

UDC 327.5(477+NATO)
doi: 10.15330/jpnu.4.3-4.34-41

JOINING NATO IS DECLARED A STRATEGIC AIM OF UKRAINE

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Abstract. The authors present their vision of the international and Ukraine's national security in the 21st century context, analyze new challenges and security threats searching for the reason of collapse of the modern security system. All the research conclusions are based on the national security situation in nowadays Ukraine.

Keywords: global security, national security, defense system, sovereignty, challenges, Russia's war contra Ukraine, UN, OSCE, NATO.

1. INTRODUCTION

Modern turbulent world of the 21st century has rejected fundamentals of international law and remains in a painful condition of search for new global security scenarios. The international security model that reflected geopolitical interests of the USSR and the USA provided for bipolar existence and formed two ideologically opposite camps, as well as two different economic systems.

What will substitute for the bipolarity? Various analytical schools make claims about possible scenario of formation of global postindustrial society. However, in our opinion, not all the countries will attain the postindustrial level at the same time. Therefore, the transition period most probably will be long and painful. Or it can result into constant confrontation of world main powers in pursuit of global leadership. Is some mutual understanding among them possible? Perhaps no one can answer this question. We witness confrontation, conflict and disrupt of all the international coexistence norms that were acceptable for the world in the recent past.

Since there is no new model developed to protect humanity, countries preserve and use outdated system of international security.

Loosening seemingly strong UN security system, aggravation of disagreements and conflicts – not between the blocks but between single countries – proves that a new model of international relations of postindustrial development comes into agenda. It also brings new security system that knocks at the door with uncertainty, civilization crises, and the most dangerous – threat of a new redivision of the world.

Confrontations have moved from the global level to the regional level. They are going on not between world alliances, but between regional unions. Wars are fought not between interstate unions but between single countries. The reasons of these conflicts are all same, motives are all same and

terrible consequences are all same. These new complex disagreements have entered into fierce conflict with the outdated model of world security imposed by the victors of the World War II in 1945.

Since there is no option, any victim of international aggression searching for protection and national security has to appeal to the existing system of protection and use the mechanisms already in place. Such mechanisms include universal component of the UN system, regional component of regional security structures in every geographical region, as well as security mechanism of bilateral relations.

National security is a combination of long-term arrangements of programs and purposes – military, economic, propagandistic etc. Their realization is designed to guarantee sovereignty and national security of the state. Sovereignty and security in this case are intertwined and interdependent. Sovereignty provides for the country's entrance into international community, while force defines authority of a sovereign state within the community.

2. RESULTS

The known scientists, analysts and politicians investigated problems of interdependence between global and national security, the formation and effectiveness of the mechanism of protection against threats etc. It's necessity to put forth names of Ukrainian politics and analytics as A. Buteyko, V. Grechaninov, V. Gorbulin, O. Bodruk, L. Chekalenko. Foreign analytics: K. Solana, G. Kissinger, Z. Brzezinski, B. Buzan, Ch. Kupchan, F. Fukuyama and etc.

A sovereign, independent and stable Ukraine, firmly committed to democracy and the rule of law, is key to Euro-Atlantic security. National interests of Ukraine stated in its legislative acts reflect fundamental values and aspirations of the Ukrainian people. National security is based on the principals of independent legal personality of the Ukrainian state. Main task of national security is preservation of the unitarily of the state, non-violation and integrity of its territory, support of economic development, information security, protection of human rights and liberties. Such principals can be guaranteed to our state only by a strong security organization that is nowadays North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) [1, p. 255–258].

On 23 December 2014, the Ukrainian Parliament adopted a new law cancelling the non-aligned status of Ukraine. The Law of Ukraine "On amendments to some laws of Ukraine concerning the refusal of Ukraine on the implementation of policies of non-alignment" secured position that the main vector of foreign policy of our country is the "integration of Ukraine into European political, economic and legal space for the purpose of membership in the EU and integration Euro-Atlantic security space" and "deepening cooperation with NATO to achieve the criteria required for membership in this organization" [2; 3; 4; 5].

Ukraine's parliament – the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine has resumed the position of future membership of Ukraine in EU and NATO, stated in the Law of Ukraine "On National Security" from 2003. This means: Ukraine rejected the non-aligned status of the state, and has made clear efforts to join NATO and the EU.

On the main goals and objectives of foreign policy – membership in NATO and the EU is enshrined in a number of public documents: in the law "On amendments to some laws of Ukraine" – renunciation of neutrality (2014), the Military Doctrine of Ukraine in the new edition (2015), national security Strategy of Ukraine (2015), Letter to the President of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2016. The main idea of all these documents is the premise that joining NATO as a strategic goal of Ukraine.

