

## FEATURES OF UKRAINIAN-POLISH MILITARY-TECHNICAL COOPERATION (1991–2022)

**Summary.** *The article considers the peculiarities of the development of Ukrainian-Polish cooperation in the context of the military-technical sphere. The intensification of this cooperation began with the collapse of the bipolar system. Since 1991, military-technical cooperation has evolved significantly, as evidenced by the considerable legal framework developed and the relevant institutions responsible for the coordination and successful operation of this activity. The tendency to strengthen Ukrainian-Polish cooperation in the military-technical sphere demonstrates even greater rapprochement between our countries and accelerates our country's accession to the NATO bloc.*

**Key words:** *Ukrainian-Polish relations, military-technical cooperation, military cooperation, regulatory framework.*

## ОСОБЛИВОСТІ УКРАЇНСЬКО-ПОЛЬСЬКОГО ВІЙСЬКОВО-ТЕХНІЧНОГО СПІВРОБІТНИЦТВА (1991–2022)

**Анотація.** *У статті розглянуто особливості розвитку українсько-польського співробітництва у контексті військово-технічної сфери. Активізація даної співпраці розпочалася з розпадом біполярної системи. З 1991 року військово-технічне співробітництво значно еволюціонувало, свідченням чого є напрацьована чимала нормативно-правова база та засновані відповідні інституції, відповідальні за координацію та успішне функціонування даної діяльності. Тенденція зміцнення українсько-польського співробітництва у військово-технічній сфері демонструє ще більше зближення між нашими державами та пришвидшує входження нашої держави до блоку НАТО.*

**Ключові слова:** *українсько-польські відносини, військово-технічна співпраця, військове співробітництво, нормативно-правова база.*

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**Introduction.** After our state chose for itself and consolidated at the legislative level the European integration and Euro-Atlantic course, a natural question arose to build a relevant system of Ukrainian-European relations, relations that would develop not only in the diplomatic or economic space, but also in military-technical and security areas.

The importance of military-technical cooperation is due to current challenges, namely the military invasion of Ukraine by Russian troops on February 24, 2022, the occupation of our territory in 2014, Russia's aggressive policy in the Baltic region, Russia's military presence in Transnistria, and many others.

After enshrining in the strategic defense documents the strategic course of joining the NATO bloc and making similar changes in the Constitution of Ukraine, it became clear that the process of reforming the military and military-political sector will be in close cooperation with leading European countries and will be based on their experience, and time-tested standards and regulations, both in strategic terms and in military-industrial or military-technical aspects.

The logical fact, based on the geographical location, for Ukraine would be strengthening of the system of military and military-technical relations, especially with countries that are territorially close to us, that is with countries that are in central Europe.

Therefore, it is not surprising that Poland has become Ukraine's main partner in military-industrial market relations, as this statement is based on the fact of fruitful cooperation between the two countries in the early 1990s and in particular in the conditions of hostilities on the territory of Ukraine, when the domestic Armed Forces are experiencing a shortage of combat equipment, which is produced, including in Poland, and it was one of the first to begin fruitful cooperation in the supply of everything necessary.

Direct laying of the legal basis for relations between Ukraine and Poland in the military-political sphere began in 1992. The basic basis of military-political cooperation between the two states was declared in the fundamental Treaty of Good Neighborliness between Ukraine and Poland<sup>2</sup>, concluded

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<sup>2</sup> Договір між Україною і Республікою Польща про добросусідство, дружні відносини і співробітництво. Світ відкриває Україну. Київ : Київська правда, 2000. С. 141–149.

in May 1992. The agreement also contained articles on some aspects of security and defense cooperation. In particular, the parties recognized the inviolability of borders between them and confirmed the absence of territorial claims to each other (Article 2), abandoned war as a means of resolving disputes and resolving international security issues (Article 4.1), agreed to develop mutually beneficial military cooperation on the basis of separate agreements (Articles 4. 2-3)<sup>3</sup>.

The main objectives of such cooperation were defined by the Agreement between the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine and the Ministry of National Defense of Poland on the development of military cooperation<sup>4</sup>, signed on February 3, 1993 during the official visit to Ukraine of Defense Minister Z. Okonsky. The main priorities were identified: disarmament and confidence-building measures and cooperation to ensure mutual European and international security; exchange of information on organizational structures, problems of leadership of the Ministry of Defense and the Armed Forces, recruitment of troops in peacetime; joint exercises of troops and headquarters; logistics and technical support; social issues, educational and cultural activities in the Armed Forces; legal activity in the Armed Forces; research activities; issues of cooperation between the air defense forces, aviation and naval forces; cooperation in the field of military communications; military topography and geodesy; development of exchanges in the field of sports and tourism; participation of the Armed Forces in solving problems of civil defense and environmental protection<sup>5</sup>.

