Education and Training, Drug Interdiction and Counter–Drug Activities, and Other Military Assistance. Comparatively, Georgia received more money from the United States to procure equipment and modernize its military than Ukraine did, but less money for CTR activities (which reflects the smaller problem that Georgia faced with securing nuclear materials). Georgia also experienced more consistent engagement with NATO than Ukraine, and has been an aspirant country for several years. It has strengthened cooperation with NATO as part of the NATO-Georgia Commission, which was established after the Russo-Georgian War of 2008 pre-

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[21] "The European Deterrence Initiative: A Budgetary Overview," Congressional Research Service, August 8, 2018, https://fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/IF10946.pdf.

[22] Denys Kiryukhin, "The Ukrainian Military: From Degradation to Renewal" (Foreign Policy Research Institute, August 17, 2018), https://www.fpri.org/article/2018/08/the-ukrainian-military-from-degradation-to-renewal/.

[23] Andrzej Wilk, "The Best Army Ukraine Has Ever Had: Changes in Ukraine's Armed Forces since the Russian Aggression" (OSW, Centre for Eastern Studies, July 2017).

[24] Albuquerque and Hedenskog, "Ukraine: A Defense Sector Reform Assessment."

vented Georgia from receiving a MAP to join the alliance. As part of the Commission, Georgia and NATO utilized the Annual National Programme (ANP) and implemented significant reforms to Georgia's military since the Russo-Georgian War.[25] Georgia has demonstrated its military capabilities by serving as the top non-member contributor and fourth largest overall contributor to the NATO mission in Afghanistan, outperforming the Baltics, Ukraine, and most NATO members. In 2014, NATO created the Substantial NATO-Georgia Package (SNGP), which expands training and exercises between NATO and Georgia, as well as a Defense Institution Building (DIB) school, logistics, and strategic communication.[26]

Given its performance in ISAF, low corruption,[27] and military reforms, Georgia may already meet standards for NATO membership. However, Georgia has not received NATO membership, likely because Russia has become much more opposed to NATO enlargement since the Baltic States joined, particularly for members of the former Soviet Union. Georgia's ongoing border dispute with the breakaway region of South Ossetia further complicates NATO membership, since aspiring members must resolve border disputes before joining.

How do the experiences of Georgia and Ukraine compare to that of the Baltics? The amount of assistance to the Baltics paled in comparison to the assistance granted to Ukraine and Georgia. Between 1992-2014, Estonia received around $148 million, Lithuania received around $157 million, and Latvia received around $140 million in security assistance from the United States. Ukraine, in contrast, received over $1.3 billion in security assistance and Georgia received $592 million during the same period. The majority of assistance to the Baltic States went toward Foreign Military Financing (see Figure 2). Like Ukraine, since the 2013 Russian invasion of the Ukraine, the Baltic States have received increased funding from the United States under the European Defense Initiative (EDI). Funds have gone to support a rotational U.S. force to deter Russia from a conventional invasion of the Baltic States, who as members of NATO would require protection under Article 5 in event of a Russian attack.

Given the lower level of overall funding to the Baltic states, the development of institutions necessary for NATO membership appears to have been achieved in a manner not captured by the raw aid figures. How did the Baltic States achieve NATO membership? First, and most importantly, the Baltic States applied for membership much earlier than either Georgia and Ukraine, formally applying in 1994, when the international environment made NATO enlargement to include members of the former Soviet Union more palatable. Second, as discussed in the previous section, the Baltic States demonstrated their capacity for membership through creating and participating in BALTBAT. BALTBAT attracted

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25 Embassy of Georgia, "Georgia-NATO Relations," 2017.

26 F Stephen Larrabee, "The Baltic States and NATO Membership," n.d., 11.

27 "Georgia Corruption Rank," Trading Economics, 2018, https://tradingeconomics.com/georgia/corruption-rank.
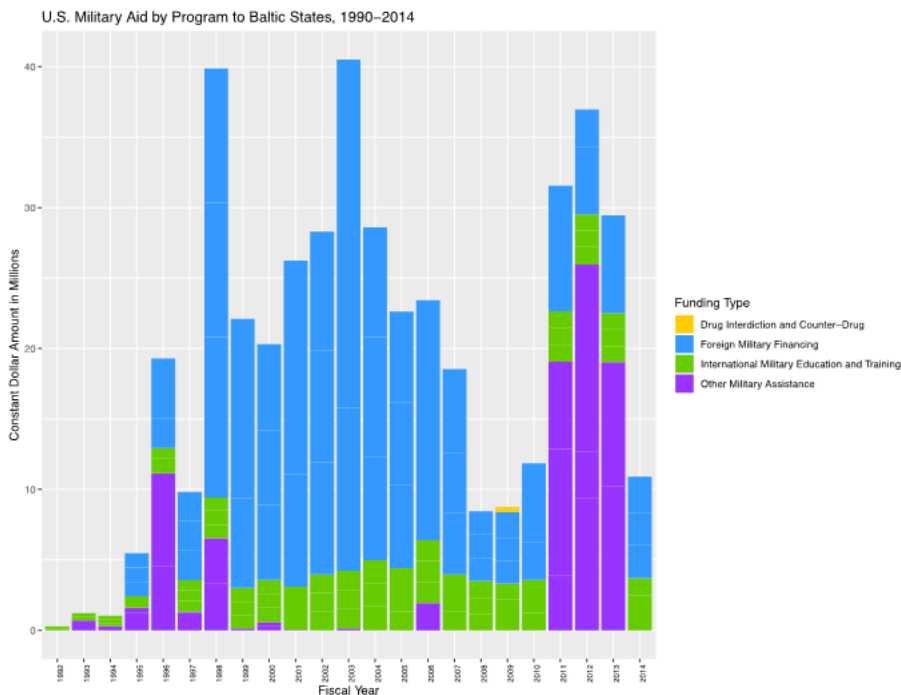
Figure 2: U.S. Military Aid by Program to Baltic States, 1990-2014.

significant support from NATO countries, particularly because it showed that the Baltic States were motivated to work toward NATO membership, and to contribute to the alliance's collective defense. The Baltic States' participation in BALTBAT furthered regional cooperation, allowed the states to pool resources for arms purchases, and served as a force-multiplier by allowing the Baltics to combine their limited budgets to form a peacekeeping battalion to work closely with NATO, which none of the states could have formed individually.[28] BALTBAT's peacekeeping duties provided a conduit for working with NATO, which out of the Warsaw (later Wales) Initiative Fund provided unit equipment, communications gear, and support for PfP exercises.[29]

Demonstrating will and capacity for meeting membership standards is also a key criterion for attracting military assistance from NATO member states. For the United States, security assistance is dispensed given the following criteria: "the country must be willing to absorb the engagement, it must 'buy in' to the activity by contributing some resources to its implementation, and there must be a rea-

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[28]   F Stephen Larrabee, "The Baltic States and NATO Membership," RAND, 2003.

[29]   U. S. Government Accountability Office, "NATO: U.S. Assistance to the Partnership for Peace," no. GAO-01-734 (July 20, 2001), https://www.gao.gov/products/GAO-01-734.

sonable expectation that the country and the region will benefit from the engagement in the long run."[30] BALTBAT thus furthered the maturation of the Baltic States defense forces and their eligibility for NATO membership more than individual cooperation with NATO or receiving security assistance from member states alone could have.

Conclusions

Despite receiving more funding between 1990 and 2014 than the Baltic States, neither Ukraine nor Georgia are NATO members. Although substantial in overall numbers, external assistance to Ukraine prior to 2014 was oriented towards programs such as the CTR rather than DIB. Ukraine still has work to do in order to fully meet NATO membership standards. In Georgia's case, its military capability and defense institutions have dramatically improved over the last ten years, but ongoing border disputes and Russian objections make membership difficult. The experience of regional cooperation between the Baltic States through the international organization of BALTBAT—which allowed the Baltic States to gain valuable experience and build their defense institutions prior to joining NATO—points to a way forward for Georgia and Ukraine. Increased bilateral cooperation between Georgia and Ukraine could strengthen their military capabilities, demonstrate their value to the alliance, and serve as a conduit for external military assistance. This middle road of increased partnership between the Black Sea states and with NATO, without immediate prospects of membership, takes into account the geopolitical realities of a resurgent Russia while pursuing opportunities for NATO-assisted security sector reform in Ukraine and Georgia.

From NATO's experience shepherding the Baltic States to membership and engaging with Ukraine and Georgia, we can draw further conclusions about the future of NATO's military assistance to its partners. First, the experience of the Baltic States with BALTBAT shows that meaningful reforms can happen, even in the absence of NATO membership, through a combination of external assistance and political will within partner countries. International organizations, when created by countries seeking to improve their interoperability with NATO, provide a means for their member states to gain valuable skills and to take ownership of the reform process. Thus, NATO should encourage and reward with external assistance the formation of international organizations between its partner countries.

Second, the experience of Ukraine and Georgia shows that external assistance alone, without the corresponding political will, does not necessarily bring about reform. However, it also demonstrates that conflict experiences can increase political will to enact widespread and often painful reforms, and encourage existing NATO members to increase their security assistance. While reform

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[30] Walter L. Perry, Stuart Johnson, Stephanie Pezard, Gillian S. Oak, David Stebbins, and Chaoling Feng, *Defense Institution Building: An Assessment* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2016). https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1176.html.

in the midst of conflict is often quite difficult, Georgia and Ukraine offer positive examples of how external assistance can build military capacity (particularly by providing critical military equipment) when the aid recipient is highly motivated to improve. This can be true even when a recipient's defense institutions have historically been weak. Therefore, NATO's efforts at DIB and its expansion to non-PfP states that have recently participated in conflict, such as Iraq and Jordan, provide a path to meaningful security sector reforms.

About the Authors

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Research Article

Ukraine's Security Sector Reform: Is Ukraine Taking Western Advice?

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Abstract: The ongoing Western support to Ukraine's security sector reform requires the assessment of the reform success. This article considers whether Ukraine's reform is achieving effectiveness, efficiency, and democratic governance objectives. The author uses a theoretical framework of complexity theory applied to the change management research in organizational studies. The application of this framework is appealing from the perspective of complex and chaotic organizational contexts, in which the security sector can stimulate the emergence of 'strange attractors' for system's adaptability. The findings suggest that Ukraine is building a shared vision following up on chaotic-framed Security Sector Reform acceleration since 2014. The gap between increased confidence in the volunteers and the army and declining confidence in general government institutions, economic burden, and Western cohesion issues constitute the risks that Ukraine's Europeanization faces.

Keywords: Ukraine, security, defense, Security Sector Reform, complexity theory, Cynefin, NATO, DCAF, EU.

Introduction

Since Ukraine joined NATO's Partnership for Peace program in 1994, and especially following the 2014 Euromaidan, the West has been supporting Ukraine in its security sector reform. The long time of the reform design and implementation may cause difficulties in assessing the reform's progress. It has merit, therefore, to assess the Security Sector Reform in Ukraine in the aspects of its two key variables: governance and effectiveness.

The 2018 parade provided for a powerful show of Ukrainian military power – from rebranded Airborne Assault Troops to newly created Special Operations

Forces to UAVs, new anti-aircraft missiles and the US-supplied Javelins and counterbattery radars. The parade left the impression that Ukraine military's appearance was nowhere near the poor state of post-Soviet Ukrainian military.

The specific research questions addressed in this article are:

1.   How has Western assistance influenced the reform?
2.   Has Ukraine been following Western advice and how the West should provide optimal advice and assistance?
3.   How to design successful reform strategy and how to implement it?

There have been several initiatives to seek answers to these questions both from an academic and from sectoral expert and practitioner's standpoint. A good compendium of available literature and expert efforts was developed in the joint initiative of the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) and Razumkov Center "Monitoring Ukraine's Security Governance Challenger: Status and Needs."[1]

This article applies the social systems theory framework to examine these research questions. A look at security sector reform as the case of the reform of the social organization allows to use insights in organizational transformation and change management developed by management sciences, including organizational theory. This approach is complementary to popular political science institutionalist framework for analyzing change as institution-building and institutional reform.

The methodology of the desk study follows the framework of complex adaptive systems theory. The security sector is viewed as a complex social system, whereas in the framework of public administration, the security sector is viewed as a large organization. Thus, Ukraine's security sector reform was considered in this article as the case of change management.

An emerging school of organizational theory that is based on the study of complex adaptive systems is Cynefin. According to Cynefin approach to complexity in social organizations,[2] the contexts to solve the problems, including change problems in these organizations, fall into several categories.

The simple framework: This is the context of the causal, linear relationships, "the domain of best practice." One of inherent risks of analyzing the change management problems in this framework is oversimplification of the problem issues.

Complicated context: This is the realm of 'known unknowns,' in which the relationships are still linear, but the presence of multiple variables makes deci-

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[1]   See the initiative website, www.ukrainesecuritysector.com.

[2]   David J. Snowden and Mary E. Boone, "A Leader's Framework for Decision Making," *Harvard Business Review*, November 2007, accessed September 22, 2018, https://hbr.org/2007/11/a-leaders-framework-for-decision-making.

sion mechanism more complex, than in the simple context.[3] Successful change management in this context requires the application of "good practices."

However, most social organizations belong to *complex*, or even to *chaotic contexts*. The complex context is the domain of unpredictability and flexibility in decision making and management. Remarkably, such environments are really difficult to forecast, or analyze by customary extrapolation means, henceforth they are difficult for policy planning. In such complex organizational context, we can understand why certain things happen only in retrospect.[4] Yet, it is possible to locate the 'instructive patterns' in such contexts that would allow to arrive at scenario-based futures. In complex adaptive systems theory, complex relationship is related to 'strange attractors' that shape the dynamics of a complex system. Such strange attractors cannot be precisely discovered, but they "are random, distinct events which emerge from within the system. These can catalyze change and anchor the actions of entities around novel events providing zones of renewal and adaption which keep the system poised at the edge of chaos and thus stimulated, motivated and changing."[5]

The scope and nature of the research was a descriptive case study supplemented with some expert interviews. The data for analysis was open source materials.

The Initial Conditions of Ukraine's Security Sector Reform

Ukraine's security sector reform has been ongoing since early stages of the country's independence in 1991. As Ukraine became NATO partner state in 1994, the Military Doctrine of 1993 has eliminated the provision of Ukraine's neutrality grounded earlier in its 1990 declaration of Independence. The strategic documents' provisions of the time were still in their infancy as Ukraine was simply far from the Western body of policy knowledge. But practically, Ukraine was leaning Westward as demonstrated at the time by the choices of the leadership.

President Kravchuk even came up with the idea of alternative security system of Central and Eastern European states, with Poland as key partner. This idea was nullified by NATO enlargement. At the same time, Ukraine's cooperation with NATO was a lasting one contributing to the reform of governance and management in the security sector. Kravchuk's successor, Leonid Kuchma, pursued a "multivector" policy of balancing between Russia and the West, although he was trying to obtain security guarantees to deter Russia via the 1994 Budapest Memorandum. Ukraine's relations with Russia were tense primarily in regard to Crimea, but that was resolved at the time by political means. Tension grew once again over the Tuzla island territorial dispute in 2003, where Ukraine also had to

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[3] Snowden and Boone, "A Leader's Framework for Decision Making."

