

ENSURING NATIONAL SECURITY OF UKRAINE UNDER THE CHANGE OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

Hedikova N. P.

INTRODUCTION

Extensive modernization processes in the second half of the twentieth century, especially in its 80s, spread around the whole bipolar world and led to the creation of a new geopolitical situation, which confirmed the unipolar orientation of the world development and marked the establishment of a new type of world community on a global scale. It raised hope that society would be free from all kinds of conflicts and contradictions, and that the internal, interstate and global problems facing humanity would be solved peacefully, taking into account the national interests of each subject of international relations and on the basis of generally recognized norms and principles of international law. However, the economic, social and political changes brought about by the global transformation of modern society in the last two decades have deepened the dependence of some countries on the interests of other countries and fluctuations in the global political, financial and economic situation and acted as factors of economic and political confrontation between developed countries. These trends, firstly, have determined the vectors for the formation of a multipolar world, and secondly, they clearly show an increase in the level of global threats and instability.

Humanity has existed, exists and will continue to exist in the area of constant threats, the source of which is the multi-scaled natural and anthropogenic processes. Therefore, the issue of peace, stability and security is relevant to all states at any period of their existence. But with the change of epochs, generations and technologies, the content of the very concept of security, the means and organizational measures used to ensure it, the conceptual approaches to reforming the security sector management system, the directions and mechanisms of their implementation are changing over time. This is due both to the fundamental changes in the nature of international and interstate relations and to the achievement of scientific and technological progress.

The fact that global processes are the main source of social transformation makes modern epoch so special. It is the global changes that have occurred at the turn of the last two centuries that have influenced not only the specifics of the development of the world system as a whole, but also all spheres of life of the society, have become one of the most relatable

features of the modern era. It is around them that all the components of the process of development of civilization revolve, and it is they that determine its present state.

The ongoing processes have raised the issue of international and national security as one of the global problems of humanity.

1. Real and potential threats to international and national security

In the current circumstances of global transformations and a new world order, the paradigm of the existence of the world has changed, and thus new concepts have emerged to interpret the notions of «international security» and «national security». Meanwhile, the analysis of scientific literature has shown that understanding of their essence in the context of modern research approaches is determined ambiguously.

Summarizing scientific approaches, it can be noted that international security is stability and secure and sustainable development in the world, while creating the conditions for coordination of relations and interaction between all actors of the security sector. The concept of international security in the modern world is becoming more pervasive and goes far beyond the traditional notion, the essence of which is to maintain territorial integrity of the state by military or diplomatic means, and the threat to lose it comes from another state.

Among the considerable number of scientific approaches to defining the essence of the concept of national security, which in particular characterize its content, the research position offered by the authors of the analytical report «Conceptual Framework for Development of the National Security System of Ukraine» deserves special attention. Thus they have conventionally identified two approaches to interpreting the term: broad and narrow ones. According to the first approach, national security covers virtually all spheres of public life and is regarded as: protecting the vital interests of the individual, society and the state from external and internal threats; or the absence of threats to national values and the vital interests of citizens, society, the state; or a set of factors that provide favorable conditions for the development of the country; etc. The second approach to the definition of the term «national security» narrows its scope and can interpret national security as: the scope of joint efforts of certain types of public policy (the combination of policies may be different, but more often it is about military and foreign policy); or a condition which excludes the threat of war, the threat of the country's sovereignty, its independence and territorial integrity; etc.¹.

¹ Концептуальні засади розвитку системи забезпечення національної безпеки України : аналіт. доп. / О. О. Резнікова та ін. Київ : НІСД, 2015. С. 5.

Among the numerous attempts to define the concept of «national security of Ukraine», in our opinion, the concept of domestic researchers O. Vlasiuk, S. Pyrozhev and O. Bielov, according to which this category is understood as «a way of self-preservation of the Ukrainian people, which has reached level of organization in the form of an independent state. This method allows for its free existence and self-development, reliable protection against external and internal threats. National security of Ukraine can be defined as a system of state-legal and public guarantees for the stability of life and development of the Ukrainian people in general, and of every citizen in particular, protection of their basic values and legitimate interests, sources of spiritual and material development from possible real and potential, internal and external threats»².

