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EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENSE POLICY:
STRATEGIC ASPECTS OF UKRAINE'S COOPERATION
WITH THE EU

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The main objective of the study is to analyze the experience of the countries of the European Union in the implementation of defense and strategic management and the mechanisms of Ukraine's integration into the European military system, which is extremely relevant at the current stage of the European integration of our country. The methodological tools of the research are the following ones: a systematic approach, which made it possible to gain a deeper understanding of the essence of interstate military communication; an interactional approach, which helped to analyze the interaction of the countries of the region through the prism of interests and expectations of interested structures. A normative-value method contributed to the understanding of the positive perception of the EU residents of military integration, and the formation of political values, as well as a structural-functional method showed the tools of informational support of European

integration processes in the field of defense, as a single security system in the region. The methodological basis of the research formed works of domestic and foreign experts on the security situation in Europe, official EU documents, websites, and analytical notes of experts.

The article examines the peculiarities of building and functioning of the regional security complex that has developed in Europe. The basis of this complex is strategic defense management. Particular attention is paid to the features of the internal self-organization of this security space, as well as to the factors of environmental influence on the dynamics of processes that ensure the security of the region. The current security situation, the influence of global players on the security of the region during the period of open military aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine are analyzed. The authors emphasize various aspects of security that are characteristic of the modern global world. These include economic, information, social, and security in its classical military and political sense. The research focuses on the regional security complex as an analytical unit, which is a group of actors in international relations whose processes are so interconnected that they cannot be properly analyzed and studied separately from each other. The mechanisms of Ukraine's integration into the EU security environment are analyzed. The reasons for the containment of Ukraine's military integration are pointed out, and theoretical miscalculations of the European security system of the late 20th century are revealed. The analysis of the relations of the European regional security complex with third states and other security complexes allows us to identify the links between the security strategy and the issues of practical policy that dominate today.

Key words: European Union; regional security complex; integration; strategic defense management; security strategy of Ukraine.

Introduction

With aggression against Ukraine, Russia not only violated international law, but also undermined the established structure of European security, built on the principles set forth in the Helsinki Final Act of 1975. After an unsuccessful attempt to quickly seize Kyiv, the Russian Federation is now following tactics of attrition, believing that Ukraine and the countries of the West will be tired of the war earlier than Russia. This, in turn, will force them to make concessions to Russia during negotiations. At the same time, the Russian Federation is ready

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to continue an additional mobilization and increase missile strikes on civilian objects in Ukraine.

Russia's strategic goals remain unchanged: establishing control over Ukraine and changing the structure of European security in accordance with the interests of the Kremlin. Moscow seeks to stop the further expansion of NATO, to return the military facilities of the Alliance to the places of deployment where they were before 1997.

Russia is trying to preserve its own exclusive zone of interests, especially focusing on the territories that used to be part of the USSR. However, due to the war against Ukraine and the inability to win it, trust in the Russian Federation in the military and security spheres in the countries of the former USSR has significantly decreased.

Russia's aggressive actions have accelerated the erosion of international security mechanisms and organizations, and increased the risk of an armed clash on the continent between NATO and Russia. This situation prompted Sweden and Finland to join the Alliance, which strengthened the EU's defense capabilities and forced European governments to increase investments in the defense of their own countries. Accordingly, Ukraine is developing its defense strategy in line with the already established EU military model. One of the mechanisms that ensures the functioning of the EU military system is defense strategic management. This article will try to investigate which of its components are already functioning in Ukraine and which ones are worth working on.

Analysis of recent research and publications

Domestic and international security regulatory documents are important for the disclosure of the topic: agreements, regulations, resolutions and other acts coordinating this group of relations. Among domestic researchers, representatives of various scientific schools and branches, as well as theorists, military personnel, politicians and civil servants deal with the problems of European security. The issue is so multi-vector and important that it is difficult to single out the main directions of national security in the context of European integration. Works of V. Kopyika, T. Shynkarenko and M. Myronova (2010), V. Horbulin (2021), A. Martynov (2018) and other researchers relate to various aspects of the European security system. It was the regional approach in the formation of security structures that V. Konstantynov (2017) analyzed. Works of representatives of the Copenhagen School of International Studies are important as well (Thompson and Strickland, 2001; Yarger, 2008, pp.51-66).