The parties agreed on the following main forms of cooperation in the military-defense sphere: official visits and working meetings at the level of defense ministers, chiefs of general and general staffs, commanders of military districts, military branches and other representatives holding senior positions in ministries of defense and armed forces; official visits of naval ships; consultations; exchange of experience, conferences, symposiums, seminars and exhibitions; training of officers in military higher educational

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Співробітництво у військовій сфері. URL: <http://svit.ukrinform.ua/Poland/poland.php?menu=attitudes>.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

institutions, as well as courses, special internships and professional practice; exchange of information, including information (demonstration) on samples of weapons and military equipment proposed to equip the armies of both sides; visits to the headquarters and military units of the Armed Forces, as well as study tours of students of military universities and mutual invitations of observers to tactical exercises of troops. In order to lay the foundations for cooperation in the field of armaments, coordination and oversight of the implementation of the agreed agreements, the parties agreed to establish a Ukrainian-Polish technical joint commission<sup>6</sup>.

Based on this agreement, Ukraine and Poland began to develop military-political cooperation in such areas as joint review of approaches to military-technical cooperation to intensify it; elaboration of the possibility of attracting Polish teachers and training of Polish servicemen in training courses for officers of multinational headquarters as a structural training unit of the National Defense Academy of Ukraine, in particular training of officers for their further activities related to cooperation with NATO; preparation and conduct of peacekeeping operations; further joint implementation of the mission by the Ukrainian-Polish peacekeeping battalion as part of the KFOR forces; finding ways to intensify cooperation with the Visegrad Group countries; further development of multilateral cooperation in the military sphere according to the schemes: Ukraine–Poland–USA, Ukraine–Poland–Great Britain, Ukraine–Poland–Canada; cooperation in the field of radiation, chemical and bacteriological protection; in the field of destruction of anti-personnel mines; in the field of elimination of consequences related to emissions into the atmosphere (environmental provision); in the field of certification and production assistance in accordance with NATO standards<sup>7</sup>.

The intensity of Ukrainian-Polish relations in the first half of the 1990s at various stages contributed to the development of mutual military-political cooperation. On May 6, 1994, the “Agreement between the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine and the Ministry of National Defense of Poland on

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<sup>6</sup> Угода між Міністерством оборони України та Міністерством національної оборони Республіки Польща про військове співробітництво. Історико-архівне управління МЗС України. Ф.: Міжнародні договори. Од. зб. 1598. 5 арк.

<sup>7</sup> Янків М. Україна і Польща: стратегічне партнерство в системі геополітичних координат. Львів : Світ, 2011. 384 с.

Military Cooperation” was supplemented by the Protocol on Bilateral Cooperation on Mutual Air Traffic of Ukraine and the Republic of Poland in the Airspace of Both Countries<sup>8</sup>. The Protocol, filling in the real content of previous agreements between Ukraine and Poland, provided the basis for mutual air traffic of military aircraft in the controlled and operational space (Articles 1–2), and defined measures for military transport and the framework of the identified area airspace of the state 15 km wide on both sides of the border of Ukraine and Poland<sup>9</sup>.

Further expansion and improvement of the legal framework was important for deepening the development of the military-political partnership between Ukraine and Poland. In this context, we highlight such important documents as: Agreement between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of the Republic of Poland on mutual supplies of weapons, military equipment and services in the military-technical field (10. 10. 1996), Protocol on further development of cooperation between the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine and the Ministry of National Defense of the Republic of Poland (April 26, 1996), Protocol on the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine and the Ministry of National Defense of the Republic of Poland on bilateral cooperation in military training (26.04.1996), Executive Protocol on Scientific and Technical Cooperation to the Agreement between the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine and the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Poland on Cooperation in the Military Field (October 24, 1996), On the Status and Prospects of Cooperation between the Ministry of Defense<sup>10</sup>.

The parties also continued active work on the adoption of bilateral documents in the field of military training, mutual supplies of weapons, military equipment and services in the military-technical sphere, the

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<sup>8</sup> Протокол до Угоди між Міністерством оборони України та Міністерством національної оборони Республіки Польща про двостороннє співробітництво відносно основ взаємного повітряного руху військових повітряних суден України та Республіки Польща у повітряному просторі обох держав. URL: [http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/en/616\\_076](http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/en/616_076).

