Alternative new collective security models: options for countries of Eastern Europe

Dorosh, Lesya; Turchyn, Yaryna

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Alternative New Collective Security Models
Options for Countries of Eastern Europe

LESYA DOROSH, YARYNA TURCHYN

Introduction

Ukraine is the first country in the world that voluntarily chose the path of nuclear disarmament. This step contributed to the global spread of the image of Ukraine as a peace-loving state seeking for international stability. According to some analysts, the rejection of strategic nuclear weapon gave Ukraine the possibility to relatively peacefully survive the turbulent 1990s on the post-Soviet territory and relatively painlessly withdraw from the USS[1].

For Ukraine, the reduction and destruction of strategic nuclear weapons was associated with the expectation of "credible" guarantees for its national security from the nuclear weapons states and the global community. Currently, the undeclared armed aggression of Russia, Moscow's support of terrorists and sabotage forces in the eastern Ukraine actualize the issue of "quality" of the guarantees given to our country as a non-nuclear weapon state, according to the Budapest Memorandum. In fact, its paragraphs enunciatively claim that, in case of military threats to Ukraine, the guarantor states are only obliged to launch consultations in order to resolve the conflict[2]. It has to be noted that recently the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs S. Lavrov said Russia did not violate the Budapest Memorandum since it did not threaten Ukraine with nuclear strikes. This is the new Russian view on this treaty. Nuclear weapons states' neglecting attitude towards security guarantees for those states which have rejected nuclear weapons shapes the image of this weaponry not only as a deterrence, but also as a convincing argument in opposition for leadership and resources. Belarus and Kazakhstan, which in the mid-nineties also abandoned nuclear arsenal in exchange for guarantees from the USA, Russia and the UK, find themselves in a similar situation. Nowadays, they are not among NATO member-states, and large Russian ethnic groups live on the territories of these countries, creating possibilities for expansion of the "Russian World".

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1 B. Butkevych, A. Zhalko-Tytarenko, "The Rocket Reincarnation. Is It Necessary to Return Nuclear Status for Ukraine", *The Ukrainian week*, April 17, 2014, http://tyzhden.ua/Politics/107226.

2 "The Memorandum of Security Assurances Due to the Accession of Ukraine to Agreement on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons", http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/998_158.

It is worth mentioning that, in the framework of nuclear non-proliferation, such countries as Switzerland, Sweden, Iraq, Japan, Libya, Poland, Romania and Germany were forced to curtail their nuclear programs and projects. Argentina, Brazil and South Africa voluntarily gave up on their nuclear program research, while Romania had experimental devices for civilian research and developed nuclear centres for energy. In addition, this generates international tension since the aggressive foreign policy of Russia has raised doubts concerning the regulatory function of the international law. In fact, the Russian Federation jeopardizes the entire regime of nuclear non-proliferation formed during last thirty years. Current Russian behaviour introduces instability into regional and global security, and thus, hinders the process of nuclear disarmament. Such activity forms the belief that interests of non-nuclear weapons states are significantly less protected than of the states-members of the nuclear club.

Therefore, politicians and scientists continue a lively discussion concerning Ukraine joining one of the existing collective security systems, and NATO inter alia. Facts proving that the Russian Federation and its supporters in Ukraine do not comply with the Minsk agreements on resolving the conflict in eastern Ukraine stimulate more heated debates on the issue of security and only confirm the expediency of Ukraine's membership in a certain system of collective security.

Theoretical Framework

Since the independence of Ukraine was proclaimed in the early twentieth century, Ukrainian political elite appealed to various options in order to support national interests and security. Multi-vector activity, the rejection of non-aligned status, joining a framework of collective security, the need to seek help from allies, etc. were considered. Obviously, nowadays, the state's ability to independently protect itself by using its own armed forces urgently needs to be supported by partners in order to counteract the aggressor. Thus, proposals concerning the creation of new security systems appear. Such systems would encompass states which are under significant threat of an attack at a new stage of establishing the international order. Therefore, the research on the alignment/neutrality of Ukraine in the context of new approaches to national and international security is topical.

Since Ukraine's national security protection is now a top priority, the source analysis of the research proves considerable attention of scientists (Artemov[3], Kapitonenko[4], Lazareva[5], Mikhaylenko[6], Yavorska[7]) concerning

[3] M. Artemov, "The Continental Climax", *Comments*, May 9, 2014, http://gazeta.comments.ua/?art=1399457614.

[4] M. Kapitonenko, "NATO-Ukraine: The Time for New Opportunities", *ZN.UA*, April 10, 2015, http://gazeta.dt.ua/international/ukrayina-nato-chas-novih-mozhlivostey-_.html.