The purpose of international and national security is to identify the ways of forming a security environment, to create favorable conditions for the development of objects of protection (state, society, people, nation, legal or natural person, citizen and individual) for the maximum satisfaction of their needs and interests, as well as to ensure the required level of protection against various threats based on the activities of the subjects of national security (international community, national society, state, state and international bodies, international and public organizations, officials, citizens and individuals) with the purposeful management of them in the direction of timely detection, prevention, neutralization and elimination of the factors that cause them.

Creating an effective system of international and national security requires an objective assessment of real and potential threats. As practice proves, it is implemented in the following main areas: geopolitical, state, political, military, defense, economic, social, demographic, ethno-political, humanitarian, socio-cultural, intellectual, scientific and technological, energy, food, environmental, cybernetic, judicial etc. The complex analysis of the security situation also takes into account the peculiarities of the development of a particular state and its strategic development goals.

Among the important factors that affect the security situation the most important are: conflict situations, which are based on incompatible interests and aspirations, differences in value systems, goals; disruption of the balance in a certain area or its subspecies; exacerbation of interethnic, interfaith, international and interstate relations.

Currently, there are many threats to the national and international security in the world. However, it should be noted that it is the new system of international relations that is becoming the main criterion for generating a

² Власюк О. С., Пирожков С. І., Белов О. Ф. Концептуальні підходи до формування системи національної безпеки України / О. С. Власюк. *Національна безпека України: еволюція проблем внутрішньої політики* : вибр. наук. праці. Київ : НІСД, 2016. С. 23 С. 25.

large number of threats and challenges of a diverse nature for the global security environment. Thus, Ukrainian researchers O. Vlasiuk and S. Kononenko conceptually distinguished seven major threat factors that are currently being identified globally.

1. Possibility of displacement to the periphery and assimilation. Globalization processes create dangers, bringing new asymmetries, disproportions, and deformations to the structure of modern interstate relations. As a result of globalization processes, the international status of some countries is declining, which displaces them into the periphery of world development and world politics.

2. Regional isolationism and regional imperialism. The processes of regional integration and the formation of regional integration blocs present threats of regional isolation and regional domination. It is a matter of regional fragmentation of the world – the danger of the emergence of closed and maximally isolated from the rest of the world regional groups that compete and oppose each other.

3. Fragmentation of violence and the return of its archaic forms. The historical changes currently taking place in the field of international security give rise to a number of challenges to national security systems, namely: local conflicts and low-intensity conflicts; information intervention, civil and hybrid wars; organized crime in all its manifestations, including terrorism and separatism; the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. There is a certain class of threats associated with the revival of archaic forms of international relations, such as militant imperialism and the great interstate wars, potentially threatening to detonate the world war.

4. Suspension of market democratization. The advancement of global market democratization may not only suspend, but also suffer a historic defeat, leading to the restoration of aggressive and repressive authoritarianism in some countries and the establishment of corrupt oligarchic democracies in others. And thus, the world will receive new lines of division, embers of conflict, sources of chaos and instability.

5. Erosion of value pluralism. The value pluralism of the modern world can be eroded by two factors – religious and ideological fundamentalism and value fragmentation (sectarian «minorityzation»).

6. Dysfunction of state-building processes. The crisis, or even the failure, of state-building efforts leads to the emergence of inefficient, fragile, dependent states, incapable of independent and self-sufficient existence, which threatens global peace and security.

7. Natural disasters and technological disasters. It is a threat of environmental disasters caused by climate change; the dual threat of global economic decline and the worsening struggle for natural resources caused by their depletion; demographic problems caused by accelerated population

growth on Earth; technological disasters that are a side effect of any revolution in technology and scientific and technological progress in general³.

According to the domestic political scientist S. Teleshun, there are five groups of global risks that will be transformed, but preserve the potential of systemic threats, both to humanity as a whole and to individual regions and states. Thus, the author notes that economic risks are at the forefront: unstable prices for food and energy; unpredictable and speculative fluctuations in world currencies; fiscal crisis; decrease in the value of assets; cyclical manifestations of the crisis in the economies of the dominant three countries; slowing down globalization; stagnation of business administration; limited financial resources and their investments in infrastructure, etc. The second group of risks include geopolitical threats, including: international and not only terrorism; unauthorized proliferation of mass destruction technologies; the critical situation in the «countries of axis of evil» – Afghanistan, Iran, North Korea, Iraq, Israel, Palestine; transnational crime and corruption; the failure of the existing world order. The third group focuses on environmental issues: climate disasters and cataclysms; water shortage; poisoning of the environment; the disappearance of certain representatives of flora and fauna. Social risks: different types of pandemic; migration; new infectious and chronic diseases; humanitarian disasters; worldview conflicts at the level of world cultures and others. And the last group of major risks comprises technological risks: systemic failures of information infrastructure; loss of databases; man-made (technological) disasters; toxic nanoparticles; cyber wars; interference with information privacy space, etc.⁴.