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Про стан та перспективи співробітництва між Міністерством оборони України та Міністерством національної оборони Республіки Польща. URL: <http://www.mil.gov.ua/index.php/files/appearance/massmedia/news/index.php?lang=ua&part=news&id=288>.

legal regime of the Ukrainian-Polish state border, cooperation and mutual assistance, border issues, air communication, military-technical measurement of standards in certification and production. The possibility of bilateral and multilateral military cooperation was tested during the joint exercises in September 1997 “Cooperative Bridge-94” and the Polish-British exercise “Cossack Stepp”, which took place in September 1997, as well as multilateral military exercises “Common Neighbor” in July 1997<sup>11</sup>.

The next step in strengthening bilateral interstate relations between the two countries was the official visit of the Prime Minister of Poland V. Tsimoshevych to Kyiv on October 10, 1996 services in the military-technical field<sup>12</sup>. In accordance with the provisions contained in this document, cooperation includes: supply of weapons, military equipment and other military products; ensuring the operation, repair and modernization of weapons and military equipment, as well as the provision of other services in the military-technical field; research and development work, creation of new and modernized types of weapons and military equipment, their testing at test sites in Ukraine and the Republic of Poland<sup>13</sup>. On the basis of this document, it has been possible to implement the part related to the repair and modernization of military equipment and the provision of military-technical services. In addition, the Polish military borrowed a military aircraft from Ukraine in order to conduct observation flights under the Open Skies Treaty. In 1998, an interdepartmental document on the joint use of the Ukrainian

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<sup>11</sup> Знахоренко О. Стратегічне партнерство в українсько-польських відносинах: державно-політичний та військовий аспекти. *Людина і політика*. 2004. № 3. С. 29–40.

<sup>12</sup> Угода між урядом України та урядом Республіки Польща про взаємні поставки озброєння, військової техніки та надання послуг у військово-технічній галузі. Історико-архівне управління МЗС України. Ф.: Міжнародні договори. Договір № 731. 4 арк.

<sup>13</sup> Угода між Урядом України та Урядом Республіки Польща про взаємні поставки озброєння, військової техніки та надання послуг у військово-технічній галузі. Київ, 10 жовтня 1996 р.

Офіційний веб-портал Верховної Ради України. URL: [http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/616\\_092](http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/616_092).

An-30B aircraft was signed in Kyiv<sup>14</sup>. One of the steps towards joint research and development was the creation of Bumars, with the participation of Polish Bumar and Ukrainian Mars. This company is engaged in the design and manufacture of new combat vehicles<sup>15</sup>.

Thus, this Agreement outlined all types of military-technical cooperation, agreed on directions and forms, thus continuing the evolution of the regulatory framework to new realities and further cooperation between the two countries in this area. The agreement was filled with specifics of the main priorities for Ukrainian-Polish cooperation in the field of mutual supplies of weapons, military equipment and services in the military-technical context and standards of Euro-Atlantic integration.

In this context, the Decrees of the President of Ukraine “On Measures to Improve Ukraine’s Military-Technical Cooperation with Foreign States” of October 21, 1999<sup>16</sup>, “On the Concept of Military-Technical Cooperation” were of great importance for the prospects of Ukrainian-Polish relations in the military-technical sphere of Ukraine with foreign states for the period up to 2010 of August 27, 2003<sup>17</sup>. These documents identified the main conceptual directions for the development of security and defense cooperation between Ukraine and foreign countries, which were taken into account during the formation and improvement of the legislative and regulatory framework of state regulation in this area and in the defense industry of Ukraine. During the formation of the strategy of defense and technical cooperation, the Concept focused on global trends and external factors that will affect the development of the situation in the arms markets in the coming years.

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<sup>14</sup> Kuspys P. Współczesne stosunki polsko-ukraińskie 1991–2008. Polityka. Gospodarka. Wojsko. Sektor  
Pozarządowy. Kraków : Instytut Studiów Strategicznych, 2009. 513 с.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Указ Президента України «Про заходи щодо вдосконалення військово-технічного співробітництва України з іноземними державами». URL: <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/422/99>.

<sup>17</sup> Указ Президента України «Про концепцію військово-технічного співробітництва України з іноземними державами на період до 2010 року». URL: <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/913/2003>.