[4] Snowden and Boone, "A Leader's Framework for Decision Making."

[5] Donald L Gilstrap, "Strange Attractors and Human Interaction: Leading Complex Organizations through the Use of Metaphors," *Complicity: An International Journal of Complexity and Education* 2, no. 1 (2005): 55-69.

apply its military to deter Russia. On May 23, 2002, President Kuchma chaired a meeting of the National Security and Defense Council (NSDC), that declared as a goal of Ukraine to join NATO – a decision that was approved by presidential decree in July. Yet, Russia almost immediately pressured Kuchma to adopt "multi-vectoral" balancing security policy. In 2003, the Rada adopted a rather modern law "On Democratic Civilian Control of State Military Organization and Law Enforcement Bodies."

In Ukraine's policy expert community and in media, only "the West" was associated with the standard for security reform and not Russia, despite virtually successful military reform that Russia was able to implement. In the times of Viktor Yanukovych, Ukraine was emphatically declaring its cooperation with Russia, but the latter never became the standard for reform. Instead, after 27 years of Ukraine's independence, its elites approach security sector reform more in the framework of cooperation with the West.

Yet, the question whether Ukraine is accepting or negating Western advice is hard to answer. In fact, in the past several years, Ukrainian officials tend to assess the success, or failure, of the reform in the framework of measurable criteria. Government experts presently approach the security sector reform mainly in the framework of the NATO standards. The transition to the NATO standards would make the Defense Forces, the term that encompasses the institutions under the MoD, the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA), or state security – the Security Service of Ukraine (SSU) and intelligence institutions.

Many experts acknowledge the need of the civilian democratic control, which is prioritized by Ukraine's Western partners, and is codified in the Law on Civilian Democratic Control over the Military Organization and law Enforcement Bodies.

When drafting the Law on National Security, the section on civilian democratic control drafted by presidential think tank—the National Institute for Strategic Studies—in consultations with international and local experts was placed as the top chapter. With this law and earlier Defense Bulletin, Ukraine decided to have a civilian Minister of Defense, and civilians appointed in the MOD departments.

But the problem with understanding civilian democratic control in Ukraine's case is to excessively prioritize "civilian" over "democratic" elements. One example is the abuse of force by the police at the Maidan in early 2014. Yet, brutal use of force against the protesters was apparently authorized by democratically elected civilian president, who in Ukraine's current model is entitled with exercising substantial control over security sector institutions. Furthermore, to a large extent "puppet" parliamentary majority voted for "draconian laws" that substantially abused the rights of protesters during the Euromaidan. Corrupt civilian officials at regional and local levels virtually defected to Russia and supported growing violence.

The Soviet roots of the Ukrainian security sector system have set some initial conditions that shape the state of the security sector today and also sets the direction. Even more, Ukraine was one of key pillars in the Soviet security and

defense architecture, possessing a significant share of the former USSR's defense forces, security forces, and the military-industrial complex.

The management essence of the Soviet and then Russian culture was in highly centralized command-like decision making, with civilian control over the "military organization" exercised by the Communist Party's Central Committee. In parallel, informal control was exercised by power interest factions, or groups inside the Politburo and the CPSC Central Committee. The impact of the Russian imperial legacy and over 70 years of the Soviet rule left Ukraine with substantial legacy burden, which is quite hard to transform. At the time of writing this article, the term "military organization of the state" is still useed in Ukraine's legislation, alongside the "security and defense sector" which is to be more substantialized in the bill "On National Security of Ukraine."

The meaning of this term, deeply embedded in the Soviet thinking, as defined by Russia's Ministry of Defense is, "the aggregate of the military and security structures of the state and its governing bodies, as well as military-political, military-scientific and other institutions involved in military affairs, activities and military personnel ensuring the interests of the country."[6]

This school of thought in command and control, however allows for some leanness and simplicity in decision making, compared with the tedious analysis and planning process in Euro-Atlantic states' militaries. Changing this decision making presents some professional difficulties, for example, the composition of Ukrainian units is "three-unit" based, while in NATO militaries, company has four platoons. According to a senior education and training officer, simply changing the structure to NATO standards may result initially in decreased performance of the military.[7]

In defense and security management, Ukraine has implemented some reforms in its military even before the Euromaidan. Tom Young has acknowledged Ukraine's credit, "Any country that can deploy to a war zone (i.e., Iraq), and largely sustain a brigade-size force for three brigade rotations and recover the force … is an achievement very few other countries in the world could succeed in executing."[8]

One of the most important government factors in Ukraine that facilitated the conflict with Russia was the weakness of the state institutions, for the most part for the reasons of corruption and nepotism. This weakness affected both the military response to the Russian aggression and it also created political instability, in which the war flourished.

A study of the Ukrainian political cohesion by Russian academic researchers, arrived at the following findings:

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[6] "Voyennaya organizatsiya gosudarstva," *Encyclopedia. Ministerstvo Oborony Rossiyskoy Federatsiyi*, accessed June 17, 2018, http://encyclopedia.mil.ru/ encyclopedia/dictionary/details.htm?id=4341@morfDictionary.

[7] Author's interview in June 2018.

[8] Thomas-Durell Young, *Anatomy of Post-Communist European Defense Institutions: The Mirage of Military Modernity* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, June 2017), 17.

- Since, 1990s, the post-Soviet elite was in power in Ukraine; it used nation-building narratives to its own advantage
- The political system was a conglomerate balancing among several power groups
- Ukraine had some democratic elements, including competitive political process and a high degree of a freedom of speech and pluralism, but those did not exist within the power groups.[9]

By and large, the performance of the Ukrainian military and police forces to the Russian aggression has still to be evaluated. The decline in professional performance was very visible with the Ukrainian military. Until 2014, two governments headed consecutively by Yulia Tymoshenko[10] and Viktor Yanukovych planned to switch from conscription to professional contract service, but these initiatives failed largely because of the absence of funding for salaries, benefits, and housing. Though on paper Ukraine had a reserve system, it did not exist in reality.

An important impact on the performance of the Ukrainian military was its Soviet-style doctrine and military education, which paradoxically co-existed in selected units with Western standard training and interoperability skills acquired in partnership and out-of-area missions with NATO. This problem was augmented by substantial, times-worth relative underfunding of Ukrainian soldiers and sailors versus their Russian counterparts, which was acknowledged, but not addressed by Yanukovych's government.[11]

At the same time, since the early 1990s, Ukraine began to establish an expert cadre and think tanks in the security and defense sector. Ukraine was the first post-Soviet country to establish a National Institute for Strategic Studies (NISS) in December 1991. In 1994, NISS became affiliated with the National Security and Defense Council, and currently it works under the President of Ukraine.[12] The experts had a "revolving door" with think tanks, thus the civic sector developed progressive technocratic expertise. Yanukovych's presidency did not stop these experts from Western-oriented reform of the security sector, despite at times increased attention of counterintelligence. Virtually all leading experts

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[9] "Ukrainskiy vyzov dlya Rossii," *Rabochaya Tetrad*, no. 24 (RIAC, 2015), accessed September 23, 2018, http://russiancouncil.ru/common/upload/WP-Ukraine-Russia-24-rus.pdf.

[10] "BYuT planuye perebuduvaty ukrainsku armiyu," *vybory.org,* September 4, 2007, accessed on September 23, 2018, http://vybory.org/articles/901.html.

[11] "Tihipko poobitsiav vyrishyty viyskovi problem," *Ekonomichna Pravda*, October 6, 2012, accessed September 23, 2018, http://www.epravda.com.ua/news/2012/10/6/338555/.

[12] Oleksandr Belov, "Podobaietsia tse komus, chy ne podobaietsia, ale my budemo hovoryty te, shcho dumaiemo" (National Institute for Strategic Studies, 1999), accessed June 18, 2018, http://old.niss.gov.ua/book/belov/5.htm.

were acknowledging in 2011-2012 that the reforms were declarative, sharply criticized the presidency and called for improvement.

The Chaos Facilitated the Change

The weakness of Ukraine's government institutions provided justification for Vladimir Putin to call Ukraine "a complex, multi-component state formation" [13] Vladimir Socor of the Jamestown Foundation commented on the chaotic events of 2013-2014 in this regard, noting that "[t]he internal political conflict jolted the Ukrainian state from its chronic dysfunction into temporary paralysis from January through April. The Kremlin exploited that momentary opportunity to seize Crimea and parts of Donbas..." [14]

The power of the interim post-Yanukovych Ukrainian government headed by newly elected Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada Oleksandr Turchynov was extremely weak. It would be not fair to state that Ukraine provided no response whatsoever to the Russian aggression, which was the test to the effectiveness and efficiency of its military, civil security, and political leadership. Ukrainian General Staff even planned a military operation in Crimea that involved the use of the 79 Separate Airborne Brigade – the move that prompted Kremlin to hastily arrange the Crimean Verkhovna Rada's vote on joining Russia ahead of the planned referendum.[15] But at the same time, power institutions' inability to provide adequate response to the aggression manifested itself in three key areas: integrity, professionalism and allegiance to the state.

The integrity of the military and police staff was compromised by intertwined corruption and inadequate funding. It went alongside nepotism and medieval practice of buying the service positions. As an example, it was a commonly known practice in the years prior to the Euromaidan that junior and mid-level officers had to pay their superiors for promotion, transfer to another unit, or participation in international peacekeeping missions.

Poor ethical filters made military and police susceptible to bribery. In Crimea, Kremlin used the promises of higher salaries and housing options encouraging Ukrainian officers and contract soldiers not to resist and possibly defect to Russia.

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[13] President of Russia, Meeting of the Valdai International Discussion Club, October 24, 2014, accessed June 23, 2018, http://eng.kremlin.ru/news/23137.

[14] Vladimir Socor, "Maidan's Ashes, Ukrainian Phoenix – A Net Assessment of the Regime Change in Ukraine Since the Start of 2014," *Eurasia Daily Monitor* 11, no. 184 (17 October 2014), accessed June 23, 2018, https://jamestown.org/program/maidans-ashes-ukrainian-phoenix-a-net-assessment-of-the-regime-change-in-ukraine-since-the-start-of-2014/.

[15] "U Aksjonova s Temirgalievym Isterika (У Аксёнова с Темиргалиевым истерика: Генштаб Украины готовит освобождение Крыма от сепаратистов и российских оккупантов)," *Flot 2017*, June 3, 2014, accessed June 23, 2018, http://flot2017.com/posts/new/u_aksjonova_s_temirgalievym_isterika_genshtab_ukrainy_gotovit_osvobozhdenie_kryma_ot_separatistov_i_rossijskih_okkupantov.

At the initial stages, the Ukrainian military were also professionally taken aback by the use of civilians in Russian-led operations to blockade the Ukrainian troops (in multiple occasions in Crimea), or even disarm them (the case of 25th Airborne Brigade's group in Donbas, April 2014).

Strong ties between Ukrainian security officers and Russian security agencies produced a cohort of Russia sympathizers, who shared pro-Russian interests, according to senior SBU official interviewed by the author in August 2014: such pro-Russian military officers' mindset was one of the major problems of cohesion in Ukrainian security and the military.

Ukraine's Deputy Prosecutor General and Military Prosecutor General Anatoli Matios said in August 2015 that some 5 000 law enforcement officers and around 3 000 military personnel were documented as having taken the enemy's side in Crimea and Donbas.[16]

In the police segment, the failure of democratic control, inadequate preparation and underfunding of the riot police was exhibited during the Maidan 2013 "revolution of dignity." Law enforcement riot police was most likely directly responsible for the "Heavenly hundred" protesters deaths. Additionally, the police was beating up protestors, humiliating detainees, using water guns at sub-zero temperatures and other similar abuses. The riot police had inadequate technical riot management means and was importing urgently stun and smoke grenades equipment from Russia and using deadly hunting ammo. The Ministry of Interior higher officials solicited the help of low-class "titushki" helpers and paramilitary organizations, some of which had clear pro-Russian agenda, such as the Oplot group in Kharkiv. Later, many of these irregulars joined separatist units in Donbas.

There are possibly several indicators that can measure the entire state of the system, or detect anomalies. In the human organism system such indicators are the body temperature, or the blood pressure – despite the number of complex relationships, such indicators provide certain thresholds that show if the system is performing in the allowed level. In the security sector, taking such "body temperature" is possible through a powerful indicator of measuring social trust in its institutions. The power of this indicators is such that in Ukraine's case, it allows to compare various stages of achieved success. For example, immediately before the Euromaidan events (November-December 2013), the level of trust in the state institutions was extremely low, including in the Armed Forces, police and other elements of the political system.

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[16] "Around 8,000 Ukrainian officers sided with enemy in Crimea, Donbas, Interfax Ukraine," *Kyiv Post*, August 14, 2015, accessed September 23, 2018, http://www.kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/around-8000-ukrainian-officers-sided-with-enemy-in-crimea-donbas-395725.html.
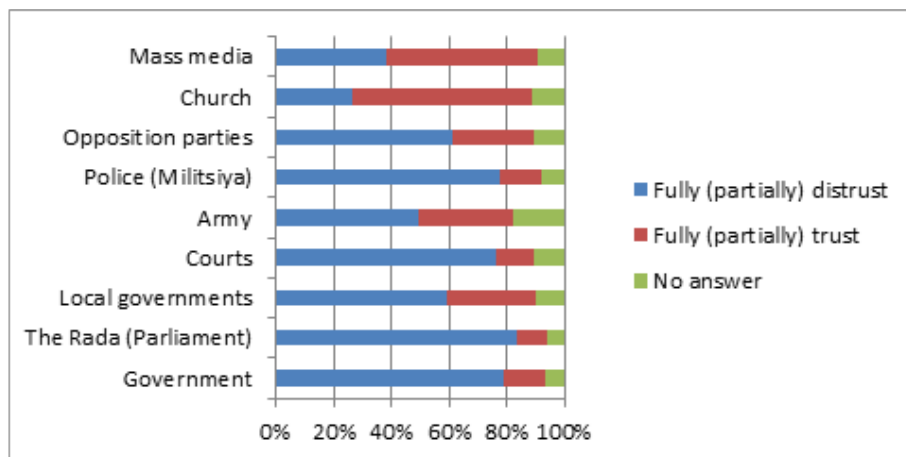
Figure 1. Poll: Ukrainians had trusted only in media and church in December 2013 (Source: SOCIS and Rating Group, December 2013, http://infolight.org.ua/content/riven-doviri-naselennya-do-organiv-vlady-pidtrimka-yihnoyi-vidstavki-ta-dostrokovih-viboriv-vstupu-do-ies-ta-ms-gruden-2013).