[5] A. Lazareva, "Now or Never. United Europe Requires the Common Security and Defense Strategy", *The Ukrainian week*, March 28, 2013, http://tyzhden.ua/World/75204.

advantages and disadvantages of Ukraine's membership in NATO or other collective security systems. The priority of their research lies in determining the extent of Ukraine-NATO cooperation deepening, specification of strategic directions, and defining political importance of membership in the alliance. In addition, analytical developments and projects of authorship gain currency suggesting new collective security systems in which Ukraine would play the primary role or one of the major ones, and variants of cooperation within the Collective Security Treaty at least with individual NATO member-states. The achievements of such researchers as Valeeva[8], Kramar[9], Lucas[10], Korbut[11], focused on hypothetical strategies used by members of such associations, the role of global leaders in these strategies, etc., are worth highlighting. At the same time, it should be understood that the situation in Ukraine, taking into account its national, as well as regional and international, security, raises considerable discussions concerning reasons of unfulfilled vectors of Ukraine's strategic partnership with the European states and the USA, consequences of developing Ukraine's own overall national security strategy for other actors of the European and global space. In this context, updating of normative legal documents of strategic nature should not be overlooked. This concerns, primarily, the fundamental Ukraine's foreign policy laws ("On the Principles of Internal and External Policies", "The National Security Strategy of Ukraine"[12]).

Summarizing, the lack of conceptual theoretical studies, which could add to the journalistic essays and other works of those who care about the future Ukraine, has to be noted. They would concern not only advantages and disadvantages of Ukraine's participation in all known systems of collective security, but also suggest a range of specific ways for transformation of regional security in Central and Eastern Europe involving global leaders, in the

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6 M. Mikhaylenko, "The Target Coalitions Instead of Alliances", *Comments*, September 6, 2013, http://gazeta.comments.ua/?art=1378369343.

7 H. Yavorska, "European Security and NATO", *The Ukrainian week*, February 29, 2008, http://tyzhden.ua/Columns/50/1197.

8 Yu. Valeeva, "The Challenges to European Security Architecture: Ukrainian Context", *UA Foreign Affairs*, November 12, 2014, http://uaforeignaffairs.com/ua/ekspertna-dumka/view/article/vikliki-jevropeiskii-arkhitekturi-bezpeki-ukrajinski/.

9 O. Kramar, "Take Out the Head from the Sand", *The Ukrainian week*, April 18, 2014, http://tyzhden.ua/Politics/107233.

10 E. Lucas, "The New Security Configuration", *The Ukrainian week*, April 16, 2015, http://tyzhden.ua/Columns/50/134918; *Idem*, "The New Defence Alliance", *The Ukrainian week*, June 25, 2015, http://tyzhden.ua/Columns/50/139407; *Idem*, "The Nuclear Sobs", *The Ukrainian week*, October 6, 2014, http://tyzhden.ua/Columns/50/120475.

11 A. Korbut, "Neighbourhood Disagreement", *The Ukrainian week*, June 25, 2015, http://tyzhden.ua/World/139400.

12 "On the Principles of Internal and External Policies", the Law of Ukraine, http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2411-17; "The National Security Strategy of Ukraine", approved by the Presidential Decree of 26 May 2015, No. 287/2015, http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/287/2015#n14.

framework of which Ukraine and its neighbours could find guarantees of protection against external aggression. On this basis, a new European security architecture has to be established (taking into account the hypothetical possibility of Ukraine's membership into NATO in the long run). The objective of this article is to clarify options for Ukraine's membership in classical collective security models, primarily NATO, and the probability of forming new collective security models supported by Ukraine.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Membership in Collective Security Systems

International security is a multi-dimensional concept which encompasses national security of individual countries and peoples, regional (sub-regional) security of certain groups of states and parts of the planet, and thus, integrates to the level of global international security. The latter is considered when protection and realization of human values and interests, overcoming threats on the global scale with impact on the security of other states, are referred to. In the course of overcoming these threats, certain states unite and construct such a configuration of international institutions and legal mechanisms, measures and safeguards, which together prevent the use of armed force against the respective countries concerning various issues and neutralize other factors that might endanger these states' existence and security. This refers to collective security systems within which overall security of states is guaranteed on the regional or interregional scales through their joint efforts in preventing threats to peace and acts of aggression.

Researchers have determined the following main features of collective security systems: 1) member-states take on at least three commitments which define the internal functioning of the system, namely: a) not to resort to force in mutual relations; b) to resolve all disagreements peacefully; c) to cooperate for the elimination of any threat to peace; 2) there is a structural unity of states, embodied in an international organization, coordination and advisory bodies, systematic meetings, sessions and other activities of the members within this organization and beyond it. The British publicist E. Lucas described a simplified security system: "Collective security depends on a mixture of trust and fear: trust that your allies will make sacrifices for you, and fear that you will suffer if you challenge or break the rules"[13].

