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CHALLENGES AND THREATS TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY – UKRAINE'S CAPACITY TO RESPOND TO THEM

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The world is changing rapidly. Development of situation in Eastern Ukraine showed that the system of public administration Ukraine was unprepared to prevent and respond to acts of aggression of the Russian Federation, and therefore needs to be improved. The strategic planning system requires improvement. The article presents the results of the expert-analytical group of the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine on events of Defence Review. Here is also considered a new state security environment in the medium and long term challenges and threats to national security of Ukraine, related to the possibility of using military force against it and also some internal environmental and technological challenges and threats. We consider Ukraine's capacity to respond to these challenges and threats.

Key words: Defence Review, predicted challenges and threats, National Security Strategy of Ukraine, the Security and Defence Sector of Ukraine, threats to national security.

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ВИКЛИКИ ТА ЗАГРОЗИ НАЦІОНАЛЬНІЙ БЕЗПЕЦІ – СПРОМОЖНОСТІ УКРАЇНИ ЩОДО РЕАГУВАННЯ НА НИХ

Сучасний світ швидко змінюється. Розвиток ситуації на Сході України свідчить про те, що система державного управління України виявилася неготовою запобігти та адекватно відреагувати на агресивні дії Російської Федерації, а отже, потребує удосконалення. Вимагає вдосконалення система стратегічного планування. У статті представлено результати роботи експертно-аналітичної групи Міністерства оборони України, отримані під час ужиття заходів оборонного огляду. Проведено аналіз нового безпекового середовища, спрогнозовано виклики та загрози національній безпеці України у середньо- та довгостроковій перспективі, пов'язані із можливим застосуванням проти неї воєнної сили, а також окремі екологічні й техногенні виклики та загрози. Розглянуто спроможності України щодо реагування на зазначені виклики та загрози.

Ключові слова: оборонний огляд, прогнозовані виклики та загрози, Стратегія національної безпеки України, сектор безпеки і оборони України, загрози національній безпеці.

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ВЫЗОВЫ И УГРОЗЫ НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ – ВОЗМОЖНОСТИ УКРАИНЫ ПО РЕАГИРОВАНИЮ НА НИХ

Мир быстро изменяется. Развитие ситуации на Востоке Украины свидетельствует, что система государственного управления Украины не в состоянии предотвратить и даже адекватно отреагировать на агрессивные действия Российской Федерации, и нуждается в усовершенствовании. В статье представлены результаты работы экспертно-аналитической группы Министерства обороны Украины, которые были получены в результате проведения оборонного осмотра. Проанализировано новое состояние среды безопасности, спрогнозированы вызовы и угрозы национальной безопасности Украины в средне- и долгосрочной перспективе, связанные с возможностью применения против нее военной силы, а также экологические и техногенные вызовы и угрозы. Рассмотрены возможности Украины по реагированию на указанные вызовы и угрозы.

Ключевые слова: оборонный осмотр, прогнозируемые вызовы и угрозы, Стратегия национальной безопасности Украины, сектор безопасности и обороны Украины, угрозы национальной безопасности.

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Problem setting. The modern world is changing rapidly. Development of situation in Eastern Ukraine showed that the system of public administration Ukraine was unprepared to prevent and respond to acts of aggression of the Russian Federation, and therefore needs to be improved. The strategic planning system requires improvement. Strategic planning as a function of public administration defines goals, objectives, priorities and a set of measures to implementation of state policy. According to the National Security Strategy of Ukraine improving the state of strategic planning, a unified system of monitoring, analysis, forecasting and decision-making in national security and defence is one of the priorities of the national security policy [1].

The objective. The article is to present the results of the expert group on national security expert-analytical group of the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine, received during the Defence Review. We consider the forecast trends of military-political situation in Ukraine and around the world, predictable challenges and threats to the national security of Ukraine.

Recent research and publications analysis. Issues of national security are studied by many scientists and creative groups [2–6]. National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review 2015 were presented in Parliament, Prime Minister of Great Britain in November 2015, after the formation of a new government and end the next cycle of strategic planning [7]. The document states that from the rise of ISIL and greater instability in the Middle East, to the crisis in Ukraine, the threat of cyber attacks and the risk of pandemics, the world is more dangerous and uncertain today than five years ago.

