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## ГЕОПОЛІТИКА ТА МІЖНАРОДНІ ВІДНОСИНИ

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UDC 327

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### THE SECURITY ELEMENT OF UKRAINE'S INTEGRATION IN EU IN THE CONDITIONS OF "HYBRID WAR" (POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT)

**Безпековий вимір інтеграції України в ЄС в умовах «гібридної війни»  
(політико-економічна складова)**

*Статтю присвячено дослідженню безпекового виміру інтеграції України в Європейський Союз. На підставі проведеного дослідження авторами з'ясовано змістове наповнення категорій "інтеграція", "державна безпека", "національна безпека", "національні інтереси". Розглянуто етапи інституційного розвитку спільної зовнішньої та безпекової політики ЄС, формування, розбудови та вдосконалення оборонної політики Європейського Союзу, основні напрямки європейського співтовариства щодо створення власної Європейської безпекової та оборонної політики в контексті нових загроз у сфері міжнародної політики. Основними практичними механізмами здійснення політики у сфері безпеки в рамках ЄС є: Спільна європейська політика безпеки та оборони, Європейська безпекова та оборонна політика. Констатовано, що дипломатія залишається основою взаємної зовнішньої політики та політики безпеки в ЄС. Проаналізовано потребу реформування національної безпеки України, що особливо актуальним є на сучасному етапі державотворення в умовах російської агресії. Висвітлено процес переговорів та підписання Угоди про асоціацію між Україною та ЄС, розкрито її значення. Досліджено вплив європейської інтеграції на процес соціально-економічних перетворень та стан української економіки в цілому.*

*Ключові слова: Європейський Союз, Україна, Угода про асоціацію, переговори, оборонна політика, спільна зовнішня і безпекова політика, мілітаризація, інтеграція, зовнішня діяльність*

The proclamation of Ukraine's independence, was established in the national referendum, it created a new political reality in our state. The urgent foremost need arised to create a new political system that would be based on democratic moral and ethical development principles, taking into account, first and foremost, national interests and realizing the need to protect them from external and internal threats. The existence of Ukraine as a sovereign and stable state is closely linked to the issue of national security, which is especially important at the present stage of state-building in the conditions of Russian aggression.

The problems of national security are among the most important and the most complicated phenomena of political life, and it is one of the priority areas of cooperation at the present stage, in fact, political and security components.

The national security of Ukraine is in the new geopolitical environment incredibly dependents on the severity of the information-psychological confrontation, the ability of the

state to identify and correct new challenges and threats in the information field. Today, in the basis of the information-psychological opposition are the attempts of the opponent to replace the historical heritage, to reformat the ideological attitudes and values in the society. Fundamental changes in the world lead to painful processes of searching or to reconsideration states' internal and foreign policy identity, appropriateness, participation and its place in the international integration associations. In some regions, particularly in the Eurasian, there is a competition of integration projects in the center of which was the Ukraine. These processes cause complex changes in the international associations: the weakening or disintegration of old alliances, attempt to enhance existing or create a new one.

“Hybrid war” in Ukraine combines the methods of informational, psychological, economic war, and cultural expansion. If in classical wars, the fight was for resources and territory, in the non-classical “hybrid wars”, the enemy seeks to conquer the public consciousness of citizens in a particular country, recode the fundamental cultural values of the population, to distort their historical memory.

Hybrid war of Russian Federation against Ukraine began in 2014 and goes on for the fifth consecutive year, already exceeding the duration of the Great Patriotic War. As a result, armed military aggression of Russia had annexed Crimea, occupied part of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. Despite the disruption of trade and economic relations, hybrid war is active in the information field. The hybrid war caused Ukraine irreparable human and serious material losses. As of the middle of 2018 15,5 thousands of military personnel of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and the National Guard of Ukraine were killed or injured Ukraine [2].