The global risks identified by the authors cited also include, in our view, such destabilizing factors of international and national security as the proliferation of nuclear technologies, uncontrolled migration from third world countries, violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rights of national minorities, multidimensional manifestations of political radicalism and extremism, the proliferation of new types of drugs, etc.

The results of the analysis of the legal documents of Ukraine and scientific publications on this issue give reason to highlight the following internal threats to national security:

- inefficiency of the national security and defense system;
- inefficient public administration;

³ Власюк О. С., Кононенко С. В. Національна безпека України: стратегічні виклики, національні інтереси та пріоритети забезпечення / О. С. Власюк. *Національна безпека України: еволюція проблем внутрішньої політики* : вибр. наук. праці. Київ : НІСД, 2016. С. 16–18.

⁴ Телешун С. О. Глобальні виклики та ризики, які загрожують світу у 2010–2015 рр.: місце і роль ООН у цих процесах. *Актуальні проблеми міжнародних відносин*. 2011. Вип. 96. Ч. 1. С. 10.

- infringement upon state sovereignty, territorial integrity, economic, scientific, technical and defense potential of the state, rights and freedoms of citizens;
- corruption, bribery, merging business and politics;
- low level of provision of military and special equipment and next generation weapons of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, other military formations;
- slow implementation and insufficient financial support for the reform programs of the state's military organization and defense industry associations;
- conflicts in the sphere of interethnic and inter-confessional relations, radicalization and manifestations of extremism in the activities of some associations of national minorities and religious communities;
- manifestations of separatism in certain regions of the country;
- formation of illegal armed groups;
- gunrunning;
- high criminogenic situation;
- structural and functional imbalance of the political system of society, inability of its individual units to respond promptly to threats to national security;
- economic crisis, depletion of financial resources of the state, decline in living standards;
- critical dependence of the national economy on the external markets, low rates of expansion of the internal market;
- the accumulation of public debt and the country's dependence on creditors threatens the stability of the financial system;
- growth of the share of foreign capital in strategic sectors of the economy;
- «shadowing» of the national economy;
- rising inflation and outpacing wage growth;
- significant increase in energy prices;
- legalization of proceeds of crime, which negatively affects all spheres of public life;
- predominance in the activity of management structures of personal, corporate, regional interests over national ones;
- the crisis of the social protection and the health care system;
- aggravation of the demographic crisis;
- inefficiency of state innovation policy, mechanisms for stimulating innovation activity;
- the outflow of scientists, specialists, skilled labor, young people abroad;

- illegal migration;
- cybercrime and cyber terrorism, etc.

Real and potential threats to Ukraine's national security may come from outside as well as from within the subject or object of security. Accordingly to it structurally national security consists of many components, which are determined by different spheres of national interests of the individual, society and the state, because they act as prerequisites for the process of designing a state development strategy and its activities in the international arena. Such components are state security, foreign and domestic political, economic, ethno-political, demographic, ethno-cultural, social-humanitarian, scientific-technological, ecological, informational, military-strategic, etc.

Given that international and national security continuously exert mutual influence on each other, it should be noted that these threats at the international and national level are interdependent and determining factor for both security areas. Taking this into account, it is worth agreeing with the opinion of the Ukrainian scientist I. Bilas, who states: «The basic feature of this period is that a lot of potential threats have come to replace the global threat: smaller scale, but quite serious in its consequences for the international peace and stability affecting the interests of many countries»⁵. This is primarily due to the change and complication of social relations, technology, instability in various spheres of life in individual countries and regions, respectively, «confrontation from the world level has shifted to the regional one. It is not regional associations that oppose it, but regional alliances; it is not individual states that are at war, but individual countries. The reasons are the same, the motives are the same and the horrible consequences are the same. This whole new set of contradictions entered into a fierce confrontation with the outdated world security scheme, imposed in 1945»⁶. For this reason, the interest of the subjects and structures of common security in providing national security with international security is justified.