Such a low level of the trust in government institutions, including the security sector institutions is often attributed to Yanukovych regime's "predatory" character. Indeed, Yanukovych's presidency was an outlier among successive Ukrainian administrations. Even before 2012, it exhibited very low support level in 2011. According to the data collected by the Democratic Initiatives Foundation during the Europe-wide poll in 2011, Ukrainians' trust in the Parliament was 1.99 out of 10 points, the lowest level among 26 European states. Equally at the lowest place were the trust in the judiciary – 2.26, and the police – 2.50 points. Furthermore, the polling was conducted in 2005, 2007, 2009 and 2011 – and only in 2005, after the Orange Revolution the trust in government institutions was at the highest level of 2.4 points – still low on a 10-point scale. Compared to these values, the trust in immediate family and friends was 4.5 points.[17]

The Russian aggression was the existential threat to the society. Around 344 000 Ukrainians were mobilized, or volunteered to participate in combat in Donbas ATO since 2014.[18] Security indeed became all-society cause. Instead of supporting pro-Russian sentiment, the Russian intervention boosted Ukrainian patriotism and facilitated some systemic change. The changes in Ukraine's national cohesion seem to be more than temporary – according to the polls by

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[17] "Riven doviry ukrayintsiv do vlady – odyn z najnyzhchykh u Yevropi," *The Ukrainian Week*, February 11, 2013, accessed June 23, 2018, http://tyzhden.ua/News/72023.

[18] "Poroshenko: 344,000 people become combatants in eastern Ukraine," *Ukrinform*, August 22, 2018, accessed September 23, 2018, https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-polytics/2522485-poroshenko-344000-people-become-combatants-in-eastern-ukraine.html.

Democratic Initiatives Foundation, a record 67 percent of the public said they were proud to be Ukrainian in 2015, compared to 47 percent in 2013.[19]

In the framework of the complexity theory, the events of the Euromaidan and the "hybrid war" with Russia in Donbas present "chaotic context," or the state of "disorder." Remarkably, precisely such environment facilitates rapid systemic dynamics as "the domain of rapid response." In Ukraine's case, this response was largely provided by the civil society. As Andrew Wilson noted, "Despite inherited devastating status of the Ukrainian military, the government, in a large part pushed by civil society volunteers, was able to re-create able units within the Armed Forces, police and State Security Service, establish control over the majority of Donetsk and Luhansk provinces and eventually shed Kremlin's plans to seize strategically important cities of Dnipropetrovsk, Kharkiv, Odesa and Mariupol."[20]

It this mobilizing effort, the volunteers often replaced some critical state functions. According to Kateryna Zarembo,[21] this was the evidence of the "substitution" function of civil society in weak or fragile states that is especially important as it provides the citizens with the services which otherwise would not be available. This has caused friction, as Kateryna Zarembo found in her research: "the… volunteers in fact contributed to both strengthening the state and weakening it at the same time; the outcome dependent on the context in which the volunteers took action at different times." Zarembo believes, however, that volunteer participation failed to bring about systemic reform, but it did provide powerful democratic oversight over the state's key defense institution.

Remarkably, some efforts of these volunteers had systemic impact beyond the defense and security sector. As Zarembo noted, volunteers in the Ministry of Defense Reforms Project Office focused on "specific" projects which could be completed within one year and fill in the most urgent gaps. The Ministry of Defense was the first ministry which not only fully adopted *Prozorro*, but also was the first to use it in trial mode, before its official launch and mandatory use in all public procurement tenders.

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[19] Kateryna Shapoval, "Socioloh Iryna Bekeshkina za dopomohoyu vlasnykh doslidzhen preparuie krayinu (Соціолог Ірина Бекешкіна за допомогою власних досліджень препарує країну)," *Novoya Vremya*, Democratic Initiatives Foundation, April 18, 2016, https://dif.org.ua/article/sotsiolog-irina-bekeshkina-za-dopomogoyu-vlasnikh-doslidzhen-preparue-krainu.

[20] Andrew Wilson, "Five Things the West Can Learn from the Ukraine Crisis," *Quartz*, October 8, 2014, accessed September 23, 2018, http://qz.com/277502/five-things-the-west-can-learn-from-the-ukraine-crisis/.

[21] Kateryna Zarembo, "Substituting for the State: The Role of Volunteers in Defense Reform in Post-Euromaidan Ukraine," *Kyiv-Mohyla Law and Politics Journal*, no. 3 (2017): 47–70, https://doi.org/10.18523/kmlpj119985.2017.3.47-70.

Reform's Outlook and Risks

In 2015-2017, a large part of Western advice was focused on speeding up the coordinated reform of the security sector, with the main focus on introducing clear institutional mechanisms for civilian democratic control. One element of this advice was the assistance in drafting and the pressure upon authorities to adopt the Law on National Security. This law was initiated by the National Security and Defense Council staff. Some experts found in it a reference to the US National Security Act of 1947 as a milestone strategic document. A product of a compromise among many interest groups in security sector institutions, domestic and Western experts, the law was trying to introduce a holistic concept of the security sector, affirm and define more clearly a two-tier strategic planning system, including for example introducing the Military Security Strategy in place of the Soviet-style "Military Doctrine," provide for deepening the reform of special services, including the need to develop new law on the Security Service of Ukraine and the parliamentary oversight committee over secret services and also to affirm civilian democratic control over the armed forces. The presidential office aligned itself with those, who urged to adopt the law, although it was not supported by some members of Presidential faction. After overcoming some resistance in the Rada and the attempt to lull through significantly amended version, the law was fully approved on 21 June 2018. By and large, security sector expert agreed that the law was a step forward, albeit it needs further improvements, especially in the areas of intelligence management and oversight and delineation of responsibilities among several institutions.

This law was fact is the latest in a series of progressively more effective strategic documents that Ukraine was developing. The Euromaidan and the forced change in 2014 brought to life several strategic documents, which are quite close to "Western-standard": the National Security Strategy, the Concept for Security Sector Development and the Military Doctrine of 2015.

In the civil expertise sector, Razumkov Centre and DCAF conducted a series of nine conferences discussing various aspects of security sector governance reform. One important reform document was the Strategic Defense Bulletin (SDB) drafted in 2015 and turned into law in 2016. Andriy Zagorodnyuk, then-director of the Project Office of reforms, commented, "everybody understood that the reform of the Ukrainian Army needed a single plan and a single roadmap. Jointly with NATO the management of the Ministry of Defence decided to regard the SDB as the main document for building the new army. The drafting of the document was not so easy. Its uniqueness is that the SDB is the first document of such a scale, drafted by representatives of organizations who never before joined their efforts."[22] The document had a timeframe and assessment mechanisms.

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[22] Andriy Zagorodnyuk, "The Turning Point for Ukrainian Military Reform: What Is the Strategic Defence Bulletin and Why Is It So Important?" *Ukrayinska Pravda*, July 11, 2016, accessed June 23, 2018, https://www.pravda.com.ua/eng/columns/2016/07/11/7114416/.

The Reforms Committee of the Ministry of Defense was stipulated as key forum for decision making. Yet, some cases were successful, such as the introduction of military medicine management, or the reform of food rations, and others were not, or only starting as in the military housing reform. Alternatively, other successful projects, such as the introduction of tactical C4ISR systems "Combat Vision," "Army SOS," or even UAVs developed and funded by volunteer groups and private companies were on a broader scale. Likewise, RPO decided to focus on several selected projects: "Since April of this year, the Reforms Project Office will focus on the most important areas of change in the Ukrainian army: reform of the sergeant corps, food, project management, military education, procurement and combat medicine," said the new director Petrenia. "The goal of these strategic projects is to achieve positive and irreversible changes in our army to increase our combat capabilities." [23]

The reform of food rations was an interesting case of success on its own. After the failure to eliminate corrupt malfunctioning of outsourcing catering, PRO team headed by current PRO Director Diana Petrenia "decided to destroy it, and propose something better." New system's key feature was automatic order of food items from a unified catalog by the units via *ProZorro* online bidding system, which eliminated corruption practices and increased the quality. Military units could hire own civilian or military cooks and have strict quality control powers. [24] This was not a "linear" solution, but the creation of a new rule, coupled with empowering the units with the responsibility and "decentralizing" management.

The "irreversible changes" has a chance to become the most popular phrase in the military and beyond. Defense Minister Poltorak stated in the 2017 Armed Forces White Book, "In my estimation, this year we have reached the milestone when the transformation process of our national troops into a powerful tool for ensuring military security of the State became irreversible. We have laid a solid foundation for Ukraine's integration into the Euro-Atlantic security environment." [25]

In general, there is a feeling that the latest reform discussions have become less critical and consensus between the institutions and the public is emerging that the reforms were slow, the resistance is strong, and a lot remains to be done going forward. One example is the defense industry, which is lagging behind in in governance, despite several successful products, including missiles and

[23] "Diana Petrenia Becomes New Head of MOD Reforms Project Office," The Ministry of Defense of Ukraine, Reforms Project Office, June 25, 2018, accessed September 23, 2018, https://defense-reforms.in.ua/en/news/kerivnik-xarchovoi-reformi-u-zsu-diana-petrenya-ocholila-proektnij-ofis-reform-mou.

[24] Illia Ponomarenko, "Reform Brings New, Better Taste to Army Rations," *Kyiv Post*, August 3, 2018, accessed September 23, 2018, https://www.kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/reform-brings-new-better-taste-to-army-rations.html.

[25] "White Book 2017, The Armed Forces of Ukraine," Ministry of Defense of Ukraine (2018), accessed September 23, 2018, http://www.mil.gov.ua/content/files/whitebook/WB-2017_eng_Final_WEB.pdf.

transport aircraft that appeared on the market in 2014-2018. Defense industry "monster conglomerate" Ukroboronprom was designed as post-Soviet hybrid between a branch of the MoD and production concern. Its corporate culture is still a quasi-military institutions and it was marred in numerous corruption speculations. Yet, there seems to be a consensus between its management and civic activists. The acting CEO acknowledged that the improvement is needed to privatize its companies, which would take some time. The director of Transparency International Ukraine, Yaroslav Yurchyshyn, also pointed to the need to reform Ukroboronprom in a well-designed and implemented way: "Numerous publications about corruption at Ukroboronprom were related first and foremost to closed procurement, supplies and virtually every other activity."[26] In the defense industry, Western partners' recommendations have positive conditioning leverage of actual military assistance. Even though Ukraine does not receive the US and NATO member states military aid on the scale of Israel, or Egypt, it has received military assistance from 20 countries valued over $ 0.5 billion, including "night vision devices, communications equipment, mine countermeasure equipment, motor vehicles, counter battery radars, and anti-tank weapons systems."[27] Ukraine has also a relatively high potential for development of defense technology. With government's weak resources, potential private sector – science – civil society partnerships emerged, such as the Innovations Development Platform (www.ukrinnovate.com) to realize this potential.

In the civil security sector, the process of "Europeanization," which some institutions, such as the State Border Guard Service went through, is continuing with the police, and to lesser extent secret services. Police bribery that was painful during the Yanukovych's presidency has been almost eradicated today. New patrol police force works quite professionally on the streets, especially in big cities save for some mistakes explained by the lack of experience and staffing. Although experts criticize that the entire police force has virtually been re-hired with poor vetting, thus same people are working in the new police, yet some pilot projects, such as the introduction of new "detective" profession have started three years after the patrol police was established.[28] The EUAM mission is strongly assisting in the development of democratic control, integrity, but also in capacity building, such as intelligence-led policing, or forensics. Ukrainian officers conduct numerous trainings with international partners.

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[26] "Chto ozhydaet ukrainskij VPK – mnenija ekspertov (Что ожидает украинский ВПК – мнения экспертов)," *NV BIZ*, accessed September 23, 2018, https://biz.nv.ua/publications/chto-ozhidaet-ukrainskij-vpk-mnenija-ekspertov-2458284.html.

[27] "Ukraine and the World," *Defence Express*, September 19, 2018, accessed September 23, 2018, https://defence-ua.com/index.php/en/publications/defense-express-publications/5379-ukraine-and-the-world.

[28] "Policiyi slid perejty vid tochkovyx zmin do instytucijnyx reform, – zvit ekspertiv (Поліції слід перейти від точкових змін до інституційних реформ, – звіт експертів)," UMDPL Association, June 27, 2018, accessed September 22, 2018, http://umdpl.info/police-experts.info/tags/reforma-politsiji/.

The most delayed is the reform of secret services. Except for the Defense Intelligence, which had some capacity-building changes as it has been heavily tasked with a warfighting function, other services continue to act as military forces, with little real democratic control and clouded in secrecy. Among those, the Security Service of Ukraine has been clouted in scandals with local and even international business in media and on expert forums. However symptomatic has been the rather uneven track record of "tug-of-war" between SSU and newly created anticorruption body NABU, in the most recent example both agencies were investigating each other over alleged corruption case against senior SSU official, SSU accusing NABU of illegal provocative investigation methods.[29] NABU is also in confrontation with the Special Anti-Corruption Prosecutor Office and even with the police.[30]

Remarkably, the slow pace of the governance reform, according to NATO advisor Ann-Kristin Bjergene, was the impeding factor preventing Ukraine's integration with the EU and NATO intelligence services. Bjergene said, "Establishing efficient parliamentary control and public oversight is establishing trust! And this is the only way Ukrainian special services will become part of the Euro-Atlantic intelligence family."[31]

The new National Security Law stipulated that the new law on SSU should be drafted by January 2019 alongside with the draft provisions to create parliamentary oversight committee over special services. A group of Rada members are working with the EUAM and NATO representation, as well as bilaterally with partners to make sure this process goes forward. The lack of progress with SSU reform has hindered the cooperation with the EUAM on capacity building training required by the service. Pursuing the intelligence reform, Ukraine established the situation room and created the "War Cabinet." It also re-established the Joint Committee on Intelligence under the President working with the NSDC staff. Experts and government offices are working on drafting new intelligence laws.

Remarkably, Ukraine is in an institutional position quite similar to that of Georgia, where Europeanization was considered as an alternative to a pro-Russian policy. According to Chitaladze and Grigoryan, Georgian elites share a vision

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[29] "SBU protiv NABU: Sytnika predosteregli ot unichtojeniya dokumentov (СБУ против НАБУ: Сытника предостерегли от уничтожения документов)," *Liga News*, September 13, 2018, accessed September 22, 2018, http://news.liga.net/politics/news/sbu-protiv-nabu-sytnika-predosteregli-ot-unichtojeniya-dokumentov.

[30] "Sytnik ne smoh predstavit deputatam otchet o dejatelnosti NABU (Сытник не смог представить депутатам отчет о деятельности НАБУ)," *Novoe Vremia*, September 19, 2018, accessed September 22, 2018, https://nv.ua/ukraine/events/sytnik-ne-smoh-predstavit-deputatam-otchet-o-dejatelnosti-nabu-2495201.html.