Considering the economy as the hybrid war, we should take into the account its close relationships with other spheres of society in Ukraine and as well in Russia. So, the economic component of the hybrid war is most closely associated with her socio-political component, as it is socio-political destabilization in the state object of aggression that allows the state subject aggression to achieve the goal they started a hybrid war for. Therefore, economic measures that Russia is applying in this hybrid war against Ukraine, directly or indirectly are oriented to a predictable chain reaction of destabilization of the social sphere with the subsequent orientation to political destabilization in Ukraine. At the same time an effective impact on the socio-political sphere of the enemy is important to the state of the hybrid object of aggression that is Ukraine, because it gives her a significant chance to win in this hybrid war [4].

The field of hybrid war between Russia and Ukraine was quite logical (i.e. productive) sector of the national economies of both countries. Although the course of events in this sphere was more inert in comparison with the financial sector, it is through the nature of technological processes of material production. Hybrid war has exasperated long-standing economic contradictions between Ukraine and Russia and diversified them. So, one of the traditionally conflict-prone areas of the Ukrainian-Russian economic relations is the gas sector. In particular, the NJSC “Naftogaz of Ukraine” in a relatively short period completely refused to buy natural gas from Russian “Gazprom” and buys it through a reverse supply from European companies. Thus it not only significantly weakened the role of gas supplies as a lever of Russian economic and political influence on Ukraine.

The economic component of the hybrid war is closely connected with its socio-political component, as it is socio-political destabilization in the state object of aggression gives the state subject the aggression to achieve the goal they started a hybrid war for. At the same time an effective impact on the socio-political sphere of the enemy is important to the target state of hybrid aggression, because it gives them the significant chance to win in this hybrid war. The economy of the States parties to the hybrid war in this case is, in fact, a powerful means of influencing the socio-political sphere. And the current Russian-Ukrainian hybrid war is of no exception to this rule.

The new geopolitical challenges that our state has to face in the conditions of hybrid war, which was initiated and conducted by the Russian Federation in contrary to any norms of international laws, calls for intensified European integration vector of foreign policy priorities of the state, and creating a balanced approach to the forms and methods of their implementation.

All this leads to necessity of analysis of the security dimension of Ukraine's integration into the European Union (further - EU). Cooperation with the European Union, Ukraine has always been considering as one of the main possible future directions.

Integration is a sort of process that has a goal and tasks, forms and principles, which are governed by special laws, or ethical standards. Such interpretations in some modification are used in modern scientific literature. The explanatory dictionary of Oxford University considers integration as “the act or process of combining two or more parts so that they function together” [18]. In short encyclopedic dictionary “Philosophy of Politics” political integration is seen as “a set of political processes aimed at consolidation, merging social, political, military, economic structures” with the aim of countering the destructive internal and external factors” [14].

In the historical and politico-institutional areas, the European integration arises as a process of gradual delegation of national powers to the European level, resulting in the formation of his distinctive political system [3].

In the Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR “On the implementation of the Declaration on state sovereignty of Ukraine in the sphere of external relations” (dated December 25, 1990) is already one of the main vectors of foreign policy determined by the European integration process through direct participation in the European process and European structures. Integration into the European structures was recognized as one of the priorities of foreign policy of our state and the Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine “On main directions of foreign policy of Ukraine” (1993) declared non-aligned status of the state [6].

Multi-vector foreign policy of Ukraine's non-aligned status, the rejection of nuclear weapons in exchange for respect for the sovereignty of Ukraine was created, as noted by V.Sadovsky, A.Datsyuk, “the illusion of security guarantees of our state in the future”, and “national security policy, was formed in isolation from the real state of Affairs in the state, internal and external challenges and threats” [10]. Therefore, in 2014, when there was a real threat of loss of state sovereignty on the agenda was the need for the immediate improvement of security policy. Only a year after the annexation of the territory of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the outbreak of hostilities in the East of Ukraine in May 2015 was approved a new national security Strategy of Ukraine - a document that identifies current threats to Ukraine's national security and related objectives, tasks, mechanisms of protection of national interests of Ukraine and serves as the basis for planning and implementation of state policy in the sphere of national security, the dominant species which is recognized as a military component.