According to the order of the Minister of Defence was established expert-analytical group at the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine which was engaged the Defence Review, and included experts of structural divisions of the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine and the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, National Defence University of Ukraine, research institutes [8]. The new security environment is investigated by experts of the National Defence University of Ukraine and Defence Policy and Strategic planning Department Ministry of Defence of Ukraine [9].

The presentation of the main results and their justification. The functions of strategic planning are prognostic, programming and design. Sometimes they are referred to the procedures of strategic planning. This strategic prognostication – a form of planned activities is to anticipate the scientific prediction of the object at a specified future time.

Analysis conducted by the results of the results of the Defence Review within the framework of the

comprehensive review of the Security and Defence Sector of Ukraine. Determined that the development of the politico-military environment throughout the world and around Ukraine is determined by the following major trends:

the establishment of the multipolar relations system, attempts to change the existing power balance, first of all by the leading world nations. This is reflected in the fact that over the recent years the role of the world's major centres of power such as the North American led by the USA, the Western Europe under the leadership of the European Union, the Eurasian led by the Russian Federation, the Asia-Pacific with leading positions of China and Japan is being strengthened. There is also the establishment of new centres of power under the auspices of such countries as India, Turkey, Iran and Brazil. Under current conditions there are attempts to change the existing balance of powers among the major global centres;

intensification of contradictions between the leading centres of power regarding the division of spheres of influence. Aggravation of geopolitical rivalry between the Euro-Atlantic and European collective security systems on the one hand, Eurasian and Asia-Pacific systems – on the other remains crucial for the formation of politico-military situation at the current stage of global change. The growth of economic, technical and military potentials of the global centres' participants leads to intensification of the struggle for influence in areas of their strategic interests. The growth of international competition for access to natural, technological and other resources significantly affects the formation of the politico-military situation in the world. Intensification of contradictions between the global centres of power results in the retention of «frozen» and the emergence of new conflicts, their periodic aggravation in the Caucasus and Central Asian regions, the Balkans, the Middle East, Ukraine, Transnistria and other regions. Support of separatism, ethnic and religious confrontation, internal instability, causing «loyal regimes» provides the basis for aggravation of contradictions and the emergence of new armed conflicts;

the increase of interdependence of the leading states in the context of globalization, the growth of influence of leading global corporations, intensification of struggle for natural resources, use of energy factor for political ends. Globalisation is a characteristic feature of the current world evolution, which significantly influences the economies of states, strengthens their interdependence, and sharpens rivalry for access to energy resources. Along with the positive factors globalisation provokes the increase of inequality in the distribution of world resources,

leads to turbulence of international capital flows and related conflicts and crises. The division of the world into rich centre and poor provinces still remains the problem in the context of development gaps of the countries belonging to the so-called «golden billion» and other countries. A negative consequence of globalisation is the political instability, which is manifested in the increasing number of disabled, unrecognised states and degrading or failed states. There is a crisis of power in many countries, the development of democratic processes is being constrained, separatist movements are gaining momentum. The situation is deteriorating as a result of crisis processes in macroeconomics. Escalating competition is being expected, particularly in such areas as access to resources (primarily - energy), struggle for maintenance and expansion of zones of influence;

the reduction of the efficiency of measures applied for crisis management and military conflicts settlement by the leading international organizations. Cooperation with the leading global and regional international organizations, maintenance of mutually beneficial partnership relations at the bilateral level remains an important factor in creating foreign policy conditions that will affect the security level of any country of the world. However, there is a tendency to reduce the effectiveness of mechanisms of countering aggression by the existing international collective security systems. Under these conditions, strong states are trying to impose their will on weaker partners contrary to international law. This explains the aspiration of many countries to provide their own security through active cooperation with Euro-Atlantic and European collective security systems;

preserving the role of military force as a means of solving problematic issues of politico-military relations. Over the recent years there has been a tendency towards more explicit use of military force in pursuance of politico-military objectives. At the same time there are significant changes in forms and ways of using military force, new approaches to armed struggle appear, including the use of non-governmental paramilitary organizations. In many cases this reduces the effectiveness of international collective security systems and complicates the application of international law to resolve conflicts;

the desire of individual states to succeed in the military-technical sphere and create opportunities for the production of weapons of mass destruction. Despite the difficult financial and economic conditions of the global economy development after 2008–2009 crisis, there is an increase of military budget of the countries, purchase of new materiel,