[31] Ann-Kristin Bjergene, "General Challenges of Intelligence Service Reform," in *Proceedings from the Third International Conference "Governance and Reform of State Security Services: Best Practices*," 24 May 2016, Kyiv, Ukraine, Project "Monitoring Ukraine's Security Governance Challenges" (DCAF/Razumkov Centre, 2017), 41-45, accessed September 23, 2018, https://ukrainesecuritysector.com/publication/conference-proceedings-3-governance-reform-state-security-services/.

of moving towards NATO and the EU with a hope of "strengthening institutions and building a more democratic and functional state" thus framing "Georgia's choice as a binary one – either the primal satisfaction of full integration into the West or succumbing to the shadowy influence of Moscow."[32]

Europeanization in the vision of Ukraine's ruling political elite is currently synonymous with Euro-Atlantic, i.e. NATO security orientation. This is reflected in a historically record support for membership in NATO and the EU among Ukrainians. The relative majority of 41.6% support joining NATO, a record high for Ukraine. At the same time, 35.3% still support Ukraine's no-aligned status, while 16.3% would not respond, or were undecided and 6.4% supported military alliance with Russia and CIS member states. If the referendum to join NATO took place, 63% would participate, with 67.2% of those voting for the membership. Of those, 76.2% cited the main reason for the 'yes' vote the security guarantees, while 31.5% also believe that would strengthen and modernize Ukraine's Army.[33]

NATO provides assistance to Ukraine through five trust funds and institution-building advice coordinated by the NATO Representation. Non-governmental, especially military experts understanding of "NATO standards" carries the expectations that those will raise the value of the soldier in the military and society and alter hierarchical command and control structure to raise the power of the soldiers and junior and mid-level commanders in decision making. Some visible elements were introduced in defense management, such as tactical medicine, or sniping, or uniforms. The Ukrainian military is trained by Western instructors. In Yavoriv International Training and Peacekeeping Center alone, there are about 600 instructors with the Joint Multinational Training Group Ukraine on a rotating basis. Several cases of command, control, communications, and ISR reform has been in the forces, including the Special Operations Forces and the Airborne, have been widely considered a success. Moreover, Ukraine is changing the historical legacy of the Armed Forces shifting away from the Soviet and Russian cultural and military history symbols to those representing Ukraine's historical heritage during its fighting for independence, i.e. the army of Ukraine's People's Republic, or the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

One of the main risks for the successful reform is the growing gap with the trust in the governance of general political institutions. This is a characteristic of Ukraine's governance in general and it gives a warning signal for the 2019 presidential and parliamentary elections campaigns. Many experts in national secu-

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[32] Anna Chitaladze and Tatevik Grigoryan, "Understanding Europeanization in Georgia and Armenia – Discourses, Perceptions and the Impact on Bilateral Relations," *Analytical Bulletin 8* (2015), 29-54, accessed September 23, 2018, https://cccsysu.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Chitaladze-Ana-Grigoryan-Tatevik-2.pdf.

[33] Kyiv International Institute for Sociology Nation-wide poll, *Interfax Ukraine, Yevropeyska Pravda*, September 11, 2018, accessed September 23, 2018, https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/news/2018/09/11/7086755/.

rity tend to characterize it as the absence of political will to conduct the reforms. This is in fact both an indicator that certain change is taking place reflected in high-level support to certain political institutions, but the general institutions, which are more an indicator of the "heath" of overall political system have little support. And this is the indicator that Ukraine's system is facing more friction and imbalances.

Findings of the poll conducted by Razumkov Center on 1-6 June 2018 show that the most trusted institutions were volunteer organizations (65.2%), Churches (61.6%), the Armed Forces (57.2%), the State Emergencies Service (51.1%), the State Border Guard Service (50.7%), the National Guard (48.6%) and civic organizations (43.4%).

The support level for law enforcement is still low, with the patrol police (35.2%), the National Police (32.9%), SSU (32.2%), and NABU (17.1%). The trust level for the President was 13.8%, the Cabinet of Ministers 13.7%, and the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (10.6%). The trust to public servants was 8.6%.[34]

Compared to these values, in a similar 2016 poll, the level of confidence was as follows: President 20.7%, Parliament 11%, Government 12.9%. The Armed Forces were trusted by 57.6%, National Police 40.7%, and SSU by 28.4% of the population.[35] Moreover, in December 2014, the President enjoyed 49.4% confidence, the Cabinet of Misters 35.8%, and the confidence in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine was 31.1%.[36]

One important risk to successful security sector reform is "the cost of the security sector." Sadly, the concept of "defense investment" is not yet in use in Ukraine. The economic cost of the Security Sector Reform confronts the "guns versus butter" question. In the past, pro-Russian sentiments were correlated to the level of income and education in Crimea and Donbas. The graph below plotted together the opinion poll indicators of Ukrainians supporting the Russian 'mantra' of the catastrophe of the Soviet Union disintegration and people's income and education level divisions. The regret about the collapse of the Soviet Union was the highest among the Ukrainians with the least income level. Those with university-level education, on the contrary, overwhelmingly disapproved pro-Soviet sentiment.

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[34] Razumkov Centre, June 2018, accessed September 23, 2018, http://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/socio/2018_06_press_release_ua.pdf.

[35] "Citizens of Ukraine on Security: Personal, National, and its Elements. Results of a nationwide sociological survey conducted by the Razumkov Centre, Kyiv 2016" (DCAF-Geneva, Razumkov Centre, 2017), accessed September 23, 2018, https://ukrainesecuritysector.com/publication/citizens-ukraine-security-personal-national-elements-survey-2-2017/.

[36] "Reytyng Presydenta katastrofichno padaye," *Esspresso TV*, May 31, 2017, accessed September 23, 2018, http://expres.ua/news/2017/05/31/245122-reytyng-prezydenta-katastrofichno-padaye.
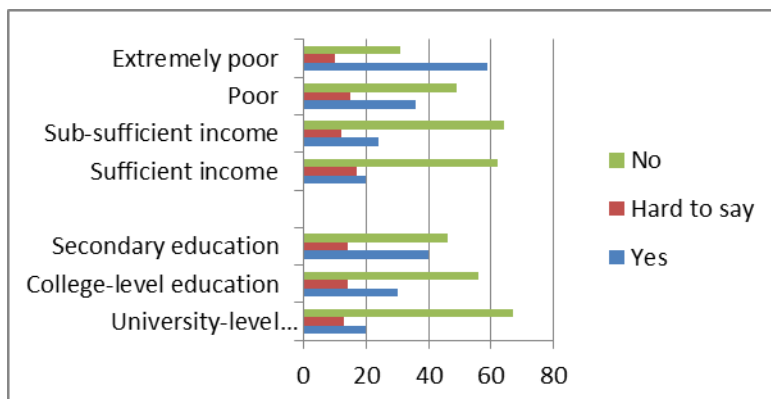
Figure 2. Ukraine-wide poll: Do you regret about disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, % of total, October 2015.
(*Source*: Rating Group. Excluded: Crimea, http://ratinggroup.ua/en/research/ukraine/ dinamika_nostalgii_po_sssr.html)

Unprecedented for Ukraine, the heavy burden of security sector expenses – currently at 5 % of the GDP, with defense expenses over 2 %, is mitigated presently by economic recovery in Ukraine – the GDP increased 3.8 % in the second quarter of 2018. About 20 % of defense allocation is currently spent on capacity building, including delivery of new and refurbished materiel – unlike the years before the Euromaidan. Yet at the same time, the rise in real income and increasing workers emigration to the EU quickly made the soldiers' salaries less competitive. New draft 2019 budget provides over 5 % of the GDP for security and defense expenditures, with servicemen salaries to be increased by 30 %.

Another important risk is related to lack of membership perspective in the ongoing process of Ukraine's Europeanization. A normative dimension of the Europeanization presumes that Ukraine is changing its undeveloped, or wrong rules and procedures. This was instituted in the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement and is also the focus of the expectation of Western governments that Ukraine adopts democratic control norms and military and police rules, regulations and procedures, which will assure interoperability. But a positive dimension of Europeanization is what Thomas Risse called "we in Europe."[37] Ukraine achieves better normative alignment with the EU; the EU should also increasingly embrace Ukraine as a value-generating member of its security community.

Thus, building the shared vision is very important in the process of change in complex adaptive systems. This also guides the political leadership. Guiding the

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[37] Thomas Risse, "European Institutions and Identity Change: What Have We Learned?" July 30, 2003, accessed September 23, 2018, http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/atasp/ texte/030730_europeaninstandidentity_rev.pdf.

advice and assistance toward this objective is important. In the complex contexts the CYNEFIN framework recommends, "Instead of attempting to impose the course of action, leaders must patiently allow the path forward to reveal itself."[38] The general outlook is quite optimistic. The assessment of TI Ukraine noted that "Since 2014, Ukraine has made significant ti progress in monitoring and accounting for security assistance at the operational and tactical levels. Security assistance providers have imposed requirements that have encouraged recipient institutions to put in place more robust monitoring and reporting systems. Donor interviews indicate positive shifts between 2014 and 2017, with greater appreciation by Ukrainians of the need for monitoring and improvement in their systems."[39]

At the same time, the development of a shared vision risks to be overburdened with the current political agenda at the leadership level. As Chatham House experts noted, "Building state capacity entails having a long-term vision that may need to override short-term political gain. It could be argued that because European integration requires long-term planning, there is a lack of political will to go through with it – since the political class tends to focus on short-term political and economic priorities in order to stay in power."[40] This is all the more important, because in the systems approach, there is no room for unsustainable and not reinforced changes, which is in fact proven by Ukraine's history to date.

Conclusion

The Euro-Atlantic security community's member states and international institutions have been assisting Ukraine's reforms virtually since Ukraine's independence. Apart from institutional and internal states' criteria, few studies were conducted to measure Ukraine's responsiveness to Western reform advice. Even more so, the very question of whether the reform was successful is still left without an answer, on which there is consensus. The questions of the human rights abuse by the police and security forces during the Kyiv Euromaidan, as well as Ukraine's defense and security institutions response to the Russian aggression in Spring 2014 raised questions about the effectiveness of Ukraine's security sector. A significant contribution to the scholarship was possible through the DCAF-

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[38] David J. Snowden and Mary E. Boone, "A Leader's Framework for Decision Making," *Harvard Business Review*, November 2007, accessed September 22, 2018, https://hbr.org/2007/11/a-leaders-framework-for-decision-making.

[39] *Making the System Work. Enhancing Security Assistance for Ukraine* (Transparency International Defence and Security and Transparency International Ukraine, 2017), accessed September 23, 2018, http://ti-defence.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/Making-the-system-work-TI-Defence-Security.pdf.

[40] Kataryna Wolczuk and Darius Žeruolis, "Rebuilding Ukraine: An Assessment of EU Assistance," Chatham House Research Paper, August 16, 2018, accessed September 23, 2018, www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/publications/research/2018-08-16-rebuilding-ukraine-eu-assistance-wolczuk-zeruolis.pdf.

sponsored project Monitoring Security Governance Challenges: Status and Needs in 2014-2016 (www.ukrainesecuritysector.com), which was limited in time.

The newest Law on National Security of Ukraine refers to the security and defense sector as a coordinated system. I argued at the beginning of this article that the complex adaptive systems theory, which is gaining importance in change management studies, can provide a useful and handy framework for the analysis of Ukraine's situation. Thus, dealing with Ukraine's case it may be also possible to contribute to the knowledge about institutional change and statehood developed in political science. To date, the literature has focused more on the institutional framework, but I tried to shift away from linear causation approach to embrace the complexity.

The CYNEFIN method of analysis in management defines several context frameworks in organizations – from simple framework, or "the realm of best practices" to complicated contexts, where management problems are decided through choosing among alternative "good practices." But complex contexts follow more the logic of non-linearity, self-organization and unpredictability. Turning to the metaphor of "strange attractors" in these contexts means anticipating and stimulating the change through reinforced steps. The success of the change is rooted in the leadership that allows to build a shared vision and carefully afford the system to unfold itself to progress in the new cycle.

The findings in this article suggest that Ukraine's Security Sector Reform was accelerated with the influence of chaotic context, in which several institutional elements of the system were almost broken. I tried to present the systemic measurement indicator of people confidence in government and security sector institutions. I argued that historically, except for the immediate aftermath of the Orange revolution, this confidence was relatively low. However, since 2014, the confidence in the volunteers that played significant state capacity substitution role since the Euromaidan and the Armed Forces has reached almost 60 percent.

Yet at the same time, certain risks exist to the successful continuation of the Security Sector Reform. The economic cost of the security sector has historically been Ukraine's vulnerability, but for the past three years, Ukraine is spending at least 5 percent of its GDP on security and defense, while the Russian aggression cost it about 20 percent of industrial capacity. This risk is mitigated by the economic recovery that seems to be steady, with Q2 2018 GDP growth of 3.8 %. Another risk is in the strategic cohesion among the EU and NATO member states in recognizing Ukraine's European belonging.

The Ukrainian society is demonstrating historically extraordinary support to the Western institutions. If the NATO referendum were tomorrow, according to the latest poll, the 'Yes' vote would be 67 percent. The political elite that is currently in the government and even probably the one that would come to power as the result of 2019 presidential and parliamentary relations respects the conditionality of Western advice on reforms and is indeed a working partner. It could be argued that more Western assistance directed at the civil society and lower

to middle levels of the security sector. This will broaden and enforce the reform-ist base, which is important to the overall system resilience.

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Research Article

Defense Institution Building in Ukraine at Peace and at War

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Abstract: There are two distinct periods in Defense Institution Building in Ukraine since gaining independence in 1991. A period of peace until February 2014, and the period of war with Russia in 2014-2018. In the pre-war period of 1991-2013, the economic problems, inconsistencies in national strategy and consequent neglect of national defense requirements led to unclear military strategies and declarative rather than substantial reforms of the Armed Forces. Ukraine was trying to compensate the impact of its economic weakness and policy inconsistencies on defense through active cooperation with NATO and participation in peacekeeping operations under the auspices of the UN, NATO and the EU. However, in the spring of 2014, the response of Ukraine exposed serious weaknesses in all defense aspects except for the people's will to defend the country. Responding to the Russian annexation of Crimea and the invasion to the South-Eastern Ukraine, Ukraine has mobilized, equipped, and trained a substantial military force of 250 000 active personnel and invested substantial resources in building effective military with agile professional active component supported by deployable ready reserve, jointly capable to deter possible aggression from Russia.

Keywords: Ukraine, defense reform, peacekeeping, professionalization, cooperation, mobilization, defense institution building.

Introduction

In 1991, independent Ukraine inherited from the Soviet Union sizeable conventional military contingent equivalent to Europe's second largest armed forces

and had on its territory the third world largest nuclear arsenal.[1] The process of conversion of this rather chaotic massive post-Soviet force and building the coherent national military of Ukraine went through two major stages – peace-time decline (1991-2013) and war-time transformation since the start of Russian invasion to Crimea in 2014.

Initial hesitation in foreign policy and security orientation led to the lack of clarity in defense policy and inconsistency between ambitious political declarations and scarce appropriated resources. Ambitious goals of building professional military, introduction of interoperability with NATO, modernization of armaments and active contribution to peacekeeping operations were never adequately supported by resources.

