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## ГЛОБАЛЬНЕ ЛІДЕРСТВО І ЕФЕКТИВНЕ УПРАВЛІННЯ В УМОВАХ УКРАЇНИ ПОШУКАХ НОВОЇ ГЕОПОЛІТИЧНОЇ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ

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### GLOBAL LEADERSHIP AND EFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATION IN THE CONDITIONS OF UKRAINE'S SEARCH OF A NEW GEOPOLITICAL IDENTITY

Despite changes of political elite and the strategic course undertaken by them during the last ten years the current ambition is to help Ukraine become one of the top twenty of world leaders. But this task is not always synchronized with national self-consciousness of the Ukrainians who still do not feel their geostrategic role in the world history. The stereotypes that prevent Ukraine from realizing itself as an independent player in the world space are still invariable. In the Post Soviet territory Ukraine occupies the position of the most geopolitically open country that has a high potential of integration with the global world. But the appropriate resources for defending its national interests are not formed. That is why, nowadays, the matter of principle for Ukraine is not only a formal attempt to be among the top twenty of the most developed countries but to develop its own potential which would enable to influence the world policy and define a new international system in the XXI century.

The main principle of Ukraine's international policy should be a realization of pragmatic policy that, first of all, would take into account its own national interests. Thus, a Ukraine's more active position can also be justified even if Ukraine would try to use the global world to realize its own interests. Any country in the world that takes care about its own safety does not use only one source of its realization. That is why, a modern approach to the state policy formation in Ukraine should include multi-orientation, predictability and national pragmatism that would ensure its

transformation to a new modern and innovative type of development. To some extent, it will oppose 'a dilution' of national sovereignty. And only those countries that are able to turn their culture, science and education into a strategic resource of their development can keep their own sovereignty. Today Ukraine should make an ambitious claim for its role of a leader in the global world with new geopolitical interests, even in the conditions of breaking the terms of Budapest memorandum, and losing support of the countries-guarantors.

An important issue in forming the potential of Ukraine's global leadership is a high level of openness to integral processes. Establishing strong relations with the USA, the EU and Russia, Ukraine has lost its own formula of identity and it has a negative influence on the system of state governance. Because of it, Ukraine is losing the potential of effective influence on the world globalization processes, and external global parties are getting a better opportunity for direct, based on economic and political dependence and indirect influence which is based on cultural and informational dependence.

Joining corresponding international organisations will not solve the problems of national security in Ukraine. Such global structures as the EU, UN, NATO are becoming strategic institutions of the unique legitimacy of internal as well as external policy of Ukraine. So, it is of vital importance for Ukraine to clearly understand strategic relations and

strategic partnership which would be based on recognizing mutual values, principles of bilateral support, pragmatism, realization of large-scale international projects.

Consequently, the formation of an effective system of national security is becoming more strategically important. Its institutions need reforming, especially Council of National Security and Defence, as a body that has to be composed of competent representatives of a certain professional field as well as a civil society and which would provide the administration of the country with analytics about the most urgent threats. It should become a principally new means of efficient policy that would modernize the dialogue between the corresponding branches of power and a civil society. Such a dialogue should be based only on the anthropocentric principle, according to which a person is the main value for the state.

Foreign policy of Ukraine fully corresponds to the challenges of the time. The issue of resource support of effective administration in the conditions of new geopolitical challenges is raised more often nowadays. Taking into consideration the fact that the development of effective governance in Ukraine does not go in line with long term stratagem, there is a certain strategic demand for new models of political, economic, social and humanitarian culture of governing. The issue of principle is strengthening of statehood in the conditions of its probable loss. In Ukraine the role of the state as a founder of large-scaled projects multipliers has been strengthened lately on a regional level. Meanwhile, the weakness of political parties and insufficient development of civil society institutions is a dangerous reserve for instability today.

All these factors contribute to a negative influence of integrating processes on efficient governance in Ukraine. There are three main parties of integrating initiatives and each of them pursues their own interests, they are the EU, the USA and Russia.