"Ukraine is at war, - said the President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko. – We will improve, extend, deepen-up to achieve full NATO membership criteria. Our strategic goal is NATO membership" [2; 3; 4; 5].

The law states that Ukraine's previous non-aligned status proved to be ineffective in guaranteeing Ukraine's security and protecting the country from external aggression and pressure, and also aims to deepen Ukrainian cooperation with the European Union and NATO in order to achieve the criteria which are required for membership in both alliances. Joining NATO is declared a strategic aim of

Ukraine. In particular, in his annual address to the Parliament of Ukraine in 2016, the President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko said there is no alternative to Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration. And that Ukraine will continue developing and enlarging cooperation with NATO until the criteria of NATO membership are fully achieved [6].

On the global security level, the UN once again has failed in its role to provide for peaceful coexistence of the countries, as it is stated in its Charter. Ukraine, as a member state and founder of the UN, in time of Russian military aggression against its territorial integrity turned to the UN for protection. Territorial claims of Russia that resulted in annexation of Crimea peninsula in 2014 and military intervention in Eastern Ukraine started in 1992 when Russia declared for the first time its aim to return Crimea to Russia, then in 1993 Russia claimed again the city of Sevastopol and in 2003 tried to annex Ukrainian isle Tuzla.

Ukraine's position on the current conflict is clear: this is a military intervention of Russia; Russia must stop the intervention and withdraw its regular military forces as well as its mercenaries from the territory of Ukraine. Ukraine has also asked UN to introduce the UN peacekeeping forces in the conflict zone [7; 8; 9; 10]. However, Russia has blocked this UN decision though its veto power.

Ukraine is a founder and member of the UN organization, the country has suffered military aggression and annexation of territories, asked for the protection of this universal security structure. In 1992 Ukraine appealed to the UN Security Council - sought protection, as Russia announced the return of the Crimean peninsula, and in 1993 Russia demanded "to give it the city of Sevastopol".

Russia encroached on the Ukrainian island of Tuzla Spit in 2003. And finally - in 2014 Russia seized the Crimean peninsula, destroyed all laws and agreements on recognition of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine. Also Russia started the war in eastern Ukraine, trying to tear the territory of two regions (Donetsk and Lugansk regions).

Aggressive actions of Russia – the annexation of Crimea, the outbreak of war in eastern Ukraine, unfortunately, was not condemned by all over the World and the European public. Ukraine remained alone with the aggressor.

Ukraine appealed to the UN for assistance – introduce peacekeepers Organization (PSO). However, the mechanism of blue helmets did not work: Russia has blocked this question, because it has a veto.

Next we see the security mechanism in the system at the regional level. For regional scheme Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in this situation, it is necessary to use the peace enforcement or soft power to resolve the conflict. But the OSCE is not capable of doing this.

Assistance could give the European Union because Ukraine and the EU have a common association agreement, which speaks well about of political support. But the EU today has many problems of its own... In the same time the Council of Europe could support Ukraine in humanitarian operations, medical assistance, rescue and more.

This approach would facilitate the process of economization, increased the effectiveness of the OSCE missions in hot spots of the European continent and Ukraine in particular. Implementation challenges scheme: UN – OSCE / EU – Council of Europe, and in some areas of NATO involvement, could lead to success in overcoming the aggressor. We recall that the OSCE brings together 57 countries in Europe, North America and Asia. OSCE operations include reference to the region of conflict groups of military observers or special military peacekeeping. The main tasks of peacekeeping operations are in control of the cease-fire, withdrawal of troops, the rule of law and order, humanitarian aid and more. Are there effective activities of the OSCE in Ukraine? On this issue there is no positive response.

Annexionist actions of Russia, unfortunately, have not resulted in unanimous reproof of the international community, European community in particular.

Despite sanctions against Russia introduced by the EU and the USA, on the ground, Ukraine stayed one to one with the invader. Russia continues to make a persistent state of instability in Eastern Ukraine, which has led to the loss of more than 10,000 lives [11].

There are constant violations of ceasefire agreements along the line of contact primarily by Russian-backed militants. It violates the Package of Measures for the Implementation of Minsk Agreements that

provided for immediate and comprehensive ceasefire in certain areas of military confrontation, as well as Russia's commitment to withdraw its forces and military equipment from the territory of Ukraine.

On the regional security level, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Council of Europe and the European Union constitute European security framework.

OSCE has a well-earned reputation for dealing with the politico-military aspects of security. It has played a central role in fostering security in Europe and is an integral element of its comprehensive approach to security. It can help with mitigating tensions, de-conflicting movements and improving confidence, as long as parties in conflict show political willingness to cooperate.

However, the role of OSCE in Russia-Ukraine conflict has not proven to be effective.