the increased danger of uncontrolled proliferation of nuclear weapons, carriers and materials for their production, as well as dual-use technologies;

the spread of terrorism (including cyberterrorism), piracy, organized crime, illegal immigration, illicit trade in arms, drug and human trafficking. international terrorism, piracy, transnational organized crime, human, arms and drugs trafficking, «black transplantation», struggle for spheres of influence, violent shift of power in certain countries are leading to the increased international instability. There is a rapid intensification of terrorist activities in cyberspace. The solution of such problems requires consolidated efforts by the whole international community;

acceleration of the information technologies development, increasing the capabilities of states to conduct information and information-psychological operations, increasing the sensitivity of the society to the death of peaceful population and casualties of military units in armed conflicts. The information factor within foreign policy implementation of the leading nations and insurance of their national interests accords even greater importance. This is increased by the swift development of the newest technologies. As the recent years has shown, the value of information technology for the achievement of geopolitical goals will grow and acquire the role of one of the main factors in modern conflicts. Modernization and improvement of technical intelligence systems by the foreign intelligence services, increase of their capabilities, attempts of unauthorized access to the information infrastructure of the state and its use against the interests of Ukraine, monopolization of the telecommunications services market by the large foreign companies and their attempts to impose to the state their conditions for national information and communication networks and systems operation are becoming threatening factors for the information security system functioning in Ukraine, hinder the development and use of information sphere and endanger the vital interests of human and citizen as well as society and the state under the conditions of information society development and globalization of information exchange in Ukraine;

global climate changes, depletion of natural resources, growing deficit of drinking-water, food and increased migration in the world. Global climate changes along with other global humanitarian issues: aggravation of demographic situation, constant «food crisis», rising unemployment, impoverishment of broad layers of population, increased migration – create a favourable social base for radical extremist movements and terrorist forces and is the basis for

destabilization of the situation in both individual regions and the whole world.

The security environment in the medium and long term is characterized by the number of challenges and threats to the national security of Ukraine that are related to possible use of military force against it:

- the infringement against state sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine by foreign states, terrorist organizations and separatist movements operating in Ukraine;

- simplification by the Russian Federation of legal procedures on the use of military force beyond its own territory, justification of the use of military force as means of settling international disputes;

- interference into the internal affairs of Ukraine by the foreign states, including the support of political and other organizations, the activities of which are aimed at violation of the constitutional order, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine, internal socio-political stability, law and order;

- impediment to Ukraine's joining the existing and perspective collective security systems;

- violation by states of international agreements, agreements on non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery, arms control, limitation and reduction of armaments;

- building up of forces and materiel near the southern and eastern borders of Ukraine, establishment of new and expansion and modernization of existing military bases and facilities, causing the imbalance of powers in the region;

- aggravation of humanitarian problems related to the internal movement of population from the zone of armed conflict in the eastern Ukraine and the occupied Autonomous Republic of Crimea;

- activation of intelligence, reconnaissance and sabotage activities of the foreign special services, and other governmental or non-governmental international organizations against Ukraine;

- disclosure of information constituting a state secret, illegal collection and use of information in the areas of defence, state security, economy, science and technology, and endangering information security of the state;

- danger of committing terrorist acts, including in cyberspace, on critical infrastructure facilities of Ukraine by the reconnaissance and sabotage groups of special services of foreign states, terrorist organizations and separatist movements operating in Ukraine;

- promoting illegal import of weapons, ammunition, explosives, radioactive materials and narcotics, weapons of mass destruction to Ukraine;

- using the crisis in Ukraine-Russia relations by foreign countries to shake out Ukraine from the

traditional arms markets, discredit Ukraine as a reliable partner in the issues of military-technical cooperation;

- using energy, trade and economic dependence of Ukraine to achieve politico-military objectives;

- using military force in the region or involving states in the region, presence of «frozen» conflicts, including those near the borders of Ukraine, and creating conditions to spread instability in Ukraine;

- enhancing separatist sentiments in areas densely populated by ethnic minorities in Ukraine, and active support of such activities by individual countries;

- political, financial, military or other support of paramilitary or armed groups, terrorist organizations in Ukraine that are not provided by law;

- strengthening information and psychological influence on Ukraine in order to destabilize politico-social situation in Ukraine or in certain regions and areas densely populated by ethnic minorities;

- using of political or economic sanctions against Ukraine, the suspension of diplomatic relations with Ukraine;

- violation of the Convention on the High Seas of 1958 because of piracy acts against marine vessels or aircraft of Ukraine;

- increasing flow of irregular migrants to Ukraine or through its territory as a result of armed conflicts, deterioration of the socio-economic situation of individual countries.