Throughout the years of independence, Ukraine's foreign policy has been driven by the traditional security dilemma, which sets the benchmarks for finding its security model, and it focuses on integration into European security structures, while maintaining a positive relationship with Russia. The security dilemma is, in fact, reflected in all Ukrainian foreign policy alternatives which are the policies of multi-vector, neutrality and non-aligned status, European and Euro-Atlantic integration, the Eurasian vector as instrument of national security. The presence of Ukraine's security dilemma is explained by its geopolitical position, the power characteristics of the centers of force involved, and a number of other factors. Due to its status as a middle-level state and due to its historical heritage, internal political and

economic problems, certain resource constraints, which constitutes the international potentials of the country all together, it cannot exert a significant influence on international security. However, Ukraine itself is currently experiencing a security shortage.

Ukraine's weak European integration position and its inconsistency with the political and economic criteria for EU accession have become a natural result of inconsistency and delay in implementing reforms. Years of stagnation have left Ukraine behind those countries in Central and Eastern Europe that have been pushing hard for complex market transformations. Domination of “declarative” and the lack of “implementation” culture in the executive authorities, weak institutional and functional consolidation of the European integration policy in the daily activities of the Ukrainian government, ineffective mechanisms of interagency coordination and monitoring of adopted decisions, low level of professional skills European integration, had a negative impact on the implementation of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement and the EU Integration Strategy.

With the start of Russian aggression against Ukraine, it has become apparent that the security situation has changed dramatically and does not meet the threats identified in the Law of Ukraine “On Fundamentals of National Security of Ukraine” (2003). That is why on June 21, 2018, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted the Law of Ukraine No. 2469-19 “On National Security of Ukraine”, which defines the bases and principles of national security and defense, the goals and basic principles of state policy that will guarantee the society and every citizen protection from threats [1].

According to the law it states that state security is the protection of state sovereignty, territorial integrity and democratic constitutional order and other vital national interests against real and potential threats of non-military (paragraph 4 of article 1), and the national security of Ukraine - the protection of state sovereignty, territorial integrity, democratic constitutional order and other national interests against real and potential threats (section 9 of article 1).

The European Union for a sufficiently long period has been developing mechanisms for the formation of a common position on foreign and security policy. Two main fundamental documents are the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (signed in Rome in 1958 as the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community) and the Treaty on European Union (signed in Maastricht in 1992) and a number of interrelated contracts reflect the principles of the EU. In the Maastricht Treaty 1992 provisions for the development of a Common Foreign and Security Policy (hereinafter referred to as the CFSP) for the first time, which declare peacekeeping and international security in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter, as well as the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and the objectives of the Paris Charter (Council of Europe) and envisage defining the common features of the common defense policy, whose main task is to build up the forces and means to further enhance the EU's ability to participate in the resolution of regional and local conflicts [9]. In 1993, the common foreign and security policy was agreed and embodied in the second ‘pillar’ of the architecture of the EU. The following contract was signed in Amsterdam on 2 October 1997, but shall enter into force on May 1, 1999 (full title: the Amsterdam Treaty changes the Treaty on European Union, the treaties established the European Communities and certain related acts). The contract stipulated the creation of a Common European policy on security and defense - the Common Security and Defense Policy (further - CSDP).

At the end of XX century it was decided to “militarize” foreign policy via the weak position of the EU during the Kosovo war of 1999, the Georgian-Russian 2008 war and Russia's aggression against Ukraine, which began in 2014, a Process of “militarization“ was founded in the Treaty of Nice - the international legal document adopted by the heads of state and governments of Austria, Belgium, great Britain, Greece, Denmark, Ireland, Spain, Italy,

Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Germany, Portugal, Finland, France, Sweden at the intergovernmental conference in Nice (France) 26.II 2001. Regarding security, the contract contains the following provision: “Common Foreign and Security Policy” includes all matters related to the security of the Union, including the progressive establishment of a joint defense policy, which could become a common defense in the event of such a decision by the European Council [5]. The embodiment of a joint defense policy, the contract should be carried out through cooperation in armaments, humanitarian assistance, rescue operations, peacekeeping missions with the involvement of armed groups to get the solution of crisis conflict situations.