The main priorities of integration of Ukraine into the European Union are adaptation of Ukraine legal system to the EU standards; creating a zone of free trade in the EU; increasing goods export; creating working places; visa free system. Ideology of European integration is mainly regarded in Ukraine as emotional and propagandistic technology without taking into account the fact how a political elite can ensure its positive features and diminish negative ones. The point of European integration in order to form the potential of global leadership and to ensure effectiveness of state governing system in Ukraine is only a certain political technology. Axiological value of institutional basis of the European Union is lost. According to the concept of *Yu. Khabermas* the European Union did not manage to put state interests over private ones. Thus, modern Europe started to adopt Post European values which deny Christianity, individuality, puritan labour ethics, human relations, sovereignty. Organic estrangement of these values from the countries that are mentally close to Europe emphasizes certain contradictions of their civilization development.

Currently, the priority of cooperation between Ukraine and the USA is strengthening of democracy; supremacy of

law; realization of a judicial reform, struggle against corruption. In this sphere, Ukraine is necessary for the USA as a strategic ally in the struggle for global dominance. Until recently the policy of relations between Ukraine and Russia was based on the cooperation in economic, political, cultural spheres, but the annexation of Crimea has shown that Ukraine is not ready to react to the challenges of 'global policy' from the part of its eastern partner in an appropriate and effective way. The quality of mutual understanding and partnership relations between Ukraine and Russia define principles of stability only in the region but on the whole continent.

In order to increase its global leadership, Ukraine has to take into account tendencies of the modern world development. It is worth proceeding from the fact that nowadays a new world system with different force centres is emerging where the USA's influence is significantly decreasing. Regional problems and conflicts are coming to the foreground (Iran, Iraq, North Korea, the Middle East, Abkhazia, Kosovo and so on). In fact, a non polar world is being formed which diminishes the influence of one economics or policy, 'great states' are losing control over the global agenda and do not fully comprehend how to react to certain problems and conflicts, how to settle them. According to the world experts' opinion, although 'a non-polar world' is more dangerous, and more of a conflict nature but it gives equal opportunities to all countries, creates conditions for a transparent competition among them and, hence, is more fair.

The concept of global leadership of big and small states is very different. The former ones, as a rule, have a bigger historical experience, while the small ones carry out a more cautious and transparent policy. A geopolitical methodology itself is changing correspondingly, and, as a result, a substitution of the notions 'force' and 'influence' are taking place. So, it is not necessary that only a great country with appropriate experience of accumulation of potential of a great and a strong one can be a global leader now, but the country that realizes new tendencies. Those, who will not comprehend these tendencies, risk remaining among the secondary ones or even outsiders.

The crisis has become a catalyst of processes of global leadership activation and competition among the states for their priority. The level of leadership depends on the potential of a country's influence on it and its ability to offer a new model of development. Hence, in the conditions of the crisis, a general attack of the state on a civil society is taking place, because of it the state becomes technologically weaker as its main functions are protection of a citizen's rights and interests. It is obvious that the state does not succeed in fulfilling this task and that is why citizens are looking for other institutional means of their rights and interests protection by joining corresponding transnational unions which serve this purpose, though only nominally. It leads to reforming a political geography and, consequently, to a regional disintegration. Geopolitical conflicts very often break out between small countries on this basis and great countries inevitably get involved into the conflicts. The conflict between Ukraine and Russia of 2014 because of Crimea annexation is a good

example to it. Great countries had to seek for a legal foundation to solve this conflict by introducing appropriate diplomatic sanctions.

A vitally important task is to define how effective international law and world diplomacy in solving such conflicts are. The global world is rapidly developing and they often fall behind it in an intellectual way. That is why these conflicts are settled extempore. It is strategically important to guess the world trend to lead the state, otherwise, the state can become an outsider. This tendency is evident for Ukraine as well, because the strategy of overcoming the crisis of 2014 was determined not in Ukraine but by external players and it automatically acknowledged its geopolitical weakness for the global world. Due to this fact Ukraine is being turned into a certain 'transfer zone' and world players get an opportunity to realize their own national interests on its territory, and in that way limiting Ukraine's own interests.

