

# MILITARY SPHERE IN THE ELECTION PROGRAMMES OF PARTIES AND BLOCS



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How does one make the right choice when confronted by the avalanche of political advertising, HPR-actions, party discussions and scandals, and vote to one's conscience on March 31, 2002? Unfortunately, broad application of electoral "technologies" by political parties does not always help to make the right decision, moreover, this overshadows self-identification of parties and blocs on Ukraine's political scene, and depersonalises their election programmes. At the same time, sociological surveys prove that for many voters, an election programme is the main factor that impacts their voting<sup>1</sup>.

This article analyses the approaches of parties (blocs) to solving key problems of Ukraine's military policy, as declared in their election programmes. Relevant programme provisions are summarised in Table "Defence aspects of election programmes of separate political parties and blocs". As well as in the previous article, the positions of parties (blocs) are reviewed from four sides: foreign and domestic policy directions, priorities of military building, economic and social aspects of the military policy the party (electoral bloc) will adhere to after winning the election.

Despite legislative restriction of the size of election programmes<sup>2</sup> and a certain degree of populism intrinsic in any election programme, the materials presented in the Table allow making the following observations and conclusions.

**The problems of military policy, military reform and military building are not priorities in the parliamentary activity of parties (blocs).** First of all, relevant provisions are only briefly touched upon in election programmes, by contrast to more urgent problems of economy, social sphere and domestic policy. Second, not quite compatible, sometimes even contradictory positions as stated in long-term programmes of various parties (regarding military-political blocs, non-allied status, multi-vectored policy, presence of Russia's Black Sea Fleet on Ukraine's territory and so forth<sup>3</sup>) did not prevent a merger of those parties in electoral blocs.



<sup>1</sup> See the results of the sociological survey held by Razumkov Centre, presented in this issue of the magazine.

<sup>2</sup> The Law of Ukraine "On Election of People's Deputies of Ukraine" limits the election programme to 7,800 characters.

<sup>3</sup> See the article by A.Grytsenko "Military Policy Issues in the Programmes of Political Parties" published in this issue of the magazine.



## DEFENCE ASPECTS OF THE ELECTION PROGRAMMES OF SEPARATE POLITICAL PARTIES AND BLOCS

No.	Party (bloc) name	Foreign policy directions	Domestic policy directions	Military priorities	Economic and social aspects
1	<b>Viktor YUSHCHENKO's Bloc "OUR UKRAINE"</b> Leader - Viktor YUSHCHENKO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Strengthening of the global security system.</li> <li>❖ Strengthening of Ukraine's role in international security and fighting global terrorism.</li> <li>❖ Formation of new regional security structures and co-operation with neighbours.</li> <li>❖ Equal and mutually advantageous partner relations with Russia as a prerequisite of strengthening security and stability system in Eastern Europe.</li> <li>❖ Co-operation with the USA with the purpose of involvement of Ukraine into the world security system.</li> </ul>	—	—	—
2	<b>Electoral Bloc DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF UKRAINE - PARTY "DEMOCRATIC UNION"</b> Leader - Volodymyr HORBULIN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ National security and foreign policy doctrines proceeding from the interests of Ukraine's citizens and the people in present geopolitics.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Abolition of universal conscription.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Transfer of the Armed Forces to a professional basis no later than in 2006.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Social guarantees for servicemen and their families.</li> <li>❖ Funding of preferential vouchers for war veterans at the expense of insurance funds.</li> </ul>
3	<b>Bloc "FOR A UNITED UKRAINE"</b> Leader - Volodymyr LYTVYN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ All-round European integration of Ukraine.</li> <li>❖ Strengthening of ties with CIS countries.</li> <li>❖ Ukraine's participation in the international anti-terrorist coalition.</li> <li>❖ Active opposition to extremism and intolerance.</li> </ul>	—	—	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Guarantees of social rights of servicemen.</li> </ul>
4	<b>Nataliya VITRENKO's Bloc</b> Leader - Nataliya VITRENKO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Strategic partnership with Russia and Belarus.</li> <li>❖ Interstate union of Ukraine, Belarus and Russia involving creation of a collective security system.</li> </ul>	—	—	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Protection of the rights of war veterans, military servants, and participants of combat operations.</li> </ul>
5	<b>Yuliya TYMOSHENKO's Bloc</b> Leader - Yuliya TYMOSHENKO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Peaceful, equal relations with all states with which Ukraine has common interests.</li> </ul>	—	—	—
6	<b>All-Ukrainian Political Association "WOMEN FOR THE FUTURE"</b> Leader - Valentyna DOVZHENKO	—	—	—	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Guaranteed social protection of war veterans.</li> </ul>