Internal environmental and technological challenges and threats will significantly affect the National Security of Ukraine in particular:

- excessive man-made impact on the territory of Ukraine, increasing the possibilities of man-made and natural disasters;

- obsolescence of equipment of high-risk sites, communal infrastructure of residential areas and waste treatment facilities of enterprises;

- environmental abuse, radioactive, chemical and biological pollution, a problem of transboundary pollution;

- ineffectiveness of measures taken to manage the negative consequences of the military and other environmentally hazardous activities;

- deterioration of the ecological state of water basins, aggravation of the transboundary pollution and water quality deterioration, aggravation of technogenic status of hydraulic engineering structures of the multireservoir system on the river Dnipro;

- inadequate control over import to Ukraine of environmentally unsound technologies and materials, pathogenic agents, use of genetically modified organisms.

Capabilities of Ukraine to respond to these challenges and threats are limited by such internal conditions and factors:

difficult economic situation, high level of population poverty and unemployment;

corruption, high level of crime, including organized and armed;

radicalisation of political parties and movements;

the presence of cultural, religious and language contradictions in the society;

unresolved issues related to the delimitation of Ukrainian borders;

incompleteness of the reform of Unified State Civil Defence System;

disequilibrium and incompleteness of system reforms, including those in the defence sphere of Ukraine;

ineffective state policy on defence planning and military construction;

low level of the defence capability of Ukraine, insufficient mastering of forms and methods of modern warfare by the Armed Forces of Ukraine and other military formations;

vulnerability of information infrastructure of the state, first of all critical information infrastructure facilities;

imperfection of training system, insufficient level of practical proficiency of military experts and their adaptation to the modern warfare conditions;

low level of defence orders, actual absence of search and applied works related to the production of high-tech defence products;

technological obsolescence of the equipment of military-industrial complex enterprises;

lack of closed cycles of domestic production of a considerable materiel;

outflow of highly skilled experts of the military-industrial complex from Ukraine;

sharp decrees of the competitiveness level, and moral obsolescence of domestic defence and dual-use goods.

The features according to which the activities of other states (coalitions of states) are classified as threat of use of military force against Ukraine and give grounds to identify potential military enemy, include:

raising the ultimatum, satisfaction of which may result in violation of the constitutional order, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine;

suspension of diplomatic relations with Ukraine; permission of another state to use its territory by a third state (coalition) for the preparation and commitment of aggression against Ukraine;

the adoption of the regulatory act by another state, allowing the use of its armed forces on the territory of Ukraine;

economic and information blockade of Ukraine;

acts of provocation on the state border of Ukraine;

actions disrupting military formations and special-purpose agencies' C2 system, or resulting in the impossibility of execution of functions by the national security actors;

activation of intelligence and subversive activities against Ukraine as well as military intelligence in Ukraine;

political, financial, military or other support of armed groups or terrorist organizations in Ukraine that are not provided by law;

conduct of general, limited mobilization or deployment of military forces, building up of groups of the armed forces of neighbouring countries, increasing the intensity of military exercises near the state border of Ukraine;

leaving without the agreement with Ukraine provisions on the location of units of the armed forces of another country, which according to the concluded international agreements stay in Ukraine, as well as on the activities to use such units against a third country;

actions disrupting the security of the nuclear and chemical industry facilities, military-industrial complex, facilities storing materiel, ammunition, and other potentially dangerous items.

Conclusions and prospects of further research. Implications of these and other challenges and threats may be the use of military force against Ukraine through armed aggression (according to the features listed in the Law of Ukraine «On the Defence of Ukraine») [10, c. 70], armed conflict on the state border or within the country, involving Ukraine into military conflict between other states. These ways of military threat materializing may be combined with one another and arise consecutively or simultaneously. In view of the trends and conditions of the development of the security situation around Ukraine, the possibility of aggravation of the politico-military crisis and its escalation into a local or regional war in the short and medium term is considered to be serious.

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