One of the most influential interregional organizations and collective security systems is NATO. Currently, this organization directly borders Ukraine and thus, in the context of the Russian military conflict with Ukraine, reacts to it and to the situation in the Euro-Atlantic and global security space in general.

[13] E. Lucas, "Will NATO Respond with a Bang or a Whimper?", *European Voice*, September 18, 2014, http://www.politico.eu/article/will-nato-respond-with-a-bang-or-a-whimper.

For instance, after the summit in Wales (September 2014), NATO member-states made the most important step in the post-Cold War history – the return to collective defence as a security priority resulting from adaptation to new realities, manifested mainly in the spreading of hybrid conflicts, particularly wars. Under such circumstances, member-states have to modernize their defence planning, logistics, infrastructure and approaches to a combination of hard and soft power as means of hybrid war. However, according to the Head of the Security and Defence Policy Programme Marian Majer, the adoption of such decisions and the adaptation of the Alliance to new realities is a challenge because the organization includes 28 members with their unique political systems and internal problems[14].

Considering the dynamics of the discussion on advantages and disadvantages of Ukraine's membership of NATO, two important points should be taken into account. Firstly, it is appropriate to record the level of public support of Ukraine's accession to the alliance (Diagrams 1, 2), where the figures reflect slow but positive dynamics of Ukrainians' attitude to the Alliance[15].

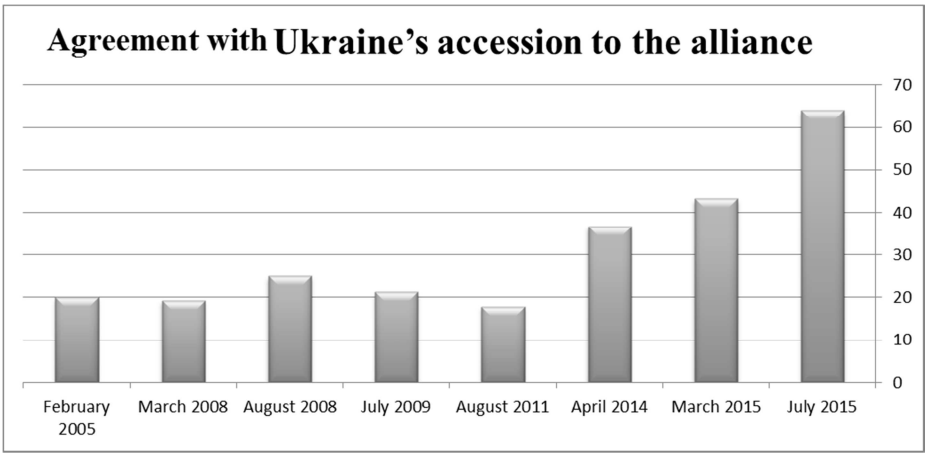

Diagram 1. Ukraine's Attitude in Favour of Joining the Alliance

[14] M. Majer, "It Is Important for Ukraine to Keep Patience", *The Ukrainian week*, June 25, 2015, http://tyzhden.ua/World/139403.

[15] "More than Half of Ukrainian People Supported Joining the EU, and Only 12% – the Customs Union", *Ukrainian Pravda*, April 23, 2015, www.pravda.com.ua/news/2015/04/23/7065596; O. Kramar, "Take Out the Head from the Sand", cit.; E. Lucas, "The New Defence Alliance", cit.; "The Results of the Survey 'Foreign policy Orientations of Citizens of Ukraine'", *Razumkov Sentre*, April 24, 2015, http://www.razumkov.org.ua/ukr/news.php?news_id=615.