№ n/n	Party (bloc) name	Foreign policy directions	Domestic policy directions	Military priorities	Economic and social aspects
7	<b>COMMUNIST PARTY OF UKRAINE</b> Leader - Petro SYMONENKO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Baneful character of the political course imposed by the West.</li> <li>❖ Strengthening of co-operation with CIS countries, closest neighbours, other countries of the world.</li> <li>❖ Russia and Belarus are our economic partners, political allies and historic blood brothers. Ukraine should ally with them.</li> <li>❖ Removal of dictation and "services" of the US Administration.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Strengthening of the national security and defence.</li> </ul>	—	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Provision of legislatively provided benefits for war veterans, former expeditionary force soldiers and military servants.</li> <li>❖ Protection of social rights of military servants.</li> </ul>
8	<b>GREEN PARTY OF UKRAINE</b> Leader - Vitaliy KONONOV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Granting Ukraine a seat of a permanent non-nuclear member of the UN Security Council.</li> <li>❖ Ukraine's accession to the EU.</li> <li>❖ Opposition to all forms of terrorism and extremism.</li> <li>❖ Gradual transformation of the Black Sea region into a demilitarised zone.</li> <li>❖ Complete ban on all weapons of mass destruction.</li> <li>❖ Proclamation of Ukraine zone free from nuclear weapons.</li> <li>❖ Opposition to forcible methods of regional conflict resolution.</li> <li>❖ Promotion of Ukraine's role as a mediator in solution of inter-ethnic conflicts.</li> <li>❖ Opposition to accession to military blocs.</li> <li>❖ Opposition to permanent stationing of foreign troops on Ukraine's territory.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Opposition to arms trade.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Professionalisation of the Armed Forces.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Comprehensive reclamation of obsolete weapons.</li> <li>❖ Transfer of the Chuhuyiv airfield beacon in Kharkiv region to a safety zone.</li> <li>❖ Extension of the list of reasons for alternative military conscript service.</li> </ul>
9	<b>SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF UKRAINE (united)</b> Leader - Viktor MEDVEDCHUK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Ukraine's accession to the world and European international organisations.</li> <li>❖ Development of ties with Russia on the conditions of partnership.</li> <li>❖ Creation of a pan-European collective security system involving West, Central, East European countries and Russia.</li> </ul>	—	—	—
10	<b>SOCIALIST PARTY OF UKRAINE</b> Leader - Oleksandr MOROZ	—	—	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Professionalisation of the Armed Forces.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Reduction of conscript service to 12 months.</li> </ul>





Evidently, factors supporting the formation of blocs on the eve of the election did not envisage an active discussion of military policy problems; this process was more strongly influenced by: unification of parties around a charismatic leader; support of the active President of Ukraine; promotion of regional and corporate interests; availability of organisational, financial and media resources, etc. Later on, after the election, when relevant draft laws will be discussed in Parliament, such differences in the positions of separate parties may complicate the search for a compromise within a bloc (its faction).

**Among other aspects of military policy, parties (blocs) have paid more attention to foreign policy directions and resolution of the social problems of the military.** Domestic policy directions and military building priorities were outlined only briefly or entirely remained out of focus. Here, the depth and detailed elaboration of the position of the Green Party of Ukraine — the party that actively advocates the ideals of pacifism — strikes the eye.

The majority of programmes answer the question of “What must be done?” but fail to explain “How to do it?”, i.e., mainly set goals without specifying mechanisms for their attainment<sup>4</sup>. Some goals seem hardly attainable in the period of election programme implementation (and some, such as recognition of Ukraine as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, may be unattainable in principle). Some mechanisms and concrete events are contained in long-term programmes of the parties — regarding immediate accession to NATO, quitting CIS, denouncement of agreements with Russia and withdrawal of its Black Sea Fleet from Ukraine’s territory — however, they were not included in the election programmes of relevant blocs, probably, in order not to scare off part of voters. The ban on arms trade proposed by one of the parties, in our opinion, requires all-round substantiation, since this may cause significant economic, social, scientific-technical and other losses for Ukraine.

**In their election programmes, the majority of parties (blocs) avoid figures and terms of implementation of the proposed measures.** Only one party — Socialist Party of Ukraine — has set a quantitative indicator: reduction of the term of conscript service to 12 months. The programme of the Bloc of Democratic Party of Ukraine and Democratic Union Party is the only one that contains a precise date: they propose to transfer the Armed Forces to a professional basis by 2006, i.e., before the target date of the present reform programme.

**Proceeding from the positions stated in the election programmes and the current rating of parties (blocs), it may be predicted that future Parliament will not significantly change the priorities of Ukraine’s defence policy and military-technical co-operation with other states and international organisations. The proposals of the left parties regarding Ukraine’s participation in the CIS collective security system or creation of an interstate union with Russia and Belarus, in our opinion, will not be supported by the majority of MPs. Similarly, the right parties’ proposals of immediate accession to NATO or quitting CIS are unlikely to find support. Ukraine will continue intense co-operation with NATO, OSCE, UN, in particular, in peacekeeping activity and fighting international terrorism. In the sphere of military building one may count on legislative support for the process of professionalisation of the Armed Forces and more effective solution of the social problems of the military. The main thing, however, is to what extent the announced plans will be implemented.** ■

<sup>4</sup> Concrete mechanisms of programme implementation and legislative initiatives of parties (blocs) are to be found in the responses of their leaders to the inquiries of Razumkov Centre. The positions of party (bloc) leaders are presented in this issue of the magazine.