In particular, the works deal with the theory of regional security complexes. The study of R. Bengtsson (2009) also deserves appropriate attention. It highlights the connection of the security structure in the region with the level

of integration of international actors, as well as the role played by external actors, such as the Russian Federation, in the processes of forming the regional security complex in Europe.

Formulation of the objectives of the article

The main objective of the study is to reveal the essence of defense strategic management through the prism of the implementation of its principles in ensuring the national security of Ukraine, as a future member of the EU.

Based on the above, the following tasks are expected to be solved: analyze the current state of scientific development of strategic management problems in the field of ensuring national security; determine the role of defense strategic management in the national security system, in particular, in the preparation of strategic documents and institutions in the field of ensuring national security; identify key problems during the preparation and implementation of strategic security tasks; outline the possibility of applying the experience of European military management for the formation of effective security institutions of Ukraine, as a potential member of the EU and NATO.

Presentation of the main material of the study

On a global scale, the Russian invasion of Ukraine means an escalation of the rivalry between the West and its values and non-Western illiberal and authoritarian subjects. On the foreign policy front, Russia is actively implementing measures aimed at forming a geopolitical coalition of authoritarian states that will oppose the West. In this context, China, together with the Russian Federation, is the main systemic rival of the USA and the West, and relations between Beijing and Moscow have deepened even more after the Russian aggression against Ukraine. However, there is an imbalance in these relations in favor of China. Russia's dependence on China for the purpose of softening the economic and political sanctions of the West will lead to a decrease in the influence of the Russian Federation in areas where the interests of both states intersect. The EU defines China as a partner for cooperation, as well as an economic competitor and a systemic rival. Brussels is concerned about the significant development and modernization of the Chinese Armed Forces (including the strengthening of nuclear potential), the expansion of the presence of the PRC in the maritime and space spheres, as well as the use of cyber tools and hybrid tactics by Beijing.

However, despite the growing rivalry between the Euro-Atlantic community led by the US and the block of autocratic states led by China and Russia, we can hardly hope for a return to the bipolar world order of the Cold War.

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Many countries, including Brazil, India and South Africa, are currently refraining from joining any side.

The security situation in Europe itself is also ambiguous. Traditionally, the example of the Western Balkans, where in some countries there is no progress in the processes of stabilization and reforms, interstate and interethnic problems have not been resolved. The consequences of the wars of the 1990s continue to affect inter-ethnic relations, creating constant challenges for the national security of the countries of the peninsula. Unfavorable economic, social and political conditions caused the strengthening of radical views, in particular nationalist, extremism, population emigration from the countries of the Western Balkans to Western Europe. The flow of illegal migration along all Mediterranean routes remains constant. The intensity of individual routes depends on various factors, such as: the situation on the ground, changes in the migration policy of the governments of the countries along the route, weather conditions and the presence of smuggling networks. Since 2017, the migration flow through the Mediterranean routes has steadily decreased, and since 2021, its growth has been observed once again.

Russia continues to use energy carriers (especially gas) as one of the main tools of pressure on European countries with the aim of undermining their unity. The EU reacted to this by increasing the import of non-Russian gas, and the USA became its main exporter to the EU. In the first half of 2022, for the first time, Europe received more gas from the USA than from the Russian Federation. Sanctions imposed by the Western powers led to the de facto isolation of Russia on the continent.

Russia's war against Ukraine revealed the growing importance of non-state subjects in international relations. Thus, Ukraine uses the private satellite Internet system "Starlink" to provide communication, while the Russian Federation used the private military company "Wagner" to conduct complex military operations. One of the long-term consequences of the conflict in Ukraine is the availability and proliferation of firearms that can fall into the hands of terrorist and criminal organizations.

All of the above requires the implementation of new strategic decisions in the defense sphere of Europe and Ukraine, as a potential member of the EU.

