

National Security Strategy of Ukraine: Conceptual Principles and Efficiency

Andrii Zahorulko^{*}

<https://doi.org/10.31297/hkju.20.4.4>

UDK 354.33(477)

Review scientific paper / pregledni znanstveni rad

Received / primljeno: 3. 4. 2020.

Accepted / prihvaćeno: 11. 9. 2020.

The article deals with the internal political aspects of the security and defence issue in the context of the implementation of the National Security Strategy. The legislative acts that regulate Ukraine's strategic security issues, identifying challenges and threats in the face of international instability, are analysed at the legislative level. The main features are formulated and the main factors of the concept of national security are identified. Furthermore, the main content of the Strategy and its key role in identifying and preventing internal and external threats are revealed. Possibilities of the Strategy's practical importance for the system of complex defence of national security and the defence and preservation of territorial integrity of Ukraine are determined. Lastly, the basic principles and directions of the Strategy on the path of political and diplomatic set-

^{*} Andrii Zahorulko, PhD student, National Academy for Public Administration, Kyiv, Ukraine (doktorski student Nacionalne akademije za javnu upravu u Kijevu, Ukrajina, e-mail: profesor_z@ukr.net, andrii.zahorulko@mvs.gov.ua)

ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5604-3953>

tlement of the military conflict in the east of the country are outlined.

Keywords: national security, international security, security and defence, military threat, armed conflict

1. Introduction and Relevance of the Research Issues

In today's globalization process, a national security strategy is more relevant than ever. Moreover, the existing threat to the national security of one state can quickly turn into a threat to international security. This is one of the reasons why the interconnectedness of international and national security needs special attention.

Radical changes in the Ukrainian state's attitude to the urgent issue of national security have occurred with the events of recent years: Russian aggression against Ukraine, annexation of Crimea, and the occupation of areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. In this regard, the highest priority and the main task of the state should be based on the establishment of peace as a guarantee of the country's development. However, the implementation of these principles should not be done at the cost of losing state sovereignty and its territories.

In 2020, the Ukrainian state faces the need to reconsider existing challenges and threats and approve a new national security strategy. Legislation on the implementation of the strategy should become a declarative basis for the development of other strategic planning documents in the field of national security and defence.

Among the priorities for the protection of national interests, emphasis should be placed on the following provisions: upholding independence and state sovereignty; restoration of territorial integrity within the internationally recognized borders of Ukraine; social development; and protection of the rights, freedoms, and legitimate interests of the citizens of Ukraine.

In turn, the path of development of Ukraine depends on the speed and efficiency of the implementation of the provisions of the National Security Strategy. At the same time, any inhibition or neglect of the relevant reforms in the security and defence sector can lead to negative consequences, including the existence of the actual territorial integrity of the state and the preservation of its full independence.

There is good reason to believe that the National Security Strategy will be able to provide the necessary security mechanisms under which the power of the state will be strengthened and implemented along with building a sustainable system of the rule of law, democracy, and economic well-being of the citizens. In this regard, priority is given to the information content of the strategy, the provisions of which should be based on three main principles of state policy in the field of national security: deterrence (development of defence and security capabilities to prevent armed aggression against Ukraine), resilience (society and state reforms in the security environment and adherence to sustainable functioning, in particular by minimizing external vulnerabilities), and cooperation (development of strategic relations with key foreign partners, primarily with NATO, the EU, and the US).

2. Review and Analysis of Recent Publications on the Research Topic

A necessary condition for the normal functioning of any state is maintenance of the social order, which depends on the peace and security of its people. The issue of security is a matter of survival, successful existence, and interaction of the government and society. Security is the greatest need of the people, in the absence of which neither an individual, nor the society, nor the state can exist. It should be recalled that the term “security of society” was first used by Buzan (1983) in his book *People, States and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations*.

Actually, the concept of “national security” can be interpreted in different ways. Among scientific research, there are a number of approaches to defining security issues. Wolfers (1961) notes that the formula of national security has become a formula of national interest. In particular, Buzan (2003, 2015), Baldwin (2008), Tanter and Ullman (1972), Bull (2012), Walt (2013) and others, raised the issue of the security concept in their monographs and scientific articles.

In Waltz’s (2010) arguments about the system of functioning of international relations, the neorealist position was that the aggressive policy of an individual great power would lead to the formation of a so-called “balancing coalition” that would force the revisionist state to abandon the policy of subversion. The history of international relations has ample evidence that the aggressive policies of one state turned others against it, often leading to the decline or collapse of the offending state.

Snyder (1991), concurred and argued that the aggressive foreign policy of industrialized nations was determined by domestic factors, and the system of international relations, in turn, imposed certain restrictions that made aggressive policy known to be unwinnable.

The main contribution of Buzan and Lawson (2015) in understanding the theory of international security is to identify an innovative systematic list of sectors: military, political, economic, environmental, and social types of security. The authors also emphasize the importance of understanding how these sectors are applied to different security concepts and how the security of one sector cannot be considered in isolation from others.