A fundamental factor for international security is the provision of the public interests associated with the common desire to prevent the threat of self-destruction. At the present stage of its state-building, Ukraine, implementing the tasks of national security and defense, builds up its program of actions on the basis of the combination of national interests with the common ones. At the same time, it should be noted that the decisive role in this matter belongs to the national interests, based on the fact that they are

⁵ Білас І. Г. ООН та сучасні виклики і загрози міжнародній спільноті та безпеці в умовах глобалізації. *Актуальні проблеми міжнародних відносин*. 2011. Вип. 96. Ч. I. С. 37–38.

⁶ Чекаленко Л. Д. Національна безпека України: система реалізації. *Зовнішні справи*. 2016. № 11. С. 17.

intended to ensure the security of the country, its sustainable and progressive development.

Taking it into consideration, we state that it is the national interests that serve as prerequisites for the process of designing a state development strategy and its activities in the international arena. In addition, they define the principles, strategic goals, objectives and mechanisms of securing the vital interests of the individual, society and the state.

2. State policy of Ukraine in the field of national security

Security provision is the process underpinning the activity of its subjects, aimed at ensuring the stability, safe and sustainable development of the social environment, preserving and enhancing the spiritual, intellectual and material values of the objects of security, as well as ensuring the necessary level of their protection against all kinds of threats.

The modern transformation of relations, changes in the balance of interests, both at the global and regional level, have led to the corresponding adjustments of Ukraine's foreign policy. The main priority of its foreign policy has become the effective implementation of the European integration strategy, which is linked to significant changes in the content and tactics of its implementation.

Taking into account the new geopolitical realities, our country has clearly defined the priority and strategic tasks of the modern Ukrainian geostrategy in general, and especially the foreign policy course, the essence of which is the implementation of the new foreign policy philosophy of Ukraine, which is aimed at the implementation of European integration aspirations and comprises:

1) Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration, which is an integral part of the general course towards European integration, while the content of integration towards NATO and EU structures, while maintaining the strategic goal of membership in these organizations, undergoes certain conceptual and functional changes;

2) continued participation in UN peacekeeping activities considering it an important factor in its foreign policy;

3) implementation of the provisions of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement, while steadily maintaining its focus on democratic values and building democratic state institutions;

4) creation of effective mechanisms for state involvement in the world political and economic space, in particular in the format of regional models of cooperation⁷.

⁷ Аналітична доповідь до Щорічного Послання Президента України до Верховної Ради України «Про внутрішнє і зовнішнє становище України в 2016 р.» . Київ : НІСД, 2016. 688 с.

In the sphere of international security, conceptually, the key task of Ukraine is to ensure the long-term stability of international and, in particular, the European regional system. At the same time, in the foreign policy strategy, Ukraine, given the geographical location of our country, pays special attention to the development of partnerships with the countries of the former Soviet Union, as well as further constructive partnership with the structures of common security, namely: UN, OSCE, CIS, BSEC, European Union, North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the countries of Central and Eastern Europe within the framework of the Eastern European Union on all issues and other international organizations whose activities do not contradict or threaten national interests of Ukrainian people and humanity.

The system of international law and the system of domestic law are closely linked, due to the fact that states are its main subjects.

The sources of international law that directly regulate relations connected with the maintenance of international security are such fundamental and universally recognized principles as respect for the sovereignty of states and prevention of interference in their internal affairs, equality of states, self-determination of peoples and nations, non-discrimination, respect for human rights and freedoms.

Article 9 of the Constitution of Ukraine states: «Running international agreements, consent, on obligatory of which given by Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, are part of national legislation of Ukraine. Conclusion of international agreements which conflict with Constitution of Ukraine, possible only after bringing of the proper changes to Constitution of Ukraine»⁸. Considering this, the principles and rules of international law set out in the international legal instruments ratified by Ukraine are part of its legal system.

Having joined the international security system, Ukraine has signed a number of international legal acts on cooperation and peacekeeping in an international and regional format: Treaty establishing the Commonwealth of Independent States (1991); Memorandum on Security Assurances in connection with Ukraine's accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, so called Budapest Memorandum (1994); The Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (1996); The Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Partnership between Ukraine and the Russian Federation (1997); The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (1967); Declaration on the strategic partnership between the Russian Federation and Ukraine (2012) and others. In each of them, it is emphasized that the implementation of the provisions set out in them will be carried out on the basis of generally recognized principles of international law, the inalienable

⁸ Конституція України : офіц. текст. *Відомості Верховної Ради України*. 2019. № 9. Ст. 50.

right of all participating countries to respect state sovereignty and independence, territorial integrity and inviolability of existing borders.