Words not swords. OSCE Special Monitoring Mission (SMM) established in order to have a key role in helping to deescalate the Russian-Ukraine conflict mostly fails in its mission. The most criticism focuses on the presence of Russians within the monitoring mission. Critics have argued that these Russian observers "make a mockery of the OSCE's efforts to monitor a conflict they regard as fuelled and directed by the Kremlin" [12]. As a Polish former Ukraine monitor has stated "political correctness and consensus culture within OSCE allow Russia to compromise effectiveness of Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine" [13].

Ukraine has demonstrated its ability to be an important contributor to stability and security in Europe. This is evidenced by participation in peacekeeping EU Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the use of aircraft Ukraine to European military and rescue operations and so on. Unfortunately, the EU security system is not yet "working", because it is at the fase of creation.

Analysis of the situation of our country shows that security mechanisms are known effective yesterday, today, to deter and punish aggressor. We see only one protection scheme – the transatlantic collective security mechanism – NATO. However, the North Atlantic Alliance, whose leader is the United States, is not ready to take on the function of protecting Ukraine. If Ukraine does not receive this leverage, we will rely on our own strength, which, unfortunately, cannot compete with the aggressive potential of Russia.

NATO is leading a school security world level. NATO offered Ukraine a new format of cooperation – Program opportunities depth (Enhanced Opportunities Programmer). The program will help build our country's defence system similar to the standards of the Alliance for interoperability Partnerships (Partnership Interoperability Initiative). NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg assured Ukraine that NATO will continue to provide Ukraine the practical and political support to counter the enemy. Members of the Alliance - the leading 28 countries have confirmed that they "support Ukraine's sovereignty, territorial integrity and the rights of Ukraine to determine their own future and foreign policy" [14]. Foreign Minister of Ukraine Pavlo Klimkin said that cooperation between Ukraine and NATO is unique coaching and teaching us, NATO is also studying and becoming stronger [14].

Are these statements a constructive basis? Ukraine has adopted a number of state acts on future membership in EU and NATO [14].

The current situation analysis shows that existing security mechanisms, that Ukraine is part of, are impotent to stop and punish the aggressor. The only powerful security mechanism in place is NATO. Relations between NATO and Ukraine date back to early 1990s and have since developed into one of the most substantial NATO's partnerships. Main mechanism of NATO-Ukraine cooperation was established by the Charter of Distinctive Partnership signed by Ukrainian and Allied Heads of NATO States in 1997. The Charter established the NATO-Ukraine Commission (NUC) to take cooperation forward.

Cooperation has deepened over time with Ukraine being the only partner to have contributed actively to all NATO-led operations and missions. Cooperation between NATO and Ukraine cover a wide range of areas including peace-support operations, defense and security sector reform, military-to-military cooperation, armaments, civil emergency planning, etc. Priority is given to support for comprehensive reform in the security and defense sector, which is vital for Ukraine's democratic development and for strengthening its ability to defend itself.

As mentioned above, Ukrainian government is convinced that NATO membership is the only option to provide for the state sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine [15]. From the very beginning of Russia-Ukraine conflict, NATO has adopted a firm position in support of Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity, condemning Russia's illegal and illegitimate annexation of Crimea and the violence and insecurity in Eastern Ukraine caused by Russia and Russian-backed separatists.

Since 2014, in the wake of Russia-Ukraine conflict, cooperation has been intensified in order to provide for capability development and capacity building in Ukraine. NATO Warsaw summit (8-9 July 2016) endorsed a Comprehensive Assistance Package (CAP) for Ukraine [16] that is designed to further develop the Distinctive Partnership between NATO and Ukraine. Moreover, NATO has proposed a new Enhanced Opportunities Program to Ukraine that will help to develop Ukraine's defense system in accordance with the NATO standards of Partnership Interoperability Initiative [17].

NATO has added new Trust Funds [18]:

- Trust Fund to counter improvised explosive devices and mine clearance (restored in 2016);
- Trust Fund to modernize the system of command, control, communications and computerization. Leading countries: Canada, Germany, United Kingdom;
- Trust Fund Reform of Logistics and standardization. Leading countries: Czech Republic, Netherlands, Poland;
- Trust Fund of cyber defence. Lead country: Romania. Centre for training specialists in cyber security located in Estonia;
- Trust Fund for the retraining. Lead country: Norway;
- Trust Fund of rehabilitation. Lead country: Bulgaria;
- Trust Fund for the Planning and Review Process (PARP);
- The NATO "Science for Peace and Security" (SPS) operates from 2014.

Ukraine is the largest beneficiary of SPS program. The program was introduced 49 new events, including 40 multi-year projects, seven short seminars on various scientific studies. A SPS activity in Ukraine covers a wide range of issues: the fight against terrorism, protection against chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear (CBRN) weapons, cyber defence, energy security, advanced technology.