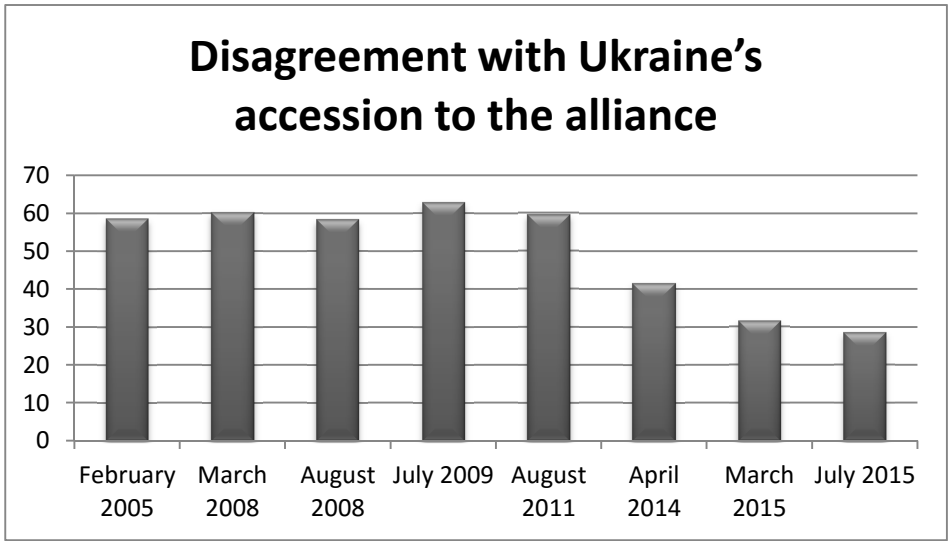

Diagram 2. Ukraine's Attitude Against Joining the Alliance

It is clear that the level of public support concerning Ukraine's accession to NATO largely depends on the rate and quality of Ukrainian information policy. Thus, according to Ukrainian diplomats, it is important to convey accurate information about pros and cons of NATO membership, dispel myths, change stereotypes among people. For years, the Ukrainian ruling elite had been neglecting coverage of characteristic features of the integration for the general public under active Russian propaganda, which resulted in opposing NATO membership by the majority of Ukrainians[16].

Secondly, an important argument in the debate is the attitude of the political elite and the public of NATO member-states to the Ukrainian prospects in joining the Alliance. For years, they were passive, sceptical and generally negative though the elite of the Alliance members formally recognized the stabilizing role of Ukraine in Europe. Thus, on May 20, 2012, during the NATO summit in Chicago, the organization adopted a declaration which states, in its 35th paragraph, that an independent, sovereign and stable Ukraine is a key to Euro-Atlantic security[17].

The positive result of the recent events in Ukraine and around it was that today, the public of the Alliance member-states largely understands the desire of the Ukrainian elite to join NATO, because one and a half years ago

[16] "NATO Countries Need Ukraine Not Less than We Need Them", *The Ukrainian week*, July 17, 2015, http://tyzhden.ua/Society/141240.

[17] M. Mikhaylenko, "The Target Coalitions Instead of Alliances", *Comments*, September 6, 2013, http://gazeta.comments.ua/?art=1378369343.

(along with taking the offices by P. Poroshenko and A. Yatsenyuk) the need for membership was not even mentioned. Similarly, the stereotype that Euro-Atlantic integration is preferred by only a small minority of Ukrainian citizens was dominant in the West. In this context, analysts cite the statement of former Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Radoslaw Sikorski that NATO does not consider the possible inclusion of Ukraine because it "wants to include only those member-states which really want to be in the Alliance and make it more secure"[18]. Other researchers, considering the history of this issue, mention the year 2008, when the NATO summit in Bucharest gave Georgia and Ukraine an unfulfilled promise of aid and NATO membership. Therefore, today NATO is careful in statements on membership prospects for both Ukraine and Georgia[19].

It has to be admitted that today the alliance's attitude to the partnership with Ukraine has changed, as well as the foreign policy priorities and national interests of Ukraine. In particular, changes were introduced into the article 11 of the Law of Ukraine "On the Principles of Internal and External Policies". They re-instituted the provision for integration into the Euro-Atlantic security space, removed from the list of national priorities in 2010. Thus, the law *de jure* abolished nonaligned status of Ukraine, which still exists *de facto*, and defined the priority to deepen cooperation with NATO in order to meet the criteria required for membership in this organization[20]. Given the duration of the Russian threat and other changes in the external and domestic security environments (growing threat of ISIS, terrorism, economic crisis, the occupation of the Crimea-Donbass area), Ukraine needs further improvements in the normative field of national security, strengthening its updated security priorities.

The National Security Strategy of Ukraine, approved by the Decree of the President of Ukraine in May 2015[21], is important for accomplishing such a task. It defines the main directions of the state policy in the security sphere as following: restoration of territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized state borders; establishing an effective security and defence sector; and improvement of state's capabilities, through deepening the military-industrial and military-technical cooperation with the NATO and EU member-states inter alia in order to achieve complete independence from Russia in terms of production and maintenance of armoury and military equipment components. In addition, the document provides for the reform and development of intelligence, counterintelligence and law enforcement, public administration reform and reaching new quality of anti-corruption policy[22].

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[18] O. Kramar, "Take Out the Head from the Sand", cit.

[19] M. Majer, "It Is Important for Ukraine to Keep Patience", cit.

[20] "On the Principles of Internal and External Policies", the Law of Ukraine, http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2411-17.

[21] "The National Security Strategy of Ukraine", cit.

[22] "Poroshenko has Approved the Ukraine's National Security Strategy", *The Ukrainian week*, May 27, 2015, http://tyzhden.ua/News/137269.

Ukraine's strategic goals in this document declare the creation of conditions for state's accession to NATO. The cooperation with NATO will promote democratic values in Ukraine; the formation of a stable security environment is an important tool to support reforms, particularly in the defence and security sector, development of joint