As a result, at the start of the Russian military aggression in February 2014, Ukraine had little to effectively resist with militarily. Nevertheless, in 2018, four years after the start of invasion, Ukraine managed to mobilize and equip substantial force much more capable to deter invasion from Russia. Having clarified its defense policy under the pressure of real hostile conditions, Ukraine is building national defense utilizing its own combat experience, activating cooperation with leading democracies of the West and applying their best practices.

This article will offer a glance at Ukrainian military posture in the period preceding the Russian aggression in 2014, key developments during hostilities in Crimea and Donbas regions of Ukraine in 2014-2018 and prospects for building the future Ukrainian military.

Peacetime Defense Institution Building in Ukraine from Independence in 1991 until the Russian Aggression in 2014

The Ukrainian leadership of the early 1990s, impressed by the mere size of its military heritage and deceived by the international security environment after the collapse of the Soviet Union, adopted the strategy of non-alignment. The first officially adopted Military Doctrine (1993) at the start of the period read:

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[1]   In the general terms, Ukraine inherited almost 800 000 strong conventional military. Armaments included 6 500 tanks, 7 000 armored vehicles, 1 500 combat aircraft, and more than 350 ships. In storages and depots Ukraine had 2.5 million tons of conventional ammunition and more than 7 million pieces of small arms. The nuclear arsenal included almost 2 500 nuclear warheads and a large number of different carriers, including 176 Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles and 44 strategic bombers. See, for instance: Alyson J. K. Bailes, Oleksiy Melnyk, and Ian Anthony, "Relics of Cold War. Europe's Challenge, Ukraine's Experience," *SIPRI Policy Paper*, 2003, https://www.bicc.de/publications/publicationpage/publication/relics-of-cold-war-europes-challenge-ukraines-experience-sipri-policy-paper-6-279/.

> Ukraine links the reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons located on its territory with the adequate actions of other nuclear states and the granting by them and the world community reliable guarantees of its security.[2]

The following year, in December 1994, such thinking was embedded in the so-called Budapest Memorandum. The full name of the document is Memorandum on Security Assurances in Connection with Ukraine's Accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. It was signed on 5 December 1994 by the Presidents of Ukraine, the Russian Federation and the United States of America, and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.[3]

Ukraine was free to see things this way, but in practical terms not much resulted from Ukraine's reliance on adequate actions and reliable guarantees "of other nuclear states." Under the joint pressure from the US and Russia Ukraine agreed to remove nuclear weapon in exchange for about $ 1 billion worth of support from the US under the Cooperative Threat Reduction program, certain amount of Russian fuel for Ukrainian nuclear power stations, and paper-worth security assurances from Russia, the US and other nuclear powers under the Budapest Memorandum.[4]

After Ukraine's submitting to nuclear disarmament and signing the Budapest Memorandum at the end of 1994, the following period can be identified as the peacetime building of Ukrainian Armed Forces. Since 1995 and until the end of 2013 it can best be characterized by the following key developments: development of consecutive programs of the Armed Forces reform; active cooperation with NATO; peacekeeping duties in the Balkans, Africa, Iraq and Afghanistan; and efforts for the Armed Forces' "professionalization."

Peacetime Defense Reform Programs

The middle term defense planning documents had to provide necessary link between required capabilities and resources. This chain of programs (Box 1) is highlighting the many rather unsuccessful attempts of transformation of post-Soviet military inherited by Ukraine. Some of the documents where more substanti-

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2   "Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine," Ukraine's Legislation, 2005, http://zakon5.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/3529-12.

3   UN General Assembly, "Letter dated 7 December 1994 from the Permanent Representatives of the Russian Federation, Ukraine, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General," UN Security Council Document S/1994/1399, 1994, https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_1994_1399.pdf.

4   For more details on the US-Ukraine defense cooperation in the 1990s see Leonid I. Polyakov, *U.S.-Ukraine Military Relations and the Value of Interoperability* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2004), www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/2004/ssi_polyakov.pdf.

Box 1: Programs of Reform and Development of the Armed Forces of Ukraine (1991-2013)

- **1991** – Concept of Defense and Construction of the Armed Forces of Ukraine (neutrality, reasonable sufficiency, reduction of the military)
- **1995** – Draft Program of Armed Forces of Ukraine Construction (non-alignment, reduction to 350 K, radical restructuring to 7 OTK) – *developed in 1995 but never approved*
- **1997** – State Program of Armed Forces of Ukraine Construction and Development until 2005 (non-alignment, reduction to 450 K)
- **2000** – State Program of Armed Forces of Ukraine Reform and Development until 2005 (non-alignment, further reduction to 375 K)
- **2005** – State Program of the Armed Forces of Ukraine Development for 2006-2011 (NATO, professionalization, further reduction to 143 K)
- **2013** – State Complex Program of Armed Forces of Ukraine Reform and Development until 2017 (non-alignment, partnership with Russia, professionalization, further reduction to 100 K (70 K was in the Concept 2012)

ated, some less, but they all were declarative, because at this period the programs of reforms were never supported by required resources.

For instance, the first national defense reform program, "The State Program of Armed Forces Construction and Development by 2005" (1997), was looking not so much as coherent document but more like a list of noble intentions and anticipated military personnel of 450 000. The next one, "The State Program of Armed Forces of Ukraine Reform and Development by 2005," adopted in 2000, represented an upgrade of the earlier program approved in 1997 and slightly reduced the desired strength to 375 000.

Nevertheless, the country was unable to sustain the anticipated force level. Very modest estimates at that time suggested that, in accordance with standard requirements, the armed forces even reduced to strength of 300 000 military personnel, over 3 000 tanks, and over 500 aircraft needed around US$5-6 billion to maintain their readiness. However, the Ukrainian state budget of that time regularly allocated only fraction of this requirement. In early 2000s, it was universally recognized that further reductions of the military almost by half (to less than 200 000) were imminent. Besides, military conscription, even reduced from the Soviet two years to just one year in Ukraine, became universally unpopular among Ukrainian citizens, and the quality of recruits visibly declined. Most of military personnel consisted of unmotivated soldiers and demoralized by poor social conditions junior and middle ranking officers, while top military leadership started looking at the institution as a source of patronage and rent-seeking revenue thus copying their corrupt civilian top masters.

For all the reasons indicated above, and in spite of the best intentions of the MOD and the General Staff planners, the mere result of their efforts in the whole period of 1991-2013 looked like continuous reduction of the number of military personnel (see Figure 1.).

The promising political turn after the victory of the "Orange Revolution" was supported by elaborated new defense reform document –"Program for the Armed Forces Reform and Development for the Period of 2006-2011" (approved in 2005). This Program included: transition of command and control system to NATO standards; shift from four to three military services by unifying the Air Forces and Air Defense Forces into a single Air Force; providing for the jointness of different services by establishing Joint Operations Command; introduction of the Western approaches to military education, combat training and personnel management. However, the planners still had to prioritize limited resources. In accordance with their functional responsibilities the Armed Forces were structured into Joint Rapid Reaction Forces (JRRF), Main Defense Forces (MDF) and other formations (logistics, communications, etc.) subordinated directly to the General Staff. Given the unfavorable financial situation, such functional structure allowed to spend limited resources more effectively and enhance the combat readiness of the Armed Forces. It still had to agree on some differences between JRRF and MDF. Flight hours, training hours in the field, sailing days for ships, etc., were different.

Nevertheless, it looked like sizeable improvement in defense planning and received favorable comments from NATO. It should be mentioned that in a few years preceding the approval of this Program in 2005, Ukraine announced its intention to become NATO member in the future and significantly intensified its
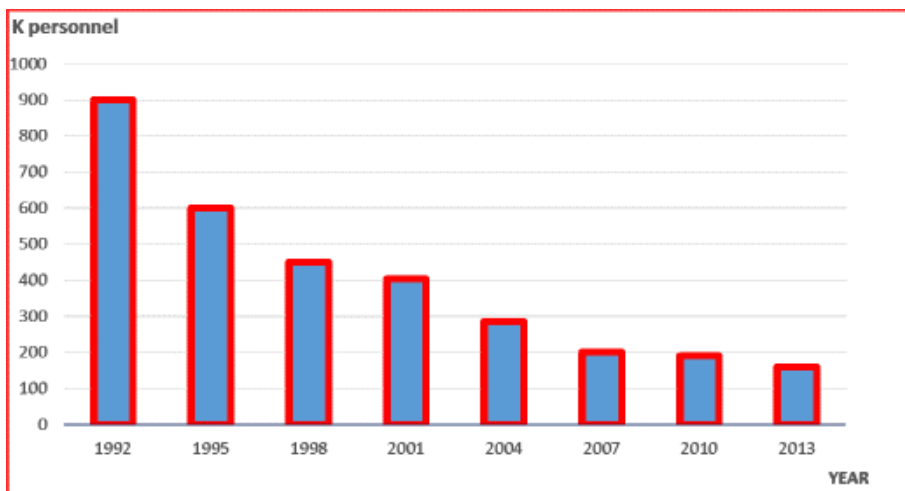

Figure 1: Personnel of the Armed Forces of Ukraine (1995-2914).

cooperation programs under the NATO Partnership for Peace Program. Earlier intensive bilateral cooperative programs with the USA, the UK, Canada, France, Germany and other countries were augmented with establishing in country advisory missions by the UK (special defense advisor to the Ministry of Defense), Germany (adviser on human resource management), France (professional education and peacekeeping), while the USA already had Security Assistance Mission in Ukraine for several years. In addition to the more active bilateral programs, much more extensive partnership programs were offered by NATO Headquarters in the area of combat training and education, as well as by the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces in the area of democratic governance of the security sector.

This cooperation offered for Ukrainians the chance to learn modern concepts of jointness, democratic civilian control, defense resource management, and provided specific financial and advisory support from friendly countries of the democratic West.

However, this Program was not implemented either, in spite of much greater utilization of Western advisory support and applying NATO best practices. Similar to the cases of previous peacetime defense reform programs, it was never supported with required resources (See Table 1).

Nevertheless, developments surrounding the adoption and implementation of this Program proved that, given clear political course and political-military guidance, Ukrainians were capable to narrow considerably their traditional gap between political declarations to join NATO and security and resource realities.

The principle document for NATO-Ukraine cooperation is the Charter on a Distinctive Partnership signed in 1997. It stipulated the principles, the scope, and the mechanisms of cooperation. The Charter paved the way to establishing the key institutions for coordinating defense and security cooperation: The Joint Working Group on Defense Reform and NATO Liaison Office. Overall, Ukraine-NATO relations in this period benefited from various mechanisms like, for instance, Planning and Review Process (PARP) serving as a real mechanism of achieving interoperability between Ukrainian military and NATO militaries. However, the quantity and intensity of security cooperation typically was falling victim to political and economic processes in Ukraine.

Table 1: Arms Procurement Budget for the State Program 2006-2011, mln. UAH.

YEAR	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Planned	232.5	1135.3	605.9	2342.3	4961.0
Actual	161.2	682.0	587.4	486.0	2140.5

Participation in NATO-led operations (KFOR, ISAF, OAE, NTM) provided Ukrainian troops and personnel with the first-hand experience at the expense of NATO, but also, in some operations it provided Ukraine with the opportunity to pay for its own deployed personnel and in such way to learn what is the real cost of contribution to international peace and security. This is contrary to the UN missions, where expenses were covered from the UN budget.

Over the period from 1992 until 2014, more than 40 000 Ukrainian peace-keepers took part in the international peacekeeping and security operations in Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Eastern Slavonia, Angola, Macedonia, Guate-mala, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, the Prevlaka peninsula in Croatia, Kuwait, Sierra Leone, in Georgia, Moldova (Transnistria), Iraq, Lebanon, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo and other countries. Ukrain-ian peacekeepers served in the UN, NATO, EU, OSCE and regional (Transnistria) missions and operations. In these peacekeeping operations, 53 Ukrainian peace-keepers were killed.[5]

"Professionalization" Plans

In an evident attempt to put a good face on the continuous reduction of Ukraine's military, the political leadership of the country responded to the dom-inant expectations of Ukrainian people and announced the policy course for transitioning from general military conscription to volunteer manning of the Armed Forces. Consequent *e*fforts of "professionalization" took the shape of continuous but generally unsuccessful efforts of building the all-volunteer Armed Forces, because these decisions became traditionally based on economic and populist considerations, rather than on sober threat and resource analysis (see Box 2).

The first such program, approved by the President Leonid Kuchma in 2002, anticipated that Ukraine was to have a smaller, 180 thousand strong volunteer force by 2015. More so, in 2005, emboldened by the victory of "Orange Revolu-tion" and high people's trust, the country's leadership decided to expedite the integration to NATO and further reduce the period of transition to all volunteer force to 2010. At some point during the 2007 parliamentary elections campaign, presidential candidate (former Prime Minister of Ukraine) Yuliya Tymoshenko even dared to promise transition to volunteer force already in 2008. In both in-stances, that did not work. Meanwhile, the economic crisis of 2009-2010 and Russian invasion to Georgia decreased the populism and forced Ukraine to post-pone both reduction in numbers and transition to an all-volunteer force.

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[5] "Participation of the Armed Forces of Ukraine in International Peace and Security Operations," Ministry of Defense of Ukraine, 2017, http://www.mil.gov.ua/diyalnist/ mirotvorchist/.

> **Box 2. Key documents on "professionalization" of the Armed Forces of Ukraine**
>
> - **2001** – *Concept of Transition of the Armed Forces of Ukraine to Manning with Volunteer Servicemen through 2015* (to volunteer/"professional" military 240 000 strong).
>
> - **2002** – *State Program for Transition of the Armed Forces of Ukraine to Manning with Contract Servicemen* (Ukraine by 2015 was to have 180 thousand strong volunteer force).[6]
>
> - **2005** – *State Program of the Armed Forces of Ukraine Development for 2006-2011* (Ukraine by 2010 was to have 143 thousand strong volunteer force).
>
> - **2013** – Decree of the President Yanukovych №562/2013 "On military conscription periods …" abolished conscription for the Armed Forces after 2014 (it was left for Interior Troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs).

However, in the later period of 2010-2013, the post of the President of Ukraine was occupied by the pro-Russian President Viktor Yanukovych. In that period many previously initiated pro-Western reforms were immediately reversed: The Joint Operations Command was quickly disbanded; personnel management reforms negated; cooperative programs with Western companies in shipbuilding were cancelled in favor of presumably less expensive Russian suppliers, etc. The only course, which remained intact, was the transition to all-volunteer force though at further reduced size of 100 000 by 2017 (Box 1), while substantiation for this stage was different. It was based on the premise by Yanukovych administration that Ukraine did not face any real military threat, which allegedly allowed for further reduction of the numbers below 100 000 (from initial personnel strength of over 800 000 in 1991) thus raising the salaries to competitive levels and making the recruitment process effective. For evident reason of Russian aggression, this plan was not materialized either, and Ukraine still preserves the outdated conscription, though putting more and more emphasis on rapid reaction units manned by volunteers and reservists.