The implementation of this Concept has contributed to the consolidation of positive trends in military-defense cooperation, its transformation into an optimal, flexible system of international relations, able to develop independently and adapt to the needs of national security and the global arms market. Given the state of military-technical cooperation, current mechanisms of state regulation in this area, one of the priority areas was the development of mutually beneficial bilateral cooperation with foreign countries by deepening cooperation with NATO and the European Union. Thus, this concept has identified the priority areas of defense and technical cooperation with foreign countries in the continuum of going beyond bilateral relations, joining European integration and Euro-Atlantic partnership.

Further practical implementation of constructive cooperation in this direction between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland was the export of military and special purpose goods and services of Ukrainian enterprises to Poland in such areas as aviation and armored vehicles and high-precision weapons. The next event that contributed to the deepening of Ukrainian-Polish cooperation in the military-technical sphere was the II International Conference “Ukrainian-Polish Forum for Cooperation of Defense-Industrial Complexes”, held on November 14–15, 2013 in Kyiv, ways and directions of development of military-technical cooperation of countries<sup>18</sup>. Within the framework of the conference, Polish industrialists visited Ukrainian enterprises, in particular, the Polish delegation got acquainted with high-tech products of CB Luch, which is part of the state concern Ukroboronprom. During the visit to the Ukrainian enterprise, the representatives of the Polish defense industry expressed interest in deepening the scientific and production cooperation with the State Committee for the Protection of Natural Resources. The issues of establishing joint production at Polish enterprises of certain types of products developed by Luch specialists were considered. All participants of the conference noted their readiness to begin the practical implementation of plans and intentions to intensify mutually beneficial cooperation in the field of military-technical cooperation between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland. One of the results of this

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<sup>18</sup> Aktywizacja współpracy techniczno-wojskowej między Ukrainą i Polską odpowiada interesom narodowym obu krajów. Inspektorat Implementacji Innowacyjnych Technologii Obronnych. URL: <http://www.i3to.wp.mil.pl/plik/file/POLSKA-UKRAINA.pdf>.



conference was that in early 2014, Poland acquired a license in Ukraine for the production of light armored vehicle “Dozor”<sup>19</sup>.

It should also be noted that in 2018 a sectoral agreement was signed between the national and Polish defense agencies, entitled “Plan of bilateral cooperation between the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine and the Ministry of National Defense of the Republic of Poland”, which includes a clear list of actions to be taken in the domestic Armed Forces for the purpose of planned transition to NATO standards in all aspects of military affairs.

Recently, with the beginning of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, relations between the countries in the defense and security-technical spheres have intensified. Cooperation between Ukraine and Poland in the political, security and military spheres is effective and promising. In particular, military assistance to Ukraine, recently approved by the Polish government, involves not only one tranche, but also further close cooperation. The governments and presidents of both countries are ready for further active cooperation in the face of the threat of a possible full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine. As a result of a meeting of the Polish National Security Council, where virtually everyone – both central government officials and party leaders, including opposition leaders – supported the decision to provide Ukraine with defense weapons. We are talking, first of all, about defense weapons, in particular portable anti-aircraft missile systems of Polish production (MANPADS), as “Piorun” – “Lightning” – this is modern Polish weapons, but also a large number – tens of thousands (units) – ammunition of different calibers for different needs. The total amount of military aid to Ukraine provided by Poland is about seven billion Polish zlotys, or more than 1.6 billion dollars<sup>20</sup>.

Summing up all the above, we can say that Russian aggression has only accelerated Ukraine’s rapprochement with Poland and the countries of European Union and the NATO bloc directly. In recent years, through

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<sup>19</sup> Україна може налагодити військово-технічне співробітництво із Заходом. *Портал новин News One*. URL: <http://newsone.com.ua/politika/ukrayina-mozhe-nalagoditi-vijskovo-texnichne-spivrobotnictvo-iz-zaxodom.html>.

<sup>20</sup> Пагилич Р. Не один транш, а перший – Дешифрація про військову допомогу Польщі для України. *Радіо Свобода*. URL: <https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/deshchytsya-pro-vijskovu-dopomohu-polshchi-dlya-ukrayiny/31689959.html>.

many joint trainings, modernization of the national security and defense sector, Ukraine has reached the forefront of European countries in terms of defense capabilities and power of the Armed Forces. Assistance of Poland to Ukraine, both in financial, political and militarily-technical spheres, played an important role in this progress.

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