The total planned budget of the Program for 2014-2019 should reach 15 million Euros. In conducting the destruction of anti-personnel mines program implements research projects: "3D MINE" and "Face IEDs" (improvised explosive devices). The program NMB implemented measures on the subject of "Women, Peace and Security" and "Border Security" too.

The program is capacity building, strengthening civilian control over the armed forces [18].

Also as part of their response to the Russian aggressive actions against Ukraine, NATO member states decided at the Wales Summit, in September 2014, to launch new Trust Funds to assist Ukraine in five critical areas:

- Command, Control, Communications and Computers (C4);
- Logistics and Standardization;
- Cyber Defense;
- Military Career Transition;
- Medical Rehabilitation.

The total budget of these new funds is about € 9 million; and the Allies and partner countries have already contributed more than a half of this amount. Besides, in response to a request from Ukraine, NATO agreed in June 2015 to launch a sixth Trust Fund on Counter-Improvised Explosive Devices and Explosive Ordnance Disposal [19].

The NATO program of military-to-military cooperation is financed mainly by the United States. By July 2016, the US has provided a total of over 600 million US dollars to Ukraine in the sphere of defense and security. This figure includes the cost of supplies of night vision devices, secure radio communications equipment, Humvee military vehicles, and counter-mortar and counter-artillery radar systems [20; 21].

Taking into account a more demanding security environment, NATO has to invest in defense of its allies under threat, first of all Ukraine. Although most US political elite supports the US programs to arm Ukraine, some of them do not welcome Ukraine's wish to become a NATO member. Thus former US national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski although calling on the US to arm Ukraine, keeps repeating that Ukraine will not be a member of NATO: "It doesn't follow that a country whose security NATO has an interest in has to be a NATO member. NATO can have an interest in its security, but without having it in NATO [22]". "Ukraine should be free to choose its political identity, its political philosophy, and institutionalize it by closer links with Europe. But at the same time, Russia should be assured credibly that Ukraine will not become a member of NATO. I still think this is the formula for a solution", he says [22].

3. CONCLUSIONS

Countries retain and use the outdated system of international security as other protection schemes humanity has not yet been made. The victim of international aggression for the protection and implementation of national security has to now turn to the current system of protection and use made arrangements. These include: a universal component, which represents the mechanism of the UN; regional component representing security structures each geographical region; and security mechanism of bilateral relations.

National security is a combination of long-term program and targets - military, economic, propaganda, etc., the implementation of which is intended to guarantee the country preserve the sovereignty and national security. Sovereignty and Security in this case are interrelated and interdependent, and the sovereignty provides its entry into the international community and the power is determined the credibility of a sovereign state in the same community.

Consequently, the national interests of Ukraine, enshrined in the relevant legislation, represent the fundamental values and aspirations of the Ukrainian people. National security is based on the principles of independent existence of the Ukrainian state. The main objective is to maintain national security of unitary state, inviolability and territorial integrity, economic development, information security, rights and freedom.

Dangerous situation around Ukraine, reminds of historical parallels of Anschluss of Austria and division of Czechoslovakia according to Munich agreement in 1938 when strategic allies – France and Great Britain in order not to tease Nazi Germany refused to defend them. As a result, Germany conquered half of the world. We should not forget the lessons of history – *magistra vitae*, the teacher of life.

Drawing the conclusion, changes on the European continent, aggressive policy of Russia, Russian military intervention in Ukraine helped NATO to revive its activity, change tactics and develop new strategy.

Nevertheless, Ukraine has not yet received a complex protection system. The introduced sanctions against Russia, although helpful, do not provide for synergetic effect since they are targeted and dispersed.

Among the positive tendencies, Ukraine with support of its allies overcomes its military backwardness and learns to fight. However, this is not enough to overcome the aggressor. Most acute is the issue of inefficacy of outdated protection mechanisms – UN, OSCE – all this gives the aggressor political and military advantage.

Non-punitive and all-permissive global security system intensifies revanchism and aggressiveness, which creates new challenges to global and regional security.

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Received: 17.10.2017; **revised:** 17.11.2017.

Чекаленко Людмила, Васильєва Марія. Набуття членства в НАТО заявлено стратегічною метою України. *Журнал Прикарпатського університету імені Василя Стефаника*, 4 (3-4) (2017), 34–41.

Автори представили власне бачення стану міжнародної і національної безпеки України в ХХІ столітті, проаналізували нові виклики і загрози, що призвели до колапсу сучасної системи безпеки. Всі ідеї і висновки ґрунтуються на ситуації, що сьогодні склалася у сфері національної безпеки України.

Ключові слова: міжнародна безпека, національна безпека, система захисту, суверенітет, виклики, війна Росії проти України, ООН, ОБСЄ, НАТО.