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[6] "On the State Program for Transition of the Armed Forces of Ukraine to Manning with Contract Military Servicemen," Decree by the President of Ukraine No. 348/2002, http://zakon5.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/348/2002.

Developments during Hostilities in Crimea and Donbas Regions of Ukraine in 2014-2018. Prospects for Building Future Ukrainian Military

The generally pro-Russian political course of the Yanukovych political leadership led to transformation of Ukrainian military from underfunded and undertrained, but still equipped and sizeable force to symbolic institution consisting of skeleton units expected to carry limited missions of localization of border conflicts, peace-keeping and support to civilian authorities, rather than containment or repelling a full-sized military aggression by an aggressive neighboring country like Russia.

In February 2014, when the pro-Russian dictatorial President Viktor Yanu-kovych fled from Kyiv, the Ukrainian military looked much less impressive than it had been in 1991. Since 1991, the quantity of military equipment had dropped by about five times, while the state of its readiness was below minimal require-ments. Sizeable defense industry of Ukraine having very small internal defense order mostly survived implementing foreign orders. Typical Western accounts of that period indicated that the total number of usable troops and equipment in Ukrainian land forces amounted nominally to 80 000 personnel, 775 tanks, 51 helicopters, fewer than 1 000 artillery pieces and 2 280 armored personnel car-riers.[7]

Ukraine's first reaction to the Russian "hybrid" actions in Crimea was to keep its bases for as long as possible, tying down Russian forces in the peninsula while putting maximum effort into the mobilization of reserves and into organizing the deployment of land forces closer to the Russian border in the East. Ukrainian troops in Crimea, however, ceased to resist after three weeks, having lost half of the navy ships and about 50 aircraft, captured by the Russians at *Belbeck* airfield. About 12 000 military personnel, mostly locally enlisted, shifted sides in favor of Russia.

To significant extent, this was a result of the previously mentioned personnel policy gap between populist intentions to build fully professional military and miniscule resources provided to that end. Consequently, "non-expensive" local military contract servicemen from Crimea provided the largest number of trai-tors.

Transition during the War

Soon after the loss of Crimea, in April 2014, Ukrainian troops were engaged by armed pro-Russian separatists and Russian mercenaries. In response, Ukrainians have chosen to fight against Russian invading force and pro-Russian insurgency, losing part of Ukraine's territory but securing freedom. Besides, Ukraine took continuous efforts to build up its military, which had two major simultaneous

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7   Igor Sutyagin and Michael Clarke, "Ukraine Military Dispositions. The Military Ticks Up while the Clock Ticks Down," *RUSI Briefing Paper*, Royal United Services Institute, 2014.

missions: to deter Russia from a full-scale invasion and to restore control over Donetsk and Lugansk regions (the only places where the separatists had been successful). The key problems of the military at the initial months were to organize mobilized units for effective military actions against an armed insurgency—and possible regular Russian troops—and to provide them with the basic military equipment needed.[8] By the end of summer 2014, forward deployed troops in Donbas found themselves engaged in fighting regular Russian troops, while the Ministry of Defense management system was overwhelmed with issues of mobilization, organization, motivation and provision of social support.

Yet, over the course of the first year of the war, the Armed Forces managed to mobilize, equip, and train substantial forces. Ukraine has gone from having an army of approximately 130 000 with almost no ready units, to having a force of over 200 000 – of which approximately one third part were deployed to deter potential Russian aggression and to eliminate separatist insurgency. Summarily, over the first year of war, Ukraine has mobilized and equipped over 250 thousand personnel, looking more capable to deter invading Russian forces.

Naturally, at the start of aggression, Ukrainians expected and requested immediate support from signatories of the Budapest Memorandum and other friendly countries in the West. However, in the spring-summer period of 2014, Western leadership hesitated to offer any meaningful supplies beyond very simple basic materiel. Most of Ukraine's possible supporters in NATO and the EU were not ready to support Ukraine militarily without a clear leadership by the United States.

Having to defend itself on its own, Ukraine had to utilize quickly available human potential of reservists and volunteers in order to win time for reconstitution of the military. This supplement took the form of "territorial defense" battalions under the Ministry of Defense and "volunteer" police and National Guard battalions under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Besides, the ordinary citizens of Ukraine organized variety of logistical, financial and medical support networks in the interests of the military.

On this battlefield, Ukrainian land forces opposed Russian-led mixture of regular Russian land forces and pro-Russian proxies. Both sides primarily used old Soviet platforms modernized and better supported to increase their ranges, lethality and accuracy. Despite initial, total Russian technological domination in most conventional weapons systems, primarily in aerial reconnaissance, electronic warfare and secure communication, in a short period of time Ukrainian military, with some support from Western partners and local volunteers, quickly reduced the technological dis-balance. Both sides equally resorted to the use of high-tech drones, modern observation, communications, targeting and electronic warfare equipment on the scale never seen before.

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[8] Six "waves" of reservists were mobilized since March 2014, and demobilized by the end of 2016 – total of 210 000 reservists.

Russians were successful only in one area, denying Ukrainians their Close Air Support (CAS) through advanced short-range air defense systems and stronger intelligence. Ukraine could not adopt quickly its Soviet era fleet of combat aircraft and helicopters and decided to stop using the CAS. Ukrainian airplanes and helicopters employed without proper anti-air defense systems appeared to be too vulnerable even if sometimes equipped with thermal and optical protection devices. In 2014, when Ukrainians used aviation in support of combat actions, they lost nine combat aircraft, three transport aircraft and ten helicopters.[9]

In this war, Russians used the opportunity to test many new prototypes of drones like *Orlan, Zastava, Grusha, Granat, Eleron, Takhion*; electronic warfare systems *Krasukha, Zhitel, Leer, Borisoglebsk, Rtut' and Dziudoist*; target acquisition radars *Aistionok, Kredo* and *Malahit*; flame throwers – multiple rocket launchers *Tornado, Buratino* and portable *Shmel*, short range air defense systems *Verba* and *Pantsir,* and other new designs.

The Ukrainian side did not have time and money to produce so many new national designs, so it placed more emphasis on modernizing available artillery, tanks, fighting vehicles and personnel carriers, and on developing techniques for accurate counterbattery fire, for long-range tank fire, snipers etc. Ukraine initially imported or received as foreign aid some Western drones, as well as target acquisition and communications equipment, but later turned to rely more on nationally developed armaments for its Land Forces and even for air defense. However, it was still in great need of modern foreign armaments, like ATGM "Javelin" supplied by the US in 2018, to say nothing about the need for variety of weapons to revitalize its Navy mostly lost in Crimea.

Both sides paid significant attention to psychological operations (PSYOPS). Today, already known *CNN*-effect is multiplied by *Facebook*-effect, *mobile-phone* effect, *Tweeter*-effect etc. The war proved that all modern electronic devices and social networks could be used to facilitate spreading rumors, false messages and fake news, as well as to collect personal information on the enemy troops, target acquisition and other intelligence. Russian initial domination in electronic warfare systems also played to a great advantage of the aggressor's PSYOPS.

Ukraine has mobilized all the available capacities of its defense industry, but it could not fully rearm the armed forces on its own. Provision of the army with state-of-the-art military equipment and weapon systems and creation of stockpiles of missiles and ammunitions, e.g. covering all existing gaps in armaments, required time and resources, which the country lacked. A major Russian assault was still on the agenda.

Countering superior numbers of Russian combat aircraft, combat helicopters (Russia has about six times as many combat aircraft and about three times as many combat helicopters) and tactical missiles would logically require a strong

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[9] "By the middle of August 2014 Ukraine lost in ATO 11 aircraft and 9 helicopters," General Staff, 2015, https://ua.112.ua/ato/do-seredyny-serpnia-2014-r-ukraina-vtratyla-v-ato-11-litakiv-i-9-vertolotiv-henshtab-251835-print.html.

emphasis on different air defense assets and on electronic warfare capability. For this purpose, Ukraine had to look into the experience of neighboring countries like Poland, Romania or Turkey, who demonstrated success in defense industrial production either under licenses, or in close cooperation with major Western weapon producers. This became especially important, since past cooperation with Russia was not an option any more for obvious reasons.

The first year of the involvement of Ukraine's Armed Forces and other military formations in antiterrorist operation (ATO) in Southern Donbas saw transition from the initial counterinsurgency warfare to classic land operations of the Ukrainian military against pro-Russian separatists, mercenaries and about 7 000-8 000 Russian regular troops, i.e., the ATO actually evolved into a local military conflict. The heroism and sacrifice of Ukrainian military personnel and civilian volunteers, economic and financial pressure of Ukraine's foreign partners eventually forced Russian President Vladimir Putin to agree to a ceasefire in Minsk, since Russia's political, economic and human losses became all too evident for everyone.

It appeared that at the tactical level, discipline and motivation of Ukrainians may win over better equipped but less motivated Russian-proxy force. In 2015-2016, all battalion-size attempts from Russians to push Ukrainians from their positions failed, while Ukrainian troops slowly but steadily pushed Russians towards the Minsk agreements' designated line of separation, which Russians crossed in 2014 and early 2015.

In 2016-2018, after the war has turned from maneuver to trench warfare, Russian typical activities were actions by small sabotage groups and snipers, and continuous indiscriminate artillery fire at both Ukrainian fortifications and civilian populated areas across the frontline. For Ukrainian artillery, it is prohibited to fire at the residential areas, and Russians use this fact placing their own artillery between civilian households on their side. This required Ukrainian troops to look for the ways to improve its reconnaissance, strike precision and quick reaction capabilities.

This latter specific urban-related feature at the tactical level of war is just one of the characteristic signs of the larger, operational, trend of the land warfare – growing impact of the factor of urban terrain. The long trend of increasing ranges and lethality of anti-armor and counter-battery fire in this war quickly led to a situation, when all movements in the open terrain were at great risk of being detected and destroyed. Therefore, both opposing sides had either to dig deep and build fortifications, or place their positions in the abundant residential and industrial areas, which either naturally reduced the risk of destruction by limiting direct targeting, or denied shooting due to humanitarian considerations. Like in coalition operations in Iraq, this factor of urban terrain noticeably reduced the role of advanced technologies on the grounds of either denial by physical obstacles or considerations of political, economic and humanitarian nature.

Another important lesson of the war called for improving the system of reserve force maintenance, especially the mobilization process, and for developing

territorial defense strategies as an asymmetric way of employing motivated personnel, inexpensive weapons and better human intelligence against a superior occupying force. To that end, experts often named Finland, the Baltic States, Israel or even Switzerland as a source of useful experience. In concert with substantial numbers of highly trained and equipped Special Forces, this approach seemed like a cost-effective way to neutralize the 'hybrid' type of invasion of illegal armed formations supported by regular military units that Russia has deployed.

Overall, in the course of the four years of war, the strength of Ukraine's Armed Forces was steadily growing despite pitiful mistakes and initial forced retreats. The lessons learned from this war played a key role in devising the plans for Ukraine's defense institution building.

Plans for the Future

Defense transformation in the wartime naturally required substantial resources both to support the ongoing operations and to build reliable reserves. Consequently, already the 2015 state budget on security and defense was increased to about $5 bln.[10] This was equivalent to 5 percent of the GDP where 3 percent ($3 bln.) had to be appropriated for the military. It allowed building new structures like Special Operations Forces, Airborne-Assault Troops, Marine Command, etc., as well as producing, modernizing and purchasing an array of arms and ammunition. In the later years, the growing economy of Ukraine provided the military with higher absolute budget volumes.

The prolongation of the war with Russia' supported separatists required from Ukraine more sound and systemic conceptualization for building national defense. Initial delays in developing the coherent plan for reforms likely produced doubts in the political leadership either in the ability or commitment of the military establishment to initiate transformations. Declarations by the Ministry of Defense to "radically change the philosophy of military management" and to create a more effective system that would remove functional duplications between the ministry and the General Staff and embrace international standards and practices in practical terms translated in amendments to the state budget and not much else. In 2015, these doubts might have caused the initiative by the presidential administration to invite the RAND Corporation to conduct a review of Ukrainian defense sector and to make recommendations for needed reforms. The RAND accomplished this request and produced a report, which in its military component recommended measures similar to the above-mentioned earlier document (NATO-oriented but never implemented) *Program of Reform and Development of the Armed Forces for 2006-2011*. It called for restoration of the Joint Operations Command and other reforms aimed to increase effectiveness

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[10] Polly Mosendz, "Ukraine's Military Budget Will Be over $3 Billion in 2015," *Newsweek*, December 12, 2014, http://europe.newsweek.com/ukraines-military-budget-will-be-over-3-billion-2015-291434.

of the active military and reserves by moving to all-volunteer force instead of conscription, and improving the system of pay in the ministry to become competitive for qualified civil servants. Besides, RAND recommended radical reforms in the system of democratic civilian control over the military – civilian minister of defense and his/her deputy, integrated defense headquarter instead of the separated ministry and the General Staff, etc.

It is important to note, that assistance from the RAND in defense planning was one of the many instances of Western support to Ukraine. According to a 2015 study conducted by the Folke Bernadotte Academy of Sweden,

> NATO has, as part of the Partnership for Peace (PFF) Programme, supported the training of the Ukrainian Armed Forces (UAF) for several years in order to increase their interoperability with NATO forces. Practical training is primarily delivered through American, Canadian, British and Lithuanian bilateral programmes. These countries have formed a common platform for training of the UAF, the Multinational Joint Commission. Another track within capacity development is medical treatment. For example, Sweden and the United Kingdom focus on training in medical treatment. In addition, NATO military hospitals support wounded Ukrainian soldiers with materials and rehabilitation, including psychological care.[11]

Practically all NATO member countries have contributed to different NATO PfP programs in support of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. Besides, they were joined by certain non-NATO countries, like Australia, Sweden, Switzerland and Ireland, who in the last four years actively supported Ukraine as well.[12]

In 2015, given all lessons learned from military actions in Crimea and in Donbas and capitalizing on Western support, Ukraine adopted a clear Security Strategy and a comprehensive Military Doctrine and intensified the transformation of the Armed Forces to the desired level of being capable to deter full-scale aggression from Russia. This provided the general conceptual framework for the transformation in defense.

Further on, taking into account the accumulated experience and responding to calls from soldiers in the field and foreign advisors, Ukrainian authorities finally produced a document, which indicates the generally expected reforms like professional active military, ready to be deployed reserves, NATO standards, relevant budgetary appropriations etc. In February 2016, the National Security and

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[11] Måns Hanssen, *International Support to Security Sector Reform in Ukraine. A Mapping of SSR Projects* (Sandö – Stockholm: Folke Bernadotte Academy, 2016), https://fba.se/en/how-we-work/research-policy-analysis-and-development/publications/international-support-to-security-sector-reform-in-ukraine/.