The Treaty of Lisbon (December 13 2007) entering into force on 1 December 2009 a key provision of the Lisbon agreement has a clause on mutual defense, which obliges to provide assistance and support in the case where “territory of a member country of the EU will become a victim of military aggression”. This commitment to collective defense in case of military attack on any of the member countries, and provisions on the obligations of mutual protection of member countries of the EU in the event of a terrorist attack, natural or man-made disasters. A new stage began in the development of the Common security policy and defense of the EU. The aggression of Russian Federation against Ukraine has highlighted the cooperation between EU countries in the field of security.

High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs (from November 1 2014 until December 1 2019) Federica Mogherini stated that the successful settlement of the conflict in the Donbas and the implementation of necessary reforms in Ukraine depends on the efficiency of Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union, and the support that the European Union should provide Ukraine to the Ukrainian internal reforms, is a significant part of the success of European foreign and security policy.

High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy presents on June 28 2016 the European Union's Global Strategy for Foreign and Security Policy “A Common Vision, a Strong Approach: A Strong Europe” [15]

The Strategy emphasizes that in today's world there is not enough “soft” force, it is necessary to increase the effectiveness of the EU in the field of security and defense. This document does not envisage the creation of an EU collective defense, but seeks to mobilize all the capabilities enshrined in the founding treaties of the EU for the sake of effective defense cooperation. The main security priorities have been identified: defense, counter-terrorism, cyber security, energy and strategic communications. The next step in the implementation of the Global Strategy is the European Defense Action Plan, which was approved by the European Commission on November 30 2016. The plan envisages specific actions designed to help Member States enhance research and spend more on common defense [17]. The Action Plan envisages closer cooperation in the defense sphere through: launching the European Defense Fund, stimulating investment in the defense supply chain, strengthening the internal defense market.

An important element of the new European defense strategy at the present stage is the strengthening of cooperation between the European Union and NATO. Consultations between the EU and NATO ended with the adoption of the Declaration of NATO - EU European policy on security and defense (1999), which approved the strategic partnership between these organizations, and the adoption of the document “Berlin Plus” (2002) (EU during their operations can use the resources and means of NATO).

Ukraine occupies a prominent place in the process of implementing SPBP, as evidenced by the development of a common EU strategy on Ukraine (1999) (in the Middle East, Africa and other regions of the world). The deepening of partnership of Ukraine with the

EU in accordance of Joint European security policy and defense is an important area of international measures to ensure national security.

For a sufficiently long period of time of the European integration for our state (in the context of the Agreement on partnership and cooperation between Ukraine and European Communities and their member States of 16 June 1994) was the main direction of the implementation. It was the so-called Action Plan of Ukraine – EU (21 February 2005) which was a bilateral agreement between Ukraine and the European Union. This deal has defined the program of political and economic reforms with short - and long-term priorities [13].

In order to replace The Action Plan of Ukraine – EU on Nov 24 2009 and to prepare for implementation of the future Association Agreement EU – Ukraine, the Agenda of the Association of Ukraine – EU entered into force.

The main result of realization of European integration strategy of Ukraine, the foundations of which were laid during the first years of independence was the signing of the Association Agreement between Ukraine, on the one hand, and the European Union, the European atomic energy community and their member States, on the other hand. The political part of the agreement was signed on 21 March 2014, the economic part on the 27th June 2014 and 16 September 2014 the Agreement was ratified by the European Parliament (535 deputies voted “for”). The Association agreement Ukraine-EU is a document of more than 1000 pages, which structurally consists of a preamble, 7 sections, 43 applications and 3 protocols. In its scope and thematic coverage of the agreement it is the largest international legal instrument concluded in the history of Ukraine [7]. For the EU it is also a deep international agreement he ever had with a country that is not a candidate for membership.

The agreement does not define specifically the prospect of membership however, is an important step in the implementation of the legislation of a course of Ukraine on joining the EU.

The analysis of the objectives of the political dialogue provided for in the Agreement is also evidence of the need to define further steps of state power, primarily in the direction of deepening of political Association, to promote international stability and security, strengthening cooperation on international security issues and crisis management, peace and stability on the European continent, strengthen respect for the rule of law, democratic principles, human rights and fundamental freedoms, consolidating domestic political reforms [12].