Russia's military aggression influenced the foreign policy course of Ukraine, causing a new cycle of development of its security sphere. At the legislative level, as is known, requirements for planning in the security sector are laid down in Chapter V of the Law of Ukraine "On National Security of Ukraine", which defines the purpose, principles, and types of planning. The purpose of planning is to ensure the implementation of state policy by developing strategies, concepts,

programs, development plans for security sector bodies, resource management, etc. The law enshrines the following strategic documents in the security and defense sector of long-term planning: National Security Strategy of Ukraine, Military Security Strategy of Ukraine, Public Security and Civil Defense Strategy of Ukraine, Strategy for the Development of the Defense-Industrial Complex of Ukraine, Cyber Security Strategy of Ukraine, National Intelligence Program Law (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2018). Strategic documents and programs regarding the development of the components of the security sector are classified as medium-term planning documents. But, despite the fact that the range of documents of a strategic nature in the field of national security is defined in various normative legal acts, a number of key issues remained open. The effectiveness of their implementation depends on the quality of strategic defense management (DM), which is considered as a tool for intensive implementation of the state's defense policy. It is believed that the problems of defense construction, which require managerial solutions, are similar throughout the European space (Bucur-Marcu, Fluri and Tagarev eds., 2009).

The strategic DM provides an analysis of the prerequisites for the best implementation of higher-level documents, the selection of an appropriate realization policy, monitoring, a final assessment of the degree of achievement of the set goals, review and correction of strategic documents. For effective implementation of defense policy and successful performance of strategic level documents, European experts in the field of public policy identify a number of necessary prerequisites (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984).

The European experience shows that economic, demographic and other external constraints lead to a significant limitation of the number of the armed forces (AF) of the state. At the same time, they must have a high degree of readiness and modern technical support. In order to conduct a successful DM in conditions of economic constraints, it is considered necessary that the Ministry of Defense of the country be part of the managerial structure of the general system of public administration, while its organizational structure is separated from the military personnel, and the defense sphere is under the influence of democratic civilian control.

At the same time, European experts consider the product of a state's defense policy to be not only its military capabilities, but also the public and political sense of security within the country and its international status. All of this will shape the ability of society to withstand modern hybrid challenges.

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The current system of public administration of the defense sector in Ukraine organizationally meets the European criteria that the Ministry of Defense (composed of civilian officials and led by a civilian minister) is part of the national system of governance (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2014).

The appointment of the Secretary of the National Security Council as the executive secretary of such a committee gives reasons for the growth of the role of this state body in the formation and implementation of defense policy. At the same time, it should be noted that not all legally established levers of influence are used. In the system of state management of the defense sphere, the role of the parliament in the formation of defense policy is low, which remains outside the consideration of defense programs, strategies and concepts, despite the legislative norm (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2018).

Appropriate time and sufficient resources are necessary for the implementation of strategic documents. The draft of the new Concept of the Armed Forces envisages high rates of transformations in the Armed Forces: technical re-equipment – in 4.5 years 30% of new air defense systems, correction of the imbalance between combat units and support units (the ratio between which today is 43% and 57%, respectively) to the European level (in Poland – 76% and 24%, in Turkey – 68% and 32%) (Dovhan, 2023).

All these measures require guaranteed financial resources of the state, as well as all these intentions were rejected by the war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine. In the budget for 2014, expenses for the Ministry of Defense amounted to UAH 15.1 billion. The following year, they were tripled to UAH 45.8 billion. In 2016, UAH 59.4 billion were allocated to the Ministry of Defense, in 2017 – UAH 68.8 billion, in 2018 – UAH 86.5 billion. In 2019, defense spending in Ukraine exceeded UAH 100 billion. In 2020, UAH 118 billion were allocated to the relevant ministry, in 2021 – UAH 121.4 billion. In 2022, against the background of the full-scale Russian aggression, taking into account all recent changes to the state budget, the costs of the Ministry of Defense will amount to UAH 624.3 billion. For 2023, the government has set the budget of the Ministry of Defense at an unprecedentedly high level (not only for this department, but also for all) – UAH 857.9 billion (Vytraty Ukrainy na oboronu planuiut zbilshyty, 2022). Roksolana Pidlas, deputy head of the parliamentary committee on economic development, clarified that 96.5% of this amount, or UAH 518.2 billion, is spent on national security and defense. Most of these funds will go to the financial support of military personnel (Rekordni vytraty na armii u 2023 rotsi, 2023).