[12] Hanssen, *International Support to Security Sector Reform in Ukraine.*

Defense Council of Ukraine adopted the Concept of Ukraine's Security and Defense Sector Development.[13]

In particular, the document further emphasizes the threat posed by Russia and calls for "priority development of intelligence capabilities of Ukraine," "professionalise the defence forces and establish a required military reserve," "improve the system of territorial defence to build an active reserve of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, introduce a practical model of cooperation between the units of the territorial defence with the armed formations of the country," etc.

For the Ukrainian military, this was further specified in the practical plans of structural reforms envisaged in "The State Program for the Development of the Armed Forces of Ukraine until 2020."[14] The Program outlined five Strategic Goals (Box 3) and provided tentative financial indicators of the cost of their implementation. In the same way as its similar pro-NATO predecessor program of 2005, it calls again for introduction of NATO standards, professionalization of active component and building appropriate reserve.

In fact, Ukraine did accommodate many recommendations by RAND rather quickly, like creation of Joint Operations Headquarters … Fixing in the law the civilian and political status of the minister of defense took a bit longer, but in

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Box 3. Strategic Goals of "The State Program for the Development of the Armed Forces of Ukraine until 2020"

1. The development of the Ukrainian Armed Forces' command and control system in line with the NATO standards

2. Improving the system of defense planning, implementation of transparent and effective resource management using modern Euro-Atlantic approaches

3. Acquiring the capabilities of the Armed Forces of Ukraine needed for guaranteed repelling of an armed aggression, national defense and participation in the support of international peace and security

4. Creating a unified logistics management system and improvement of medical support system of the Armed Forces of Ukraine according to the NATO standards

5. Professionalization of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and establishment of necessary military reserve of the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

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[13] "Decree of the President of Ukraine No. 92/2016," 2016, www.president.gov.ua/documents/922016-19832.

[14] "The State Program for the Development of the Armed Forces of Ukraine until 2020," Ministry of Defense of Ukraine, 2017, www.mil.gov.ua/content/oboron_plans/2017-07-31_National-program-2020_en.pdf.

2018, it finally happened in the Law of Ukraine "On National Security of Ukraine."[15] However, developing of conceptual documents and plans for reform, increasing the numbers of troops, procurement of armaments and intensifying combat training appeared to be easier to implement, than changing the cultures in defense planning or human resource management (including the gender issue). So far, the progress in the personnel management related issues looks somewhat less impressive than in structural and technical transformations in defense institutions of Ukraine.

In 2018, the Ministry of Defense presentation "White Book 2017. Armed Forces of Ukraine" for the first time devoted a special section to the service of women.[16] It also reported about the modest progress in the implementation of "The Concept of Military Personnel Policy until 2020" developed in cooperation with CIDS – the Norwegian Centre for Integrity in the Defence Sector. Meanwhile, despite reported progress, very much remains to be done in order to change the still alive post-Soviet personnel management cultures in the Armed Forces to the best democratic standards.

In this regard, slow but steady improvements in human security, gender, democratic governance and other dimensions of Defense Institution Building in Ukraine should be contributed in no small part to targeted support of international organizations like NATO, the EU and the OSCE, as well as to continuous efforts by the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF). Since its creation in 2000, DCAF created a comprehensive platform of relevant studies and publications, which were handy not only in building Ukraine's defense institutions, but in the reform of the other security sector institutions as well.[17]

Conclusion

Overall in the pre-war period of 1991-2013, self-illusion created by the Budapest Memorandum, limitations by ineffective economy, the inconsistencies in national strategy (nonalignment-NATO-nonalignment) and consequent neglect of national defense requirements led to unclear military strategies and a declarative rather than substantial Defense Institution Building process.

On the positive side, during this peacetime building period Ukraine was trying to compensate the impact of its economic weakness on defense through active cooperation with NATO, with partner countries like Sweden and Switzerland, and participation in peacekeeping operations under the auspices of the UN, NATO and the EU. However, in the spring of 2014, the response of the Armed

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[15] "On National Security of Ukraine," Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, The Law of Ukraine, 2018, http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2469-19.

[16] *White Book 2017. The Armed Forces of Ukraine* (Kyiv: Ministry of Defense of Ukraine, 2018), www.mil.gov.ua/content/files/whitebook/WB-2017_eng_Final_WEB.pdf.

[17] "Ukraine. Democratic Security Sector Governance," DCAF, 2017, https://ukrainesecuritysector.com.

Forces of Ukraine exposed serious weaknesses in all aspects except for the people's will to defend the country.

By the middle of 2018, over the last four years of war, Ukraine has mobilized, equipped, and trained a substantial force, which looked much more able to fight and resist invading Russian forces and to inflict a high damage to them, if they choose to launch another round of invasion.

It looks like in general terms consensus already emerged in Ukraine on building effective volunteer military with agile active component supported by deployable ready reserve jointly capable to deter possible aggression from Russia. As prior experience proves, the ultimate results of these efforts will depend not only on Ukrainians, but on the cooperation with their partners as well. Ukraine would do its best to adopt NATO standards and welcome support from NATO countries, but for the time being should rely primarily on its own human, military and industrial potentials.

About the Author

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Research Article

Defense Education Enhancement Program in Ukraine: The Limits of NATO's Education Program

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Abstract: The Defense Education Enhancement Program (DEEP) is a NATO initiative dating back ten years. It aims at fostering intellectual operability and officer professional military education (PME) to render NATO Partners and potential members capable of joining forces with NATO nations if need be, and to develop the practices and methods to ensure their own security. The Ukraine portion of the program is the most significant. Administered by NATO and the Partnership for Peace Consortium, overseen by strong American and Polish interests, it is a manifestation of what the Alliance can do as a measure of assistance and reassurance to Ukraine. The DEEP is a tool to demonstrate NATO's credibility and deterrence potential outside of Art. 5. This article speaks of the absorption challenges created by the multiplicity of events, and argues that the objective of creating self-sufficient and interoperable forces is impeded by the current conflict in the Donbas.

Keywords: Ukraine, NATO, Defense Education Enhancement Program, DEEP, Professional Military Education, PME.

Introduction

The so-called "Revolution of Dignity," that took place between November 2013 and March 2014 in Ukraine, gave Russia a pretext to seize the Crimea and engage proxy forces in the Donbas to rebel against the new Ukrainian administration. Seen from the point of view of NATO, this is an unprovoked action that threatens the status quo in Europe. It seems therefore normal that thus challenged, prudence would counsel the strongest possible support to Ukraine, to demonstrate resolve and reassure the Alliance's Eastern flank.

NATO's subsequent forward presence deployment offers two axes of 'deterrence' – one is the actual deployment of multinational combat teams in the Baltic States and Poland, representing an unprecedented military presence at Russia's door; the other is direct but naturally limited support for Ukraine. Taken together, NATO's twin initiatives relieve the pressure on Ukraine indirectly. The military presence in the Baltic States forces Russia to maintain a corresponding deterrent to face the threat of NATO invasion from the North-West, which means a reduction of support for proxy fighters in the Donbas. Meanwhile NATO has set up a series of trust funds through which nations can coordinate their support, and continues to press for structural and attitudinal changes in Ukraine through the Defense Education Enhancement Program (DEEP).

The DEEP is a NATO flagship initiative dating back a decade, and frequently hailed as the keystone for intellectual interoperability and politico-military integration with NATO and Partners for some twenty former Soviet and Yugoslav republics, as well as Afghanistan, Mauritania and Mongolia. The character of the support offered by NATO to Ukraine appears limited, and for good reason. What would the Russian reaction be if, contrary to its own precepts, NATO began siding overtly with Ukraine (especially an un-reformed Ukraine) in this contest? Furthermore, the opinion as to what can be done to help Ukraine in her predicament—and of whether anything *should* be done—is a function of the fragmented national positions within the Alliance. This is the least—as well as the most—that NATO can do.

Individual Allies are similarly constrained, and their involvement in support of Ukraine takes place within the confines of NATO's Art. 4 on crisis management, which means that whatever support is offered cannot be overtly offensive, lest they be perceived as effectively entering in alliance with a foe of Russia. Therefore, NATO countries must deploy their forces onto NATO member States (the Baltic States and Poland) to create a center of gravity that will attract Russian forces away from Ukraine. New NATO members have prepared for their role as host nations to the forces of other NATO members. Furthermore, the countries contributing to NATO's forward deployment are adding self-contained capabilities which do not place a burden on the host nations. Ukraine, on the other hand, must devote and re-direct personnel and resources to welcoming whatever support NATO countries can directly offer on its own.

For deterrence to function, the country that is adopting it as a policy must be credible. And credibility is closely associated with capacity. Evidence is beginning to surface that Ukraine is having difficulty absorbing the support that NATO and individual countries have been delivering since the crisis began. In short, supporting Ukraine may have the effect of diverting and distracting precious human resources. At some point, the assistance packages offered to Ukraine will need to produce results lest the credibility of the country—and of the NATO Allies—begin to suffer for lack of operational capability. This paper uses a small portion of the DEEP initiative implemented to support Ukraine to measure the country's military support absorption problems. As a methodology, we will investigate the

DEEP initiative as administered by the Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes (with its office based in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany) which has been selected to manage some 15 percent of the NATO DEEP initiative for Ukraine.

This contribution proposes a method to calculate the human resource "cost" of accepting security and defense cooperation initiatives. We hypothesize that there is a limit to what a host country can absorb without depleting core functions that support national security, and in the case of Ukraine, deterrence.

The first part of this contribution details the origins of the PfP Consortium and of the DEEP Ukraine initiative. The second part highlights difficulties in execution of DEEP events, which the author treats as an indicator of mal-absorption. Apart from his own experience as a subject-matter expert (SME) veteran of several DEEP events in Azerbaijan, the author draws from documentation and discussions shared with DEEP program managers at the PfP Consortium. This paper concludes with a discussion as to how absorption difficulties drain Ukrainian resources away from other security priorities, and that, in definitive, the result could be a loss of credibility for the Alliance vis-à-vis Russia.

The PfP Consortium and the DEEP Ukraine

The Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes (PfP Consortium) was created through a multilateral memorandum of understanding (MOU) on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary Summit of NATO in Washington DC, 4 April 1999. The Consortium is an association of nearly 50 countries, which have convened in the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) format to conduct military and security education development in a track-two diplomacy format. The United States and Germany fund and accommodate a small secretariat in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany, co-locating it with the George C. Marshall Center, which shares some of its operational resources. NATO uses the PfP Consortium to manage a portion of its DEEP program, through the PfP Consortium's Education Development Working Group (EDWG), chaired by Dr. Alan Stolberg, a RAND contractor.

The DEEP initiative was created in 2007 as part of the larger NATO Partnership Action Plan on Defense Institution Building (PAP-DIB) of 2004. The intent of DEEP is to lead host nations to enact and effect security sector reforms as a way to integrate Western military and defense management practices. The management of the initiative through the PfP Consortium provides a multilateral platform that combines NATO's prestige with administrative and political flexibility, necessary because of the heavy American interest in the success of the pro-

gram.[1] The program is driven, from the geopolitical point of view, by the competition between Russian and Euro-Atlantic spheres of influence.[2]

DEEP events are typically week-long visits by multinational teams of civilian and military educators sharing their educational expertise within the host nation's defense education structures. Three key results are expected from those exchanges; 1) enhanced (meaning "Westernized") defense/security curriculum; 2) development of host nation faculty teaching skills according to Euro-Atlantic standards, and 3) infrastructure and institutional development.[3]

By some accounts, NATO has not done much in support of Ukraine. But the DEEP Ukraine has been the fastest growing initiative within the program, a testimony to the desire of the Ukrainian leadership in seeking Western help – and presence. Ukraine formally requested a DEEP program from NATO in October 2012. A feasibility study conducted in March 2013 officially launched the program. The revolutionary crisis interrupted the program almost immediately, but resumed in late 2014, doubling in size from what had been previously planned. To meet the added activity load, NATO enlisted the support of the PfP Consortium. In 2015, there were 66 Ukraine DEEP events planned, up from 14 in 2014.[4] In 2016, 76, and as many in 2017. Not all events were executed, however; the first indicator of overstretch.

Overstretched and Distracted Ukraine

According to the International Institute of Strategic Studies' annual *Military Balance*, Ukraine's force structure is of some 250 000 personnel, with some 71 000 front line troops.[5] Ukraine has repeatedly attempted, over the last two years, to mobilize and retain additional recruits. According to an advisor of President Poroshenko "alcoholics and dodgers, drug addicts and morons"[6] made up the bulk of the new recruits, attracted doubtless by salaries that competed well with the Ukrainian private sector (800-2 500 USD per month, depending on rank).[7] In addition, the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense counts some 45 000 civilian employees. An important question of defense management concerns the ratios; how many

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1   Frederic Labarre, and Pierre Jolicoeur, "Shaping and Measuring Military Culture Development: A Case Study of the Defence Education Enhancement Programme (DEEP)," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 22, no. 4 (2016): 135-146, 141.

2   Labarre and Jolicoeur, "Shaping and Measuring Military Culture Development," 140.

3   Labarre and Jolicoeur, "Shaping and Measuring Military Culture Development," 140. For example, the Armenian National Defense Research University (NDRU) led by MGEN (Ret.) Hayk Kotanjian is an indirect result of the DEEP Armenia program.

4   "Note No. 220/13246 of 16 December 2015 from acting Minister of Defence of Ukraine Rusnak to Ambassador Alexander Vershbow," appendix to NATO document AC/340(NUC)N(2015)0009, 2016.

5   "Military Personnel," April 22, 2017, http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/ukraine/personnel.htm.

6   "Military Personnel." The author of the online article does not cite his/her source.

7   "Military Personnel."

frontline troops versus reserves (Ukraine counts a 1 million-strong reserve), how long the tail for how many teeth. With 71 000 frontline troops, Ukraine is, man-for-man, a match for Russia's expected 65 000.[8] Russia and Ukraine face similar reform and modernization problems; having inherited an immense force structure from the Soviet Union, it struggles to maintain readiness of a sufficient part of that remaining structure to propose an adequate deterrent.

While a rough ratio of 1:2 civilian employee per frontline troop seems efficient, it also represents an immense burden on the civilian side of the MOD to manage the Ukrainian military as well as the panoply of defense diplomacy and cooperation initiatives. Even if the MOD civilians are supplemented from the logistical structure of the Ukrainian forces, say, half the force structure on paper, or some 125 000, this only reverses the ratio to 2.5:1, compared to 7:1 in the Canadian Army or 13:1 in the United States. The point here is not cost. When a country's territorial integrity is under threat, no cost is too great. The point here is the administrative capacity to absorb additional support.