Decision of the European Council (of December 15, 2016) it is noted that the Agreement confirms the cooperation with Ukraine in the sphere of security, particularly in the area of conflict prevention, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, crisis management, but does not include obligations in respect of guarantees of collective security or other military assistance or support to Ukraine [16].

As for the attitude of the population towards the European integration, we can show a study, conducted by the Fund “Democratic initiatives named in honor of Ilko Kucheriv” and the sociological service of the Razumkov Centre from May 17 to 22 2013. Interviewed 2010 respondents aged 18 years in all regions of Ukraine. Theoretical error of selection – 2,3%. Most undecided with the answer – in the East of Ukraine is 15.5% the public's Attitude to the European integration of Ukraine. [11].

According to the latest public opinion polls, we can give quantitative results of the all-Ukrainian sociological research on attitudes and public awareness regarding Ukraine's accession to the EU as said by A.Orlov, research on the EU shows that the majority of Ukrainians supported the accession to the European Union (67%) and expresses high level of trust in the European Union as a strategic partner of Ukraine (63%). 72% of respondents from

all regions consider it necessary to obtain more information about the EU and European integration [8].

*Conclusions from the research.* A new phase of state began since the proclamation of independence of Ukraine – formation of strategies for the future development and search for partners, associates, guarantors of peace and security. Since then a new relationship with the European Union and the neighboring countries started. The chronology of events characterizes a smooth transition from political declarations, the provision of technical, economic and financial assistance to dynamic cooperation in all spheres of life. These relationships gradually develop into concerted intentions of governments and the public to the prospect and understanding of a common future, the construction of transparent boundaries of the system of technical security, military, economic and the like.

Ukraine's foreign policy in the European Union today is consistent, although we can not exclude the possibility of changing foreign policy priorities. This is due to the fact that the foreign policy depends on many factors, including the attitude to the state, which conducts a certain foreign policy, other players of world politics. Despite the consistency of the policy of European integration, the achievement of the main goal – accession to the EU, is not certain in time. And while on the way to a United Europe, the Ukrainian government has done a lot, but not enough to in the near future become a member country of the EU, Ukraine needs to demonstrate real progress in socio-economic modernization, the political sphere in particular and security etc.

Despite the fact that the basis of the common foreign and security policy of the EU is diplomacy, as well as primarily conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction, the European Union is actively working to strengthen its own military capabilities. Ukraine should take into account this aspect and to deepen cooperation with the Advisory Mission of the EU and international institutions on security issues within SPBO. The further development of Ukraine's movement towards European integration will contribute to the reform policy of our state. The safety factor along with the economic needs require a search of the place of Ukraine between two spaces, integration associations, which would provide her a stable future political and economic growth, based on shared common values and interests, as well as the opportunity to increase their leadership potential in the region.

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***Berezovska-Chmil Olena, Kobets Yuliia, Mishchuk Mariana* The security element of Ukraine's integration in EU in the conditions of "hybrid war" (political and economic context)**

*The article is devoted to the study of the security element of Ukraine's integration into the European Union. On the basis of the conducted research, the authors found out a meaningful content of the categories "integration", "state security", "national security", "national interests". The following stages are taken into consideration - the institutional development of the common foreign and security policy of the EU, the formation, development and improvement of the European Union defense policy, the main directions of the European*

*community to create its own European security and defense policy in the context of new threats in the field of international policy.*

*The main practical mechanisms for implementing security policy within the EU are: the Common European Security and Defense Policy, the European Security and Defense Policy. As stated - diplomacy remains to be the basis of mutual foreign and security policy in the EU. The need to reform the national security of Ukraine is analyzed, that is especially relevant at the current stage of state formation with the conditions of Russian aggression. The process of negotiation and signing of the*

*Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU is covered, its significance is revealed. The influence of European integration on the process of socio-economic transformation and the state of the Ukrainian economy as a whole is investigated.*

**Keywords:** *Keywords: European Union, Ukraine, Association Agreement, negotiations, defense policy, common foreign and security policy, militarization, integration, external activity.*