Now Ukraine does not need relations with the states 'guardians' because it can decide on its geopolitical ambitions itself. For this purpose, Ukraine does not need to expect an integral approach from the EU, the USA, or Russia. The country that hopes that one or another national global parties will provide it with some help, sanctions or use diplomatic pressure on its geopolitical opponents can not develop its own civilized direction. The EU, the USA and Russia are reforming the world and they are taking into account only their own interests and Ukraine, which will not take an active part in its rearrangement, will be politically and mentally left out.

That is why accumulation of potential of a great state is a very important issue for Ukraine today in the context of seeking for a new global identity. In this case, we mean not only an institutional structure that provides efficiency of state governance functioning but also an institution which ensures citizens' protection. Thus, it is possible to make a powerful state not only by increasing its capacity. It will result in more effective work in the interests of the whole society. Thomas Paine's formula for developing the concept of a powerful state that defines the potential of its global leadership can be used. According to his ideas, the strategic aim is protection of human rights that stipulates inadmissibility of a war among modern states. In the modern world 'a different way of solving disputes which arise among neighbouring countries' must be found. In order to avoid them the states must be well educated and that is why it is necessary to cultivate the principle of mutual understanding among them. Thus, there is an issue about adopting meritocratic principles in the system of ensuring state governance effectiveness. The possibility of the country to become a global leader is determined by the quality of human potential, level of education, science, and technology.

Understanding of a war and its influence on forming the potential of global leadership in the country is quite a contradictory matter in different national systems of state governing. For instance, analyzing the role of a war in strengthening the potential of Germany, Hegel grounded its positive role as 'an aid-man of history' that ensures effectiveness of social development. A war deprives weak ones

of their lives and allows the strongest ones to survive, as a result, it contributes to the formation of a powerful nation and state. But in the modern world there are other reasons for using military forces which traditionally breaks the state of 'eternal world', particularly it is the protection of a state sovereignty and state nationalism which is often imposed on other states. In such conditions a war becomes justified only if it serves for the protection of human rights. In other cases, it is a means of violence.

In contrast to this, a new formula for establishing global leadership is a realization of an idea of external world in Kant's understanding but this idea is not realized now to its full extend. In the conditions when each state seeks for its geopolitical identity, the creation of a union of nations on peace basis seems to be wrong even if each state joining such an organization will get certain security but will have to waive its rights and resources. In such a union a corresponding stratification will quickly occur and only the states that will succeed in ensuring their citizens' rights and protecting a national sovereignty will obtain leading positions. But for this purpose it is necessary to win a victory in a war.

In order to ensure global leadership of a state and effectiveness of its governance line functioning, it is necessary to form a national matrix of values which would enable to clearly express the system of national interests in a certain integrative association. It will give a possibility to formulate a new value paradigm of Ukraine humanitarian development where a person's interests are in the centre of attention. So, such context of problem solving moves to the point of a state survival but not obtaining global leadership of a state as a strategic imperative of social development. That is why a high level of value uncertainty, which is reflected on life activities of a modern person, has led to the crisis of global leadership among modern states. Taking into consideration the fact that global problems of the modern world development can not be solved only by the efforts of one state it does not raise a question of a team leadership for Ukraine because it will deprive it of the opportunity to uphold its own geopolitical identity. Ukraine must find a nationally regulated formula of geopolitical identity, which would serve for the realization of its own national interests and would declare the wish to uphold them in the global world.

In the modern global world states with rather limited resources have become global leaders of its development. At the same time they held this position for quite a short period of time. It shows that Ukraine must objectively analyze its potential and resources in cultural and civilized, ideological, social, demographic, economic, political spheres and direct them to ensure its own mobilization development. It is important for Ukraine today to formulate its own geopolitical self-sufficiency as a state that possesses the potential of solving global problems and is an active player in settling regional conflicts. In order not to become a geopolitical bankrupt, Ukraine must have clearly formulated national interests that should be realized according to the corresponding integration project. In the opposite case Ukraine will not be able to ensure its own advancement in the global world.