Individually, the problem is also acute; one of the critical impediments for soldiers to receive Western support is language. This is surprising, considering the avowed "Westernization" of Ukraine since the Orange Revolution of 2004. As a conscript system, the Ukrainian state can count on some 400 000 men reaching majority every year. One would have expected, 12 years after the Orange revolution, that a policy of Westernization would have at least produced that many soldiers by 2015 with English skills sufficient to be basically interoperable with Western forces. This is not the case. A NATO-Ukraine Commission Report established the conditions for success for Ukraine's then (this has since changed with the Warsaw Summit of 2016) efforts at joining NATO as balancing "the necessary membership criteria… professionalization of its military, while at the same time dealing with urgencies in Eastern Ukraine." The Report adds that there are also "systemic issues that are negatively affecting morale and thus motivation to serve … [which] prevent the recruitment, professional development, and retention of the best available candidates."[9]

In fairness, the Ukrainian structures also underwent significant reform over the last few years, which cannot have been very good for morale. The MOD agencies have been reduced by 60 percent. The General Staff has been halved. The Main Directorate of Operational Support—critical for providing host nation support to foreign forces—is now 40 percent of its original strength. The force structure went from 168 units to 46, the Air Force has lost 70 percent of its structure, and the Naval Forces—evicted from Crimea—have relocated as part of the Maritime Academy of Odessa, and has redeployed its six agencies and units to 28

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[8] Kaspars Mazitans, "Russian Armed Forces Military Reforms and Capability Development 2008-2012," *Baltic Security and Defence Review* 16, no. 1 (2014): 5-22.

[9] NATO-Ukraine Commission, "Executive Summary and Strategic Recommendations for Non-Commissioned Officers (NCO) within the Ukrainian Armed Forces and NCO Defence Education Enhancement Program (DEEP) Team Report," Annex 1, Vol. 16, 2015.

other locations around the country.[10] In addition, Ukraine counts as many as eleven separate military training and education institutions disseminated throughout the country. Security cooperation initiatives therefore do not benefit from economies of scale, experiences from one institution (or service) cannot be passed on to the others seamlessly, and effort is thinned out across the territory.

The Ukraine DEEP initiative gives an indication of the challenge; the NATO DEEP Ukraine 2015 Annual Program Review (APR) reveals that "English language skills of *faculty* needs to be still improved. Nevertheless, out of 1500 faculty working in defence education institutions, 700 … already attended or started their English courses."[11] We speak here of military education institution *faculty*; not the rank and file. This gives an appreciation of the challenge. The cadets' language training regimen was doubled from 2014 to 2016, while graduating students generally reach NATO STANAG 2 language proficiency.[12]

Meanwhile Ukraine has asked NATO's help in reforming the Non-Commissioned Officer corps. The first challenge faced was that the Starychi NCO training facility could count on only 20 percent of its instructors.[13] The NATO-Ukraine Commission Report that initiated the DEEP initiative for NCOs further states that "sending NCOs abroad to gain experience and training … due to the conflict in Eastern Ukraine, is difficult."[14] To add to this difficulty, one must also count the asymmetry in fighting experience. While NATO forces have been deployed on this or that complex operation for most of the last twenty years, they have never seen the sort of combat (with the possible exception of the British in the Falklands in 1982) that the Ukrainians are enduring. In this regard, it looks strange for Ukrainian servicemen of all ranks when NATO nations come down to partake of their "wisdom."[15]

As a matter of fact, the opposite may be true; the Ukrainians have a lot more to teach their Western counterparts about Russian fighting technique than the other way around. This realization has been made clear in a *Stars and Stripes* article published at the close of the first year of war in Ukraine with quotes such as that of US Lieutenant General Hodges: "none of us have been under Russian artillery and rocket fire like the Ukrainians have," or from an American NCO who, despite having served in Afghanistan, saw only the American side of armor action, whereas Ukrainians have engaged Russian armored personnel carriers from

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[10] Ministry of Defense of Ukraine, *White Paper 2015* (Kyiv, 2015), 9.

[11] Political Affairs and Security Policy (PASP), "DEEP Ukraine 2015 Programme Review," (December 2015), unclassified internal document. Private document consulted with PfP Consortium's DEEP International Program Manager's permission.

[12] Alan Stolberg, "Measures of Effectiveness (MOE) for the DEEP (as of December 2016)," PfP Consortium EDWG, January 2017, 27-28.

[13] NATO-Ukraine Commission, "Executive Summary," 1-6.

[14] NATO-Ukraine Commission, "Executive Summary," 1-11.

[15] Stolberg, "Measures of Effectiveness," 28. "75 percent of the faculty now have recent combat experience from the ATO" (Anti-Terrorism Operation).

15 meters away, an impossibility in the American training concept.[16] So the difficulty for Ukrainians to integrate advice from Western nations is not simply due to lack of resources; it is also due to lack of common understanding. Yet NATO believes that intellectual interoperability can be mustered through the DEEP initiative.

The quantity of DEEP activities has increased fivefold since implementation began. The PfP Consortium is responsible for some 15 percent of those events on behalf of NATO every year and runs two activities in Kyiv, two in Lviv, two in Odessa, and two in Kharkiv, in addition to an annual planning meeting, an annual program review (APR) which normally involves senior MOD staff, and until recently, a shadow faculty event, for a total of eleven events. If all events are run, this represents a significant planning burden for the schools involved.

A typical DEEP event involves sending small teams of subject-matter experts (SMEs) to Ukrainian institutions for a week-long exchange on educational delivery methods, and curriculum development. In 2014, the war precluded running any event by the PfP Consortium. In 2015, there were 36 events scheduled by NATO, of which three were run by the PfP Consortium. For any given event, whether run by NATO or the PfP Consortium, up to 30 faculty from the targeted institution need to leave their normal duties to receive the SMEs for a whole week, interrupting the normal teaching schedule as some courses are momentarily interrupted, administrative work falls behind, while students and course members do not necessarily have a week off. Nevertheless, the visit of Western SMEs to Ukraine frequently depends on the combined schedules of both the Western SMEs (themselves teachers and instructors) and the Ukrainian faculty. Therefore, normal preparation time between semesters is sometimes taken over by DEEP business. More to the point, all the DEEP events compete for the same time slots in the Ukrainian institutions' calendars.

It is therefore not surprising that there have been severe difficulties in timely coordinating events between the SMEs and the Ukrainians. While it is difficult enough to line up SMEs, arranging the time of Ukrainian faculty is even more difficult, leading NATO reports to charge that one of the critical shortcomings of the DEEP Ukraine initiative was the timely selection of proper Ukrainian faculty with whom the SMEs visit.[17] This problem was mentioned in 2015, and was never solved in 2016, which saw the execution of only 60 percent of the DEEP Ukraine events planned by the PfP Consortium. In 2017, the PfP Consortium was retained to execute eleven events as part of NATO's DEEP Ukraine initiative, yet no more than 40 percent of the events were executed.

To make matters worse, most of the DEEP SMEs—at the request of the Ukrainian government—are Americans. Indeed, US European Command (EU-

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[16] Jad Sleiman, "Ukrainians Training with US Forces Have Own Lessons to Share," *Stars and Stripes*, July 26, 2015, https://www.stripes.com/news/ukrainians-training-with-us-forces-have-their-own-lessons-to-share-1.359807, accessed on April 23, 2017.

[17] Political Affairs and Security Policy (PASP), "DEEP Ukraine 2015 Programme Review," December 2015, unclassified internal document, 2.

COM) theater regulations state that as a precaution, and owing to the risk of terrorist activity in Ukraine due to the conflict, no U.S. government employee is allowed to travel (privately or on duty) East of the river Dniepr sending a perplexing message to Ukraine about the seriousness of the US support, and raising questions about the credibility of the deterrent intentions in the eyes of adversaries.

While the SMEs are all faculty volunteering their professional time to this cause, it looks on the surface that this is a cost-effective endeavor—and it is—save that the language barriers require that nearly 20 percent of budgeted expenses (in addition to travel and accommodation arranged for the SMEs by the PfP Consortium) pertains to interpretation and translation needs. This further highlights the inherent absorption difficulties of the Ukrainian personnel.

Sometimes, the SMEs sent are unprepared for the challenges they will face with the Ukrainian host. The PfP Consortium program manager for DEEP Ukraine had the opportunity to witness this in February 2016, when he was sent to observe the execution of a DEEP Ukraine to the Kozhedub Air Force Academy in Kharkiv. From a roster of 35 faculty, the audience dwindled to 18 by the end of the week, with the balance coming in and out to attend the lectures, being frequently replaced by other colleagues, so that roughly half of the roster attended the full DEEP Ukraine, while the rest benefited from part of the event, although it could be said that in total, some 45 Ukrainian faculty members benefited from the lectures given by the SMEs, only a third attended the full event, while the rest's assiduity to the lectures was somewhere between 20 and 50 percent. Clearly, the Ukrainian faculty are not going to absorb much new technique if they partake to DEEP events for which they have no context.[18] In terms of program effectiveness and eventual deterrence credibility, what kind of message will the SMEs bring back when they conclude that Ukrainian faculty seemed uninterested in what they had to deliver? From both sides, that critical component of deterrence and reassurance—credibility—is lost.

Measuring Absorption

In the strategic plan for the DEEP Ukraine for 2017, First Deputy Minister of Defense Ivan Rusnak was quoted as saying that the DEEP Ukraine initiative was "successful, prospective and efficient."[19] However the numbers reflected in that same report suggest that since 2013, year at which the Ukraine DEEP was launched, accounting for the war-related suspension of the program in 2014, 1 300 servicemen, in 11 training and education institutions benefited from the expertise of some 350 SMEs during 147 events, 16 of which had been carried out

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[18] Frederic Labarre, "After Action Report to event PFP C 16411, Faculty Development (UKR DEEP) carried out 8-12 February 2016," February 19, 2016, PfP Consortium internal document.

[19] Alan Stolberg, *Strategic Plan for DEEP Ukraine* (as of December 2016) (EDWG, January 2017), 11.

by the PfP Consortium over three years.[20] About half the total number of events allocated to the PfP Consortium could be run over three years, despite having eleven events planned year on year. Eleven events still represent one event each month *just for the PfP Consortium*, while it takes on average two months to organize a single event!

Those numbers are telling, taken in the context of the overall security situation and needs of Ukraine and suggest to this analyst that Ukraine has very few servicemen to contribute to the DEEP, lest they depopulate the ATO to follow the program. On average, the events require two SMEs, who represent a proportion of some one Western expert for every four servicemen, while the proportion of servicemen who have benefited is 1 to 55. This proportion is merely a quarter of the new recruits that Ukraine brings in every year. At this rate, the process of generating intellectual and technical interoperability is not rapid enough.

This is perhaps why the focus of the Ukraine DEEP changed from faculty and curriculum development to a Master Instructors program. Henceforth, the effort of the DEEP Ukraine will be to develop the skills of the more promising faculty and trainers from Ukraine, as opposed to exposing the bulk of them to Western lecturing.[21] The Master Instructor Program (MIP) will translate into a reduction of the number of events per year, as well as a reduction of the number of personnel targeted by reform. With the MIP, champions of education reform who speak English are identified and enlisted to train future trainers in the Ukrainian system based on SME guidance. The effort will amount to half a dozen visits to a handful of individuals who will eventually carry out further training along Ukrainian-defined priorities, thereby relieving agencies' administrative burdens.

Analysis and Conclusion

The DEEP initiative is NATO's premiere activity to support Ukraine, but there are lots of other initiatives that are carried out bilaterally. If one takes the 1:4 ratio above defined from the exercise of the DEEP program, one can assume a similar proportion for other, more "muscular" initiatives, such as Canada's support of field medic and military police training. Ukraine's MOD authorities would be forgiven for sparing their battle-hardened personnel for regular training and education duties in support of the ATO, rather than lending them to carry out bilateral activities. In truth the process of reform is taking place hand in hand with powerful Euro-Atlantic nations, drawing energy away from the task of demonstrating resolve.

The dilemmas caused by mal-absorption of foreign support affects deterrence in several ways; 1) Ukraine fears extending itself "Westward" in pursuit of reforms while at the same time losing time and opportunity in front of a dwin-

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[20] Stolberg, *Strategic Plan for DEEP Ukraine*, 10-11.

[21] Annual Review of the DEEP initiative, carried out in February 2017 at NATO Headquarters.

dling Russian presence at her official border, and so only contributes a token portion of her servicemen to bilateral efforts[22]; 2) Ukraine is literally over-whelmed with the abundance of programs and initiatives deployed for her ben-efit, and owing to its lopsided civilian-military structures and tooth-to-tail ratios, cannot process the offers quickly enough. This theory would be reflected by Dep-uty Minister of Defense Rusnak's desire to switch from quantity to quality[23]; 3) Ukraine does not "trust" Western expertise; and 4) Ukraine uses the DEEP program, much like other nations, as a tool to maintain Euro-Atlantic nations engaged with Ukraine, thereby leveraging the expectations of success of the in-itiative at NATO and other DEEP coordinating agencies so that donor nations will be locked in support. In other words, DEEP is a tool for Ukraine to maintain a declaratory stance over reforms from which it can pry further concessions from the West.

Any of these outcomes threaten the value of deterrence and reassurance. For one, the Ukrainian servicemen will not be able to integrate Euro-Atlantic meth-ods quickly enough. This in turn will mean that they would not be able to operate reliably with NATO troops in the medium term should a local escalation mean that NATO would start providing more coercive operational support (such as equipment, but also access to certain NATO capabilities which require knowledge of certain procedures, such as operational planning). Second, the in-terpretation of a mismatch between Euro-Atlantic and Ukrainian commitments to reform or to interoperability generation through DEEP suggests that there is a built-in cleavage in the relationship. This cleavage is likely to accentuate mis-trust, especially in cases where NATO would be "felt" it should do more for Ukraine, or, conversely, when NATO countries would become impatient at the lack of reform.

As the DEEP program is the most that NATO can do at present, SME visits attain a quasi-operational value, so that reports from the SMEs about the chal-lenges of transformation—and reports from Ukrainian beneficiaries about the SME experience—reach high-level decision-makers rather rapidly which means that policy can change correspondingly rapidly. "Field level" opinions from both sides have the potential of revealing that NATO is but a paper tiger when it comes to Ukraine, and while the forward deployments last, the subterfuge may be held, but as Ukrainians grow impatient about Crimea and the Donbas, fragmentation may yet take place. And this may invite further Russian adventurism.

If the objective of the DEEP Ukraine is to make Ukrainian defense structures more "acceptant" of Western and NATO methods, it is to ensure that, should there be an escalation between the West and Russia, Ukraine could participate operationally, materially and intellectually to the change of policy, and bring its

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[22] Ministry of Defense of Ukraine, *White Paper 2015*, 16. The MOD White Paper estimates that within one year, Russian presence was halved at the border, lending credence to the theory that NATO's forward deployments are effectively drawing away Russian troops from the Donbas.

[23] Letter to Amb. Vershbow No. 120/13426.

weight to bear in making deterrence real. Therefore, the DEEP program should figure in Russia's deterrence calculations, more so if the process of transformation (and Western penetration) is measured as complete. However, the more the Ukrainian side shows signs of being unable to absorb Western and NATO support, the less credible it may be as a capable participant to Western schemes.

About the Author

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