However, despite its commitments, the Russian Federation has repeatedly attempted to violate Ukraine's territorial integrity and its sovereign right to self-determination, and at the beginning of 2014, it committed aggression against Ukraine.

Since then, in order to resolve the conflict between Ukraine and the Russian Federation, top leadership of the Ukrainian state, representatives of foreign states, politicians and experts have expressed the need to return to the «Budapest format».

Ukraine regards the Budapest Memorandum as an important international instrument for its security provision, thus, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, based on paragraph 6 of the memorandum in 2014, and subsequently officially addressed the signatory states demanding urgent consultations aimed to ensure full compliance with those obligations. Officially, neither party has abandoned their implementation. Moreover, the USA and Great Britain contributed to the protection of Ukrainian interests by raising the issue of Ukraine's security at the UN Security Council, as well as through the system of sanctions against the Russian Federation.

The prospect of working within the «Budapest format» depends on whether the Russian Federation will join the negotiation process and fulfill its obligations. In the meantime, we can state the fact that, as domestic history shows, there is no such agreement with Russia that it would break sooner or later. The Russian Federation violates not only the agreements enshrined in the Budapest Memorandum, but also the basic principles of the OSCE Final Act, the UN Charter, the principles and rules of international law. Its actions are a challenge not only for Ukraine but also for international law and the world community as a whole.

The aggressive actions of the Russian Federation against Ukraine violate all norms of international relations and international law and reiterate the fact that, firstly, «a country that is not part of a reputable international structure is often not sufficiently respected by the so-called great states and international organizations, and even disregard the interests of a single state that can only count on its own strength»⁹, secondly, these international instruments do not regulate binding mechanisms and instruments for guaranteeing the security of the participating states and counteracting responses to some threats to their sovereignty and independence, do not prescribe clear procedures for protection against breaches of security guarantees.

⁹ Тімкін І. Система національної безпеки України: стан та перспективи розвитку. *Нова парадигма*. Київ : Вид-во НПУ ім. М. П. Драгоманова, 2015. Вип. 128. С. 165–167.

All of the mentioned above led Ukraine to raise the issue of dropping the country's non-aligned status.

Under these conditions, the task of re-assessing Ukraine's place and role in the modern world in order to achieve a «new foreign policy positioning of Ukraine in the world in the face of instability of the global security system»¹⁰ becomes extremely urgent. In this regard, Ukraine, being an active participant of international relations and, in particular, partnerships in the field of security, gives an objective assessment of the factors that threaten global international stability and adversely affect the security environment of Ukraine.

Currently the basic normative documents in Ukraine, which according to the provisions of the Constitution of Ukraine, aimed at building the environment for ensuring national security of the country are the following: the Law of Ukraine «On National Security of Ukraine» (21.06.2018)¹¹, the Law of Ukraine «On the Principles of Domestic and Foreign Policy» (01.07.2010)¹², National Security Strategy of Ukraine (26.05.2015)¹³, Concept of development of the security and defense sector of Ukraine (14.03.2016)¹⁴.

The first document sets out the bases and principles of national security and defense, the goals and fundamental principles of public policy aimed at protecting national interests and guaranteeing the public and every citizen protection against threats. The second document sets out the basic principles and ways of implementing a balanced, focused domestic and foreign policy of Ukraine and the effective implementation of a set of concerted measures to protect national interests in different spheres of life. The third document officially endorses the system of principles, strategic priorities and goals, tasks and mechanisms for securing the vital interests of the individual, society and the state in a changing and contradictory global space in the long run. The fourth document defines the main directions and tasks of development of the security and defense sector of Ukraine in the medium term, formed on the basis of the assessment of the security environment and financial and economic capacities of the state.

¹⁰ Про Стратегію національної безпеки України : Указ Президента України від 26.05.2015 № 287/2015. URL: <http://www.rnbo.gov.ua/documents/396.html>.

¹¹ Про національну безпеку України : Закон України від 21.06.2018 № 2469-VIII. Відомості Верховної Ради. 2018. № 31. Ст. 241.

¹² Про засади внутрішньої і зовнішньої політики : Закон України від 01.07.2010 № 2411-VI. Дата оновлення: 08.07.2018. URL: <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2411-17> (дата звернення: 13.09.2019).