The necessary resources must be available. As it is known, in case of insufficient available resources, forces and means of defense are optimized, and

priorities are determined. This process is nationally specific. Achieving the required level of funding for army reform requires a complex solution and political will (including anti-corruption measures) (Yarger, 2008, pp.51-66).

The policy that needs to be implemented is based on a cause-and-effect relationship, and this relationship must be unmediated. The military policy of European countries demonstrates a close cause-and-effect relationship between foreign policy and macroeconomic changes and transformations in the armed forces. The consequences of the global economic crisis, that put a number of European countries (Greece, Portugal, Romania, Estonia, Latvia) at risk of bankruptcy, significantly weakened the EU as a whole. New foreign policy trends that have recently emerged in Europe are local integration within NATO (French-British cooperation: creation of a joint nuclear research center, opening of access to each other's military facilities, joint research projects, joint expeditionary force, joint operation of equipment, etc.) – all these factors, at one time, caused a radical reduction in military spending by the Eurozone countries, and have created a critically dangerous situation in Europe today. At the same time, before the threat of aggression, it made it possible to mobilize the military-industrial complex of the region in record time. Joint economic and technological reserves were mobilized under unified military-strategic management.

The experience of the military reform of the countries neighboring Ukraine shows that the cause-and-effect relationship of reducing the number of armed forces must be realized with the simultaneous solution of the following complex tasks: improving the system of managing the armed forces with an emphasis on control mechanisms; a significant increase in their combat capability due to their restructuring, professionalization (with an emphasis on rapid response forces), and technical re-equipment with modern types of self-defense; by increasing innovation costs, etc.

In addition, Ukraine observes the dependence of the results of the reform of the Armed Forces on the following factors: the state's strategy and social orientation in solving national security problems; level of professionalism of the officer corps and the mechanism of its stimulation; methodologies for managing the process of reforming the Armed Forces; financial support of the reform and its targeted use; level of corruption; level of international assistance of partners.

External dependence is minimal. A condition for the successful implementation of the state's defense policy is the existence of a single independent

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organization with managerial functions, responsible for the implementation of the defense policy (Horbulin and Kachynskyi, 2011).

Taking into account national specificities, some countries prefer to create a defense management board or council with the appropriate status and scope of powers. This requires an understanding and coordination of the goals of all bodies on the basis of systematic mutual control. European countries consider the security sector to be a comprehensive system for countering threats to national security. Tasks have to be completely defined in the correct sequence. European practice shows that moving towards the agreed goals, it is necessary to define in detail and in a clear sequence the tasks of each of the participants in the implementation of the military policy. Today, for Ukraine, the issue of implementing one of the strategic goals of the military reform – the technical re-equipment of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, which requires parallel and simultaneous reform of the Armed Forces and the transformation of the defense industry – is acute (Horbulin, 2021).

Availability of perfect communication and coordination. This premise is related to a centralized management system. The European experience proves that coordination is not just the transfer of information or the creation of appropriate management structures. It involves the use of power (Stroianovskiy, 2020).

In the centralized system of state management of the defense sphere of Ukraine, the NSDC as a body, which by status, powers and functions is assigned to coordinate the development of the defense sphere of the state, and its apparatus is entrusted with the organizational-technical, information-analytical and other support of the above-mentioned Committee on the Reform of the Armed Forces and the Defense Industry, should have an appropriate unit that would combine the efforts of the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Economic Development (or a special management body such as the Defense Ministry Agency), the Presidential Administration, the Verkhovna Rada, the Cabinet of Ministers, the National Academy of Sciences and various feedback links of the system state administration – Inspections on issues of control over the activities of military formations under the Administration of the President of Ukraine, specialized parliamentary committees, scientific institutions and public analytical centers, etc. In the European practice, management bodies are not only empowered and responsible, but also have the real power to exercise these powers and directly influence the implementation process.

Conclusions

The analysis of the prerequisites for the implementation of the strategic documents of the defense sphere of Ukraine, taking into account the European

experience, revealed the following main obstacles to the successful implementation of the defense policy of Ukraine: the imperfection of the regulatory and legal support of the military reform, including in terms of the completeness, coherence and consistency of the complex of higher-level documents; insufficient effectiveness of the system of state management of the defense sphere, in terms of the use of management levers of the National Security Council and the Parliament; the unguaranteed financial support of the military reform and the absence of a real mechanism for conducting strategic defense management.

To improve the quality of strategic defense management in Ukraine, it is expedient to take the following steps: complete the process of institutionalizing the security and defense sector as an integral system of ensuring Ukraine's national security; to ensure the simultaneous reform and development of the Armed Forces of Ukraine with the reform of the defense-industrial complex of Ukraine; strengthening the innovative component and prioritizing development directions that have a strategic impact on the state's defense capability; to develop a mechanism for monitoring and assessing the degree of achievement of strategic goals and reviewing strategic documents; procedurally regulate the procedure for exercising the powers of the National Security Council to control the activities of executive authorities, in terms of the responsibility of officials for non-compliance with the decisions of the top military leadership.

All this should be done as quickly and qualitatively as possible. At the same time, it is necessary to destroy the aggressor, to develop the economy, to fill the budget during total shelling, to resist the hybrid war and its own corrupted power system.

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ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКА ПОЛІТИКА БЕЗПЕКИ ТА ОБОРОНИ: СТРАТЕГІЧНІ АСПЕКТИ СПІВРОБІТНИЦТВА УКРАЇНИ З ЄС

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Мета дослідження – аналіз досвіду країн Європейського Союзу у здійсненні оборонно-стратегічного менеджменту та механізмів інтеграції України у військову систему Європи, що є вкрай актуальним на сучасному етапі європейської інтеграції нашої держави. Методологічними інструментами наукової розвідки є системний підхід, який дав змогу глибше пізнати сутність міждержавної військової комунікації; міждисциплінарний підхід, що дозволив проаналізувати взаємодію країн регіону крізь призму інтересів й очікувань зацікавлених структур. Нормативно-ціннісний метод сприяв розумінню позитивного сприйняття мешканців Європейського Союзу військової інтеграції, формуванню політичних цінностей; структурно-функціональний метод показав інструменти інформаційної підтримки євроінтеграційних процесів у сфері оборони як єдиної безпекової системи в регіоні. Методологічною основою дослідження є праці вітчизняних і закордонних фахівців із питань безпекової ситуації в Європі, офіційні документи ЄС, сайти офіційних установ, аналітичні записки експертів.

У статті досліджуються особливості побудови і функціонування комплексу регіональної безпеки, що склався в Європі. Кардинальна зміна стратегічного середовища безпеки на Європейському континенті вимагає не тільки єднання держав у рамках наявних регіональних об'єднань. Мова про більш конкретні дії і залучення до обговорення

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порядку денного країн, які безпосередньо впливають на безпеку і стабільність Європи у широкому контексті. Окрема увага приділена особливостям внутрішньої самоорганізації цього простору безпеки, а також факторам впливу середовища на динаміку процесів, що гарантують безпеку регіону. Також проаналізовані сучасна безпекова ситуація, вплив глобальних гравців на безпеку регіону в період відкритої військової агресії Російської Федерації проти України. Закцентовано увагу на різних аспектах безпеки, які є характерними для сучасного глобального світу. Йдеться про економічну, інформаційну, соціальну, а також безпеку в її класичному військово-політичному розумінні. Досліджено регіональний комплекс безпеки як аналітичну одиницю, що являє собою групу учасників міжнародних відносин, процеси в яких настільки пов'язані між собою, що не можуть бути належно проаналізовані та вивчені окремо один від одного. Розглянуто механізми інтеграції України до безпекового середовища Європейського Союзу. Висновок. Зазначені причини стримування військової інтеграції України, а також розкриті теоретичні прорахунки європейської системи безпеки кінця ХХ ст. Аналіз взаємовідносин європейського регіонального комплексу безпеки із третіми державами та іншими комплексами безпеки дозволяє виявити зв'язки між безпековою стратегією і питаннями практичної політики, що домінує на сьогодні.

Ключові слова: Європейський Союз; комплекс регіональної безпеки; інтеграція; стратегічно-оборонний менеджмент; безпекова стратегія України.