Apart from Buzan and Wiver (2003), Mearshheimer (2001), Modelski (1996) and others are considered to be prominent representatives of neorealism in the sphere of international relations. In general, the position of the neorealists on this issue is that the state should remain a leading actor in the international arena, and international legislation and institutions should play an important role in the decision-making system of modern states. At the same time, although the leading international organizations have been created and function with the decisive participation of large states, the latter are still forced to reckon with their existence and pursue their goals within the functioning of international structures.

Among experts in international relations, there are traditionally two approaches to the interpretation of the concept of national security. According to the first approach, the main role is given to the government, which sets the main motive for the behaviour of other participants. According to the second approach, the main focus in international relations is to achieve peace.

American researcher Baldwin (2008), emphasizes the existence of objective and subjective dimensions of security. In particular, states may overestimate or underestimate existing threats. As a result, in the first case, the goal of security policy may be to reduce unjustified threats, and in the second case, the state considers the situation as safe, although in fact the situation is completely different.

Representatives of the so-called defensive realism argue that the state should be careful in the international arena. In other words, a too aggressive policy will eventually play against the state, weakening its security and place in the hierarchy of international relations.

One of the variations of defensive realism is the concept of the balance of threats, constructed by Walt (2013). He argues that in most cases the reaction to the aggressive policy of a state was to create a coalition to

counter it. The policy of satisfying the demands of an aggressive state was chosen only when critical mass had not been gained to form an appropriate coalition of balance, and individual states did not see the point of bearing the full burden of countering the aggressor with minimal chances of success. In particular, Walt (2013) explains defensive realism as follows: states tend to form alliances to counter threats to counter attempts by a revisionist state to upset the established balance of power.

In turn, the representatives of offensive realism adhere to the same basic concept, but use a different scheme of thinking. They believe that in order to survive, states should accumulate as much power as possible. The main provisions of offensive realism were formulated by Mearshheimer in his work *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (2001). The anarchic nature of international relations leaves statesmen with no choice but to pursue an aggressive foreign policy. It follows that the interaction between states is subject to a rational desire to achieve hegemony in the world. It is optimal to achieve the hegemony of a great power on the scale of their own region and to prevent the achievement of hegemony by other interstate participants in their own regions.

Some researchers define security as a condition in which there are no threats. In particular, Vozhennikov (2000, p. 24) emphasizes that “national security means the state of the country in which real external and internal threats to its national interests and national character of life are absent or eliminated.” Vozhennikov considers public security an integral part and one of the main types of national security. He uses the concept of types of security “to reflect the areas of manifestation of external and internal threats to national interests.” (Vozhennikov, 2000, p. 31). He believes that the sphere of public safety includes public relations related to the prevention or elimination of threats to the life and health of the people and their property. State bodies, local self-government bodies, public organizations, and movements are called upon to ensure public safety.

The issue of national security has repeatedly been at the centre of scientific interest of many Ukrainian researchers. In particular, this issue was covered by Smolyanyuk (2017), Vlasyuk (2016), Nikitin (2015), Bodruk (2001), Parakhonsky (2013), Kuras (2014), Sytnyk (2016), and Trebin (2014). Novytsky (2008), Semenchenko (2008), Gorbulin, and Kachynski (2010) studied defence and military capabilities in the context of the study of national security, and as a separate component of security and defence.

Special attention should be paid to the article by Vlasyuk and Kononenko, *Actual Aspects of Improving the Model of National Security of Ukraine* (2017). The authors note that along with scientific developments in the security space of Ukraine, work on the introduction of new legal documents of Ukraine's foreign policy and its regulatory content in the light of modern challenges to Ukraine's national security is no less important.

Recently, the concept of national security is increasingly appearing in the pages of information publications, while the multifaceted and complex nature of this problem has become the subject of research in various fields. It should also be noted that a comprehensive study of the phenomenon of national security involves taking into account different, even contradictory points of view and approaches in this area, which in a critical combination largely complement each other.

Given the duration of the Russian aggression against Ukraine and the transformation of national security into a key factor in the survival of the state in Ukraine, the need for further research, discussion in the expert community, and the substantiation of clear positions on the nature of Ukraine's National Security Strategy and threat prevention mechanism remains relevant. At present, the position of further priorities and directions of the state national security policy is not clearly defined and substantiated, but exists only at the level of discussions of experts, political scientists and legal experts, which is related to legislative changes.

3. Objective and Methods of the Research

The key task of the study is based on the study of the main provisions and the role of the functional component of the National Security Strategy of Ukraine in determining the direction of increasing the defence capability and security of the state as a whole, as well as clarifying the theoretical and conceptual foundations of public administration in the field of Ukraine's national security.

The methodological basis is an interdisciplinary approach, where the basis of the theoretical and methodological component are the fundamental provisions of the theory of public administration in the field of national security.

An objective analysis of the subject was possible due to the use of a set of methods of general and special scientific knowledge. With the help of the dialectical method of cognition it was possible to find out the theoretical

features of public administration in the field of national security and to substantiate the basic concepts used to study the subject of national security. The method of analytical abstraction was used to understand the essence of the mechanism of public administration in the field of national security. In turn, the method of analogy and modelling was used to develop an algorithm for determining the level of protection of vital interests of national security from threats of internal and external origin. With the help of the comparative method, it became possible to study the measures of administrative and legal support. By implementing a systematic structural method of research, we determined the principles of national security in the field of protection of human and civil rights and freedoms. In turn, the method of interpretation was used to clarify the content of the legal norms of the administrative legal mechanism of national security.

The information and analytical basis of the scientific research was the regulatory framework governing relations in the field of national security, as well as the scientific achievements and applied developments of scientists and practitioners in Ukraine and abroad.

4. Functional Component of National Security for the Defence Sector

In the context of the geopolitical development of the country and the realization of its national interests, importance is given to the issue of national security. Analysis of the concept of national security and prioritization of activities is actually the basis for the formation of the concept of national security of any state.

Today, many international organizations, including NATO and the EU, identify defence and security as a common concept – the security sector. This general definition means the totality of all the bodies and forces whose duty is to protect society, the state, and its institutions (Horbulin & Kachynskyi, 2010, p. 61). Given the radical changes in establishing the level of the international position of Ukraine, the key principles of foreign policy, first of all, should be subordinated to the task of preserving sovereignty, and aimed at restoring the territorial integrity of the Ukrainian state.

The general purpose of public administration in the field of Ukraine's national security is to create a mechanism that allows to develop state and public policy, state strategy in the field of personal, social and state secu-

ity, as well as to implement this strategy in specific functions of structures united in the system of ensuring national security. The system of public administration in the field of national security is a dynamic system in which the following stages are distinguished: delineation and protection of interests; identification and forecasting of the perspective state of threats of internal and external origin for vital interests of public and state level; creation of a system of measures that counteracts threats to national security; and neutralization of threats and implementation of a set of measures.

The main function of the national security policy is to identify the main interests of the nation during the development of major strategies for current and future threats, as well as to take measures to prevent them and address them. Resolving this issue requires a change in the national security system and mechanisms for ensuring it.

5. Analysis of Regulatory Legal Acts in the Field of Security and Defence

Currently, the main threat to Ukraine remains the use of military force by the Russian Federation; all other threats are derived from it. In this regard, the issue of revising the main documents governing the security sector in Ukraine and abroad is still relevant. However, despite the availability of several important documents, in 2014–2015 the threat to the national security of Ukraine could not be avoided.

The first adopted document, *On the Defence of Ukraine*, was the 1991 Law of Ukraine. Over time, a number of amendments have been made to the document, the latest of which was introduced in February 2015.

It should be noted that the Law clearly prescribes the definition of armed aggression in the sense of another state or group of armed forces against Ukraine. The provisions of this regulatory legal act actually provided legal grounds to speak about the armed aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, which was clearly demonstrated in 2014 in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Donetsk and Luhansk regions.¹

In 2005, the Law of Ukraine on the Organization of Defence Planning was adopted. The document defines the coordination of actions of public

¹ Law of Ukraine “On the Defence of Ukraine” No. 1932-XII.

authorities in this area. At present, this regulatory legal act has no legal force.

Along with the existing regulations, the Law on National Security of Ukraine (last revised in 2020) can be considered no less important. The document sets out the basic provisions and normalizes the existing challenges for Ukraine after the annexation of Crimea and the temporary occupation of certain territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions.² The law specifies the terminology and defines the categories of certain specialized concepts: military conflict; military security; public safety and order; state security; democratic civilian control; threats to the national security of Ukraine; armed conflict; national security of Ukraine; national interests of Ukraine; defence planning; defence industrial complex; national security planning; security and defence sector; security forces; national security strategy, etc. (Korniiievskyi, 2011, p. 489–490).

In particular, art. 2 of the Law enshrines the provisions of the legal basis of state policy in the areas of national security and defence, and art. 3 states the principles of state policy in the field of national security and defence.³

6. Attempts to Effectively Implement the National Security Strategy

Among the types of national security, the following components are distinguished: security of the individual, security of the state, security of other objects. At the same time, in classifying the types of national security by spheres, scientists are limited to five types of security: economic, social-political, military, environmental, information. They represent the protection of vital interests of the individual, society and state.

The most effective way to ensure the security of an individual and citizen, society and the state is the timely detection and elimination of dangers and obstacles to objectively determined social development, preventing them from becoming real threats to public security, and national security in general.

² Law of Ukraine “On the National Security of Ukraine” No. 2469-VIII.

³ Law of Ukraine “On the National Security of Ukraine” No. 2469-VIII.

The first National Security Strategy of Ukraine (the Strategy) was adopted in 2007. The document addressed the need for a clear definition of strategic priorities of the state and goals for further development and protection of the most important achievements of Ukraine, which should meet the challenges and threats of the 21st century (Mandrahelia & Movchan, 2015, p. 75). It should be noted that this strategy identified new challenges and threats to international security in almost all sectors of the socio-economic sphere: raw materials, energy, financial, information, environmental, commodity. However, the defence sector represented by the military sector was generally ignored.

In the version of the National Security Strategy from 2012, Ukraine in a Changing World, it is stated that the Strategy did not become the main document in the practice of public authorities: the obstacle was the focus on achieving short-term political and economic goals, while ignoring the needs of strategic development of society and the state. As a result, threats to national security have increased, and Ukraine's ability to protect its national interests has significantly weakened (Smolianiuk, 2017, p. 70).

In the first stage of the implementation of the Ukraine in a Changing World National Security Strategy, 2012–2013, improvement of the legislation on national security was planned, but the Government's proposals to systematize the relevant legislation were only superficial amendments. The main goals and objectives of the 2012 Strategy, as well as the 2007 Strategy remained unfulfilled. In particular, this concerned the need to take into account expenditures in the state and local budgets to ensure the implementation of the Strategy and to identify such expenditures as one of the priority areas of budget policy: bringing budget funding for the security and defence sector to an optimal level; improvement of personnel, logistical, information support of national security; and stimulating basic and applied research in the field of national security (Smolianiuk, 2017, p. 73).

In March 2015, the National Institute for Strategic Studies developed and published a draft of a new version of the National Security Strategy for the following five years. The volume of the document significantly exceeded the text of the previous strategy. However, the content of the main positions was somewhat different, and the final part gave a realistic assessment of the state of affairs with the occupation of part of the territory of Ukraine by the Russian Federation.

The 2017 National Security Strategy of Ukraine, which existed only on paper, can also be described as ineffective. The implementation of the prescribed provisions of this document required the adoption of the Mil-

itary Doctrine and the relevant targeted programs for the development of law enforcement agencies.⁴ It should be noted that attempts to implement the Military Doctrine had already occurred in 2012. At the time, efforts to give practical application to the Decree of the President of Ukraine on the decision of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine, titled *On a New Version of the Military Doctrine of Ukraine*, ended in failure. However, the document contained most of the concepts of war and political challenges and threats that had already occurred in modern Ukraine, as well as determining the state's right to use military force in preparation for a possible war conflict, with the aim of protecting the sovereignty of the state, its territorial integrity and other vital national interests.⁵

The current circumstances require that among the basic regulations, the National Security Strategy of Ukraine should become an integral functional element of the security and defence sector, the last of which is assigned decisive influence in the direction of determining the course and increasing the defence capabilities of the state as a whole.

It should be noted that in terms of the strategic development of society and the state, the main public interest is to ensure the security of each individual, ensuring their well-being, and the stability of institutions that guarantee democracy, security and the sustainable development of society, which, in turn, allows for increased control over social processes and their purposeful regulation. In this context, the state, of course, is the main subject of ensuring safe social development through the implementation of targeted policies aimed at ensuring the stability and dynamic development of society as a whole.

Public security is organically linked to the personal security of citizens, which is a set of public interests aimed at protecting the constitutional rights and freedoms of man and citizen. The content of the conceptual component of social security (public security) is primarily due to the interpretation of the science category "security" as protection of social relations, which provides progressive development of society in specific historical and natural conditions from threats (their source may be internal and external contradictions, artificial obstacles to the manifestation of activity and initiative of people).

⁴ Decree of the President of Ukraine On the Decision of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine of September 2, 2015 "On the New Version of the Military Doctrine of Ukraine" No. 555/2015

⁵ Decree of the President of Ukraine on the Decision of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine of September 2, 2015 "On the New Version of the Military Doctrine of Ukraine" No. 555/2015.

6.1. Key Principles and Directions of the National Security Strategy

The key goal of the implementation of the strategic program document on national security of Ukraine should be based on the principles of a safe and legal country, free in all its possibilities, the choice of domestic and foreign policy trends, where every citizen has the opportunity to realize their talents and abilities.⁶

The defining principles that need to be included in the content of the Strategy, as a document on national security, in general can be summarized in three main positions: development of defence and security capabilities (with emphasis on the impossibility of armed aggression against Ukraine by increasing the price of this aggression); ability of society and the state to respond quickly and adequately to changes in the security environment (aimed at supporting the sustainable functioning of basic defence mechanisms); and the development of strategic relations with key foreign partners (first of all with the European Union and NATO member states, pragmatic cooperation with other countries and international organizations based on the advantages of national interests of Ukraine).

Regarding the priority areas of national security policy, it is expedient to define in the Strategy the following categories: ensuring independence and state sovereignty; social development (first of all, development of human capital, protection of rights, freedoms and legitimate interests of the citizens of Ukraine); European and Euro-Atlantic integration (creating the necessary conditions for full membership in the EU and NATO); and the restoration of territorial integrity within the internationally recognized borders of Ukraine.

6.2. Imperfection of the Legislation as the Impediment to the Implementation of the National Security Strategy

The current national security legislation is ineffective. The imperfection of the legislation in this matter is especially noticeable in terms of the interaction and coordination of actions of public authorities and law enforcement agencies in peacetime and in times of crisis.

⁶ Decree of the President of Ukraine on the Decision of the National Security and Defence Council of March 4, 2016 “On the Concept of Development of the Security and Defence Sector of Ukraine” No. 92/2016.

A significant gap in the legislation on defence is considered, in particular, not taking into account the peculiarities of a new type of aggression with the widespread use of traditional military operations, various non-military forces and means of struggle.⁷ Due to the inconsistency of legal acts in this area, there is a need to review approaches to the definition of certain deadlines, while the reset requires modern mechanisms for managing threats to national security, and so on.

Some important positions of normative-legal content are contained in the Law of Ukraine on Features of the State Policy on Ensuring the Sovereignty of Ukraine in the Temporarily Occupied Territories of Donetsk and Luhansk Regions.⁸ In this document it is possible to allocate some essential theses of legal character which provide the following: liberation of the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts and restoration of the constitutional order in these territories; protection of the rights, freedoms and legitimate interests of individuals and legal entities; and ensuring the independence, unity and territorial integrity of Ukraine.⁹

The analysis established that the presence of significant shortcomings in the legislation of Ukraine in matters of national security, significantly hinder the reform and development of the relevant area. Outdated and non-systematized legal acts contain a number of inconsistencies, and do not take into account the peculiarities of new types of threats, including the impact of “hybrid” aggression.¹⁰

7. Opportunity to Create an Effective Security Environment in Ukraine through the Implementation of the National Security Strategy of 2020

Stabilizing the economy and overcoming the crisis in eastern Ukraine are important challenges facing Ukraine. Strong arguments for reducing ten-

⁷ Decree of the President of Ukraine No. 139/2015 On the Decision of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine of February 18, 2015 “On additional measures to strengthen the national security of Ukraine” No. 139/2015.

⁸ Law of Ukraine “On the Features of State Policy for Ensuring State Sovereignty of Ukraine in Temporarily Occupied Territories in Donetsk and Luhansk Regions” No. 2268-VIII.

⁹ Law of Ukraine “On the Features of State Policy for Ensuring State Sovereignty of Ukraine in Temporarily Occupied Territories in Donetsk and Luhansk Regions” No. 2268-VIII.

¹⁰ Law of Ukraine “On the Basics of National Security of Ukraine” No. 964-IV.

sions in the Ukraine – Russia relations during the war in the East are proposed in the draft National Security Strategy of Ukraine of 2020, titled Human Security is Security of the Country.

The next draft of the National Security Strategy was developed in accordance with art. 26 of the Law on National Security of Ukraine. The developed proposals were presented for public discussion, and later summarized by specialists of the National Institute for Strategic Studies, specialists from government agencies, civil society institutions, as well as taking into account the views of foreign experts on security.

At present, there is almost no connection between the goals of the national security system and the socio-economic priorities of the state. Given the limited resources of the state, this increases the risks of non-fulfilment of tasks in the field of national security. Academic institutions, higher education institutions and the public need to be more actively involved in improving the legislation on national security of Ukraine. This will increase the level of public perception and support of state policy in the field of national security, ensure proper civilian control over its implementation, and increase the effectiveness of relevant legislation.

Reforming the national security system involves, *inter alia*, amendments to the legislation of Ukraine in terms of clarifying the tasks and functions of the security and defence sector. Relevant legislative changes should clearly define the procedure for interaction of public authorities in the field of national security, promote the elimination of duplicate or uncharacteristic functions, and ensure the maximum consolidation of forces and means.

The task of the national security policy of the state, first of all, is to ensure a high level of protection of national interests, which is provided by the creation of appropriate conditions for the stable development of the individual, society and the state. It follows that the main objects of national security are citizens (their rights and freedoms), society (its spiritual and material values), the state (its constitutional system, sovereignty and territorial integrity).

It should be noted that the following factors can be identified as the main indicators of national security: national independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity of the state; development of civil society, level of democracy, formation and effectiveness of the legal framework of the rule of law, protection of the individual; economic opportunities of the state; state of the armed forces, their combat capability and combat readiness; national definition and identity; development of national self-conscious-

ness and culture; presence of a common strategy of national development, “national idea”, a universally recognized goal; national unity; domestic political stability; readiness and ability of political forces to realize the generally defined goals (Bogdanovich, 2007, p.153).

8. Research Results

The state plays a leading system-supporting role in the system of national security. The problem of the balance of interests of the individual, society and the state in national security policy is not finally resolved in favour of human interests. State bodies and officials form the legal framework in the field of national security and make decisions on the prevention and neutralization of threats, the implementation of which is mandatory (Chumak, 2010).

According to the content of the prescribed provisions, the strategy of national security should first of all become an open and binding document, developed exclusively for the practical purpose of comprehensive protection of national security and territorial integrity of Ukraine (Vonsovyh, 2017, p. 21). The main executors, whose competence includes ensuring the implementation of the outlined principles of the strategy, are the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, executive bodies, bodies of the security and defence sector and other state bodies.

The new National Security Strategy aims to ensure that Ukraine takes care of its security without waiting for Western military assistance. The document proposes an approach according to which it is necessary to ensure the readiness of the state, its economy and society to defend and repel external aggression in all its forms and manifestations, increase the level of defence capabilities, increase defence and security capabilities of Ukraine, and strengthen the country’s capacity to self-defence.

In the proposals to the Strategy submitted by the members of the National Security and Defence Council, the document does not exclude political and diplomatic ways of resolving the situation in Donbass. The implementation of these priorities will be ensured through the restoration of peace and state sovereignty in the temporarily occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions. Taking measures to reduce the likelihood of escalation of the conflict with Russia and tensions in bilateral relations is also proposed.

Among the bodies that ensure national security are the army, intelligence and counterintelligence services, law enforcement agencies, medical authorities, etc. On this issue, the Strategy places special emphasis on the need to reform intelligence agencies, in particular, to strengthen intelligence and technical intelligence, and to create a modern system of aerospace intelligence. An important role is assigned to the Intelligence Committee, which is responsible for improving the system of leadership, coordination, coordinated operation and control of the intelligence agencies of Ukraine. The strategy also covers issues related to information security, cybersecurity, new approaches to energy, environment and other types of security (Mykhalchenko, 2011, pp. 295–296).

Experts have repeatedly voiced their opinion on the shortcomings of the unwillingness of the government to call Russia the enemy directly in the documents that define the principles of national security and defence development priorities. The best way out of this situation is a clear assessment and an impartial stance on what is happening. Legal recognition of Russia as an enemy may be key for Ukraine in reducing losses in the war in Donbass and providing the army with the latest weapons.

At the same time, the functionality of the new version of the Strategy is envisaged: correction of shortcomings in the legislative versions of previous years and a clear definition of Russia as a military adversary.

The formation of state security policy should be based on the study of the nature and sources of threats, rather than their consequences. Because threats of any kind, above all, are characterized by their origin. External threats are more dangerous than internal ones, but the content of geopolitical security is primarily based on an organic combination of emphasis on external and internal security.

Today, there is no clear strategic plan for Russia, as there is no foreign policy strategy of the Ukrainian state at all. There is also a gap in the legislation regarding the definition of Ukraine's actions towards Russia in the political, diplomatic, economic, military, humanitarian, and information spheres, which are part of state policy. Uncertainty at the legislative level of the strategic vision and strategic documents leads to situational actions only in relation to Russia. As a result, it can be argued that one of the integral factors of the National Security Strategy is the relationship with the concept of the Foreign Policy Strategy.

Thus, the imperfection of legislation in the field of national security and low efficiency of its application are a significant cause of improper functioning of the defence sector, which makes it impossible to ensure the full

realization of national interests. The effectiveness of the law is an important indicator of its social usefulness and necessity, which depends on the content and its compliance with the real socio-political and legal situation in the country. At the same time, the existence of perfect legislation on national security is not yet a guarantee of unconditional implementation and proper implementation of its norms. In accordance with the provisions of the basic law, other normative legal acts in the field of national security must also be applied.

The effectiveness of the National Security Strategy should be based on a clear and logical legal framework, as well as on ensuring the appropriate level of its implementation. The functional priority of the basic principles of the content and role of the Strategy should be rationally chosen as a model during the development of various documents on strategic planning in the field of national security and defence in the future.

In addition, the vision of the National Security and Defence position set out in the Strategy will be useful as a support factor in identifying ways, and choosing tools to counter and prevent threats in the most important areas. In particular, we are talking about the Human Development Strategy, the Military Security Strategy, the Public Security and Civil Defence Strategy, the Defence Industry Development Strategy, the Economic, Environmental, Information Security Strategy, the Cyber Security Strategy, the National Intelligence Program, the Foreign Policy Security Strategy, the Foreign Policy Strategy, state security, counterintelligence and the fight against terrorism, etc.

9. Conclusion

The creation of appropriate conditions for the stable development of the individual, society and the state, provided that a high level of protection of national interests is ensured, is a priority task of the national security policy of the state. An integral part of the effectiveness of this policy is the mechanism of non-violent ways to protect national interests and the values that underlie them.

The main content of the draft National Security Strategy is the importance of having a position on the political and diplomatic way to resolve the military conflict in Donbass. In turn, the effectiveness of this perspective or its ineffectiveness can be proven after direct application in practice. However, even in such circumstances, a just strategy may not be enough.

It is no exception that the reduction of tensions with Russia and the avoidance of further escalation of the conflict can be achieved only in the case of countermeasures. Thus, the effectiveness of political, diplomatic or military means of influencing Russia will be proven in the case of its systemic nature.

An integral part of the national security process in Ukraine today is considered to be deterring the aggressor, in the face of Russia, by increasing the capabilities and improving the level of military capabilities of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and other security sector bodies.

In the end, it can be argued that a comprehensive study of the phenomenon of national security in terms of the conceptual foundations of the National Security Strategy takes into account a variety of points of analytical research and approaches in this area, which in critical combination complement each other.

References

- Baldwin, D. (2008). *Theories of international relations*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Bodruk, O. S. (2001). *Military security structures: National and international aspects*. Kyiv, Ukraine: NIPMB.
- Bogdanovich, V. Yu. (2007). *Theoretical and methodological principles of national security in its defining spheres: Monograph*. Kyiv, Ukraine: Kyiv.
- Bull, H. (2012). *The anarchical society: A study of order in world politics*. New York, USA: Columbia University Press.
- Buzan, B. (1983). *People, states and fear: The national security problem in international relations*. Brighton, England: Whealsheaf books LTD.
- Buzan, B., & Wiver, O. (2003). *Regions and powers: The structure of international security*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Buzan, B., & Lawson, G. (2015). *The global transformation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Chumak, V. (2010, December 10). A new national security strategy: what do we hope to achieve? *The Mirror of the Week. Ukraine*, 46. Retrieved from http://gazeta.dt.ua/POLITICS/nova_strategiya_natsionalnoyi_bezpeki_chogo_spo-divaemosya_dosyagti.html
- Horbulin, V. P., & Kachynskiy, A. B. (2010). *Strategic planning: Addressing national security issues*. Monograph. Kyiv, Ukraine: NISD.
- Korniievskiy, O. (2011). *National security. Political encyclopedia*. Kyiv, Ukraine: Parliamentary Publishing House.
- Kuras, A. I. (2014). National security of Ukraine: Military-Political paradigms. *Scientific Notes* 2, 230–240.

- Mandrahelia, V. A., & Movchan, P. P. (2015). Ukraine's national security in the context of EU Eastern Partnership policy. *Scientific-Informative Bulletin of the National Security Academy*, 3–4, 72–82.
- Mearsheimer, J. J. (2001). *The tragedy of great power politics*. New York, USA: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Modelski, G., & Thompson, W. R. (1996) *Leading sectors and world powers: The coevolution of global economics and politics (studies in international relations)*. Columbia, South Carolina, USA: University of South Carolina Press, <https://doi.org/10.2307/40203157>
- Mykhalchenko, M. (2011). *National interests. Political encyclopedia*. Kyiv, Ukraine: Parliamentary Publishing House.
- Nikitin, Yu. V. (2015). National security of Ukraine in modern conditions: Risks and factors of influence. *Legal Science*, 2, 141–147.
- Novitsky, G. V. (2008). *Theoretical and legal bases of national security of Ukraine*. Kyiv, Ukraine: Internet Technology.
- Parakhonsky, B. O. (2013). *International security environment: Challenges and threats to Ukraine's national security*. Kyiv, Ukraine: NISD.
- Semenchenko, A. I. (2008). *Methodology of strategic planning in the field of public management of ensuring the national security of Ukraine*. Kyiv, Ukraine: NAPA.
- Smolyanyuk, V. F. (2017). National security of Ukraine: Terminological ballast or a state making need? *Socio-Political Processes*, 2–3, 68–87.
- Snyder, J. (1991). *Myths of empire: Domestic politics and international ambition*. Ithaca and London, UK: Cornell University Press, <https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr/98.2.473>
- Sytnyk, H. P. (2016). *Global and national security*. Kyiv, Ukraine: National Academy for Public Administration under the President of Ukraine.
- Tanter R. & Ullman R. H. (1972) *Theory and policy in international relations*. Princeton, New Jersey, USA: Princeton University Press.
- Trebin, M. P. (2014). Development of civil society in Ukraine in the context of European integration. *Ukrainian Society*, 1(48), 106–118.
- Vlasyuk, O. S. (2016). *National security of Ukraine: The evolution of domestic policy issues*. Kyiv, Ukraine: NISD.
- Vlasyuk, O. S., & Kononenko, S. V. (2017). Topical aspects of improving the national security model of Ukraine. *Strategic Panorama*, 1, 17–23.
- Vonsovych, A. S. (2017). National security of Ukraine in the conditions of modern geopolitical changes. *Scientific Bulletin of the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine*, 24(2), 18–24.
- Vozhennikov, A. V. (2000) *National security: Theory, politics*. Moscow, Russia: Module.
- Walt, S. M. (2013). *The origins of alliances*. Ithaca, USA & London, UK: Cornell University Press.
- Waltz, K. N. (2010). *Theory of international politics*. Illinois, USA: Long Grove, Columbia University.

- Wolfers, A. (1961). *The search for security*. Washington, USA: Industrial College of the Armed forces, T. II.
- Yermolaiev, A. V. (2012). Conceptual bases and features of formation of the modern strategy of national security of Ukraine. *Ukraine's Development Strategy. Economics, Sociology, Law*, 1, 22–25.

Legal sources and documents

- Law of Ukraine “On the Principles of Domestic and Foreign Policy” No. 2411-VI. Retrieved from <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2411-17>
- Law of Ukraine “On the National Security of Ukraine” No. 2469-VIII. Retrieved from <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2469-19>
- Law of Ukraine “On the Defence of Ukraine” No. 1932-XII. Retrieved from <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1932-12>
- Law of Ukraine “On the Features of State Policy for Ensuring State Sovereignty of Ukraine in Temporarily Occupied Territories in Donetsk and Luhansk Regions” No. 2268-VIII. Retrieved from <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2268-19>
- Law of Ukraine “On the Basics of National Security of Ukraine” No. 964-IV. Verhovna Rada of Ukraine. Retrieved from <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/964-15>
- Decree of the President of Ukraine on the Decision of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine of September 2, 2015 “On the New Version of the Military Doctrine of Ukraine” No. 555/2015. Retrieved from <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/555/2015>
- Decree of the President of Ukraine on the Decision of the National Security and Defence Council of March 4, 2016 “On the Concept of Development of the Security and Defence Sector of Ukraine” No. 92/2016. Retrieved from <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/92/2016>
- Decree of the President of Ukraine on the Sustainable Development Strategy “Ukraine 2020” No. 5/2015. Retrieved from <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/5/2015>
- Decree of the President of Ukraine No. 139/2015 on the Decision of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine of February 18, 2015 “On additional measures to strengthen the national security of Ukraine” No. 139/2015. Retrieved from <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/139/2015>
- Decree of the President of Ukraine on the Decision of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine of May 6, 2015 “On the National Security Strategy of Ukraine” No. 287/2015. Retrieved from <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/287/2015>

NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY OF UKRAINE: CONCEPTUAL PRINCIPLES AND EFFICIENCY

Summary

Creating appropriate conditions for a stable development of the individual, society and state, and simultaneously providing a high level of protection of national interests, has been identified as a priority of the Ukrainian national security policy. The Ukrainian state ought to review all challenges and threats and adopt a new national security strategy. Current circumstances require the National Security Strategy of Ukraine of 2015 to become an integral functional element of the security and defence sector. The National Security Strategy has to become an open and mandatory document developed solely for the practical purpose of comprehensive protection of national security and territorial integrity of Ukraine. The implementation of these priorities is to be ensured through the restoration of peace and state sovereignty in the temporarily occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions, by implementing a complex set of international, legal, political, diplomatic, security, humanitarian, and economic measures. The key implementation goal should focus on the establishment of the principles of safe and legal country, free in its choice of domestic and foreign political options and development tendencies. External threats are rather more dangerous than internal, but the content of geopolitical security is primarily based on the organic combination of external and internal security. The imperfection of national security legislation and the low efficiency of its implementation are the reason for malfunctioning of the defence sector, which makes ensuring the full realization of national interests impossible.

Keywords: strategy, national security, international security, security and defence, military threat, armed conflict

STRATEGIJA NACIONALNE SIGURNOSTI UKRAJINE: KONCEPTUALNA NAČELA I EFIKASNOST

Sažetak

Stvaranje dobrih uvjeta za stabilni razvoj pojedinca, društva i države uz istodobno osiguranje visoke razine zaštite nacionalnih interesa identificirano je kao prioritet nacionalne sigurnosne politike Ukrajine. Ukrajina se suočava s potrebom preispitivanja svih izazova i prijetnji i prihvaćanja nove nacionalne sigurnosne strategije. Postojeće okolnosti zahtijevaju da, između ostalih temeljnih odluka, Nacionalna sigurnosna strategija Ukrajine iz 2015. postane integralni funkcionalni element sigurnosnog i obrambenog sektora. Što se tiče sadržaja, ona treba postati otvoreni i obvezujući dokument razvijen isključivo radi ostvarenja praktične svrhe opće zaštite nacionalne sigurnosti i teritorijalnog integriteta Ukrajine. Ostvarenje tih prioriteta osigurat će se kroz obnovu mira i državne suverenosti u privremeno okupiranim područjima u Donječkoj i Lubanskoj regiji te kroz provedbu niza međunarodnih, pravnih, političkih, diplomatskih, sigurnosnih, humanitarnih i ekonomskih mjera. Ključni cilj provedbe tog strateškog dokumenta treba se zasnivati na ostvarenju načela sigurne i pravne države, u svakom pogledu slobodne u izboru domaćih i vanjskih političkih razvojnih prava. Premda su vanjske prijetnje opasnije od unutarnjih, sadržaj geopolitičke sigurnosti je primarno utemeljen na organskoj kombinaciji vanjske i unutarnje sigurnosti. Nesavršenosti nacionalnog sigurnosnog zakonodavstva i niska efikasnost njegove provedbe značajni su uzroci lošeg djelovanja obrambenog sektora, što onemogućava puno ostvarenje nacionalnih interesa.

Ključne riječi: strategija, nacionalna sigurnost, međunarodna sigurnost, sigurnost i obrana, vojna prijetnja, oružani sukob