¹³ Про Стратегію національної безпеки України : Указ Президента України від 26.05.2015 № 287/2015. URL: <http://www.rnbo.gov.ua/documents/396.html>.

¹⁴ Про рішення Ради національної безпеки і оборони України від 4 березня 2016 року «Про Концепцію розвитку сектору безпеки і оборони України»: Указ Президента України від 14.03.2016 № 92/2016. URL: <http://www.president.gov.ua/documents/922016-19832>.

Ways to reach the country's most appropriate place in the global security system are theoretically substantiated in the updated version of the National Security Strategy of Ukraine¹⁵. It attempted to take a new, much more comprehensive look at the phenomenon of security, its internal content and it identified the main priorities of state policy in the field of guaranteeing the national security of the state.

Based on the analysis of the mentioned normative document, it can be stated that global processes, actual threats caused by the changes in the foreign and domestic security environment of Ukraine, occurring since 2014, actualized the need to develop a «completely new state policy aimed at effective protection of national interests in economic, social, humanitarian and other fields, comprehensive reform of the national security system and the creation of an effective security and defense sector of Ukraine»¹⁶. Thus, the most important priority of the national security policy of the country is «minimization of threats to state sovereignty and creation of conditions for restoring the territorial integrity of Ukraine within the internationally recognized state border of Ukraine, guaranteeing the peaceful future of Ukraine as a sovereign and independent, democratic, social, state of law»¹⁷.

Therefore, the main directions of state policy in this area, defined in the National Security Strategy of Ukraine, are the following:

- restoration of territorial integrity within the internationally recognized state border of Ukraine;
- creating an effective security and defense sector and enhancing the country's defence capability;
- reforming and developing intelligence, counterintelligence and law enforcement agencies;
- reforming the public administration system and improving anti-corruption activities;
- integration into the political and economic structures of the European Union and the development of a special partnership with NATO;
- implementation of foreign policy activities based on their own capabilities, including the policy of European and Euro-Atlantic integration and at various levels – global, regional, subregional¹⁸.

Successful completion of the tasks is possible provided the unity and capacity of the subjects of activity in the field of security, the powers, organization and order of activity of which are determined by the current legislation. State and public institutions, based on their organizational,

¹⁵ Про Стратегію національної безпеки України : Указ Президента України від 26.05.2015 № 287/2015. URL: <http://www.rnbo.gov.ua/documents/396.html>.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

functional and resource capacity, are primarily responsible for guaranteeing the sovereignty, territorial integrity, well-being and comprehensive security of citizens.

In early 2014, it became apparent that Ukraine's national security system was not ready to effectively confront new types of threats at the present stage of its development. Thus, the document «Analysis of the state policy in the field of national security and defense of Ukraine», executed by a group of Ukrainian experts with the support of the Reanimation package of reforms, states: «The authorities, all parts of the military organization of Ukraine, local self-government bodies, the unified system of civil defense, national economy have not been prepared for the transition from peaceful to martial law and repel armed aggression... The actions of the subjects of national security of Ukraine at the beginning of the aggravation of the military-political situation were not effective. Efficiency of management's decision-making in the field of national security was low, which did not provide timely response to new threats. The absence of a permanent modeling and forecasting mechanism as a basis for decision-making did not allow us to take a proactive role»¹⁹.

In addition, in our opinion, this was due to the fact that the whole system of national security lacked adequate institutional support and delimitation of the areas of competence of the direct implementers of measures in this matter, their unprofessional actions, insufficient resources and their inefficient use, appropriate legal mechanisms of management in this area were absent, also it lacked persistence in the decisions and responsibility for the results of their practical implementation.

At present, the country's government, objectively evaluating the state of this system, is taking comprehensive steps to reform it. An important step in this direction was the adoption of the Sustainable Development Strategy «Ukraine – 2020» of 12.01.2015²⁰ and the National Security Strategy of Ukraine of 26.05.2015²¹. These strategic documents have become the basis for comprehensive reform and development of the relevant security sector and the whole system of its provision. For instance, Sustainable Development Strategy «Ukraine – 2020», which defines a security vector as one of the main directions of the country's movement, provides the implementation of 62 reforms and state development programs. The aim of the legislative reforms is to ensure the security of the individual, society and the state,

¹⁹ Дацюк А., Садовський В., Полтораков О., Марутян Р. Аналіз державної політики у сфері національної безпеки і оборони України : виконано групою експертів за підтримки Реанімаційного пакету реформ. Київ, 2015. С. 21–41.

²⁰ Про Стратегію сталого розвитку «Україна – 2020» : Указ Президента України від 12.01.2015 № 5/2015. URL: <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/5/2015>.

²¹ Про Стратегію національної безпеки України : Указ Президента України від 26.05.2015 № 287/2015. URL: <http://www.rnbo.gov.ua/documents/396.html>.

the implementation of European standards of living in the country, the creation of an effective security and defense sector, and Ukraine's taking the leading position in the world. Also, these documents provide specific mechanisms for reforming, this fact differentiates them substantially from all other documents adopted during Ukraine's independence to regulate this sphere.

Given that the effectiveness of public policy in the field of national security «is largely determined by the state of development of national security theory and the level of implementation and application of appropriate methods, techniques, models, mechanisms, principles, etc. in the process of practical solution of actual problems of state formation»²², it should be noted that in theory it has been fully substantiated, but the use and implementation of certain tools and mechanisms to produce the expected effect requires updating and substantially improving the legal framework and coordinated actions of government entities in all spheres of life of the country, development and implementation of technologies for reducing conflict and destabilizing factors.

CONCLUSIONS

Substantial changes in the field of international and national security are currently underway, and are mainly related to the intensification of globalization processes in the eco- and social system. The nature and tendencies of the modern globalization process are determined, on the one hand, by the objective component, which contains the causes of the positive, regular manifestations of globalization, and, on the other, the subjective component, in which the causes of its negative manifestations are laid. In this context, special attention is paid to the new system of international relations, which becomes the main criterion for the formation of a large number of threats of various nature for international and national security.

The main priority and strategic task of the state policy of Ukraine in the field of national security is to ensure internal political processes: restoration of the territorial integrity of Ukraine at the borders of 1991; the return of Ukrainian sovereignty; unity of the country and consolidation of Ukrainians as a modern political nation. At the heart of Ukraine's national security is a set of ideas about human and citizen security, achieved through the creation of political, economic, social, environmental and other conditions that, in their unity, will provide them with decent living conditions, self-fulfillment, well-being and freedom.

An important condition for the realization of priority and strategic tasks in this field is the growth of Ukraine's international prestige, strengthening of its subjectivity on the world arena, active participation in the processes of globalization, in the formation of a new system of

²² Власюк О. С. Національна безпека України: еволюція проблем внутрішньої політики : вибр. наук. праці. Київ : НІСД, 2016. С. 12.

international relations. Ukraine's EU membership and NATO membership are an irreversible guarantee of Ukraine's security. In general, Ukraine maintains peaceful and mutually beneficial cooperation with the members of the international community in accordance with generally recognized norms and principles of international law, adheres to the basic principles of relations between states based on their international obligations, first of all, the UN Charter, as well as the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, European Security Charter and other instruments whose main purpose is to create a single international security system.

However, in today's rapidly changing international security environment, driven by global processes of restructuring the world, Ukraine needs to take many practical steps to strengthen its global role on the international arena, take a leading position in the world hierarchy, and ultimately ensure its own national security.

SUMMARY

The essential characteristics of the concept of «international security» and «national security» have been considered. The real and potential threats to international and national security have been identified and analyzed. It is stated that the considered threats of the international and national levels are interdependent and determining factor for both security spheres, given that they continuously exert mutual influence on each other. At the same time, the main threats to the national security of Ukraine are of domestic origin, which are largely due to its uncertainty in carrying out constructive actions on the regional and international arena, as well as inadequate response to new world realities. The main priorities and strategic tasks of Ukraine's national security policy have been analyzed. Emphasis is placed on the institutional and legal support of the activity of our state in this field. The article emphasizes that, taking into account certain positive developments in the national security of Ukraine, the development and implementation of political and legal and security strategies, certain tools and mechanisms to obtain the expected effect in the field of counteracting threats as well as the continuous improvement of its security system are still relevant today.

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Information about the author:

Hedikova N. P.,

PhD in Political Sciences, Professor,

Professor at the Department of Political Science and Law,

State Institution «South Ukrainian National Pedagogical University

named after K. D. Ushynsky»

26, Staroportofrankivska str., Odesa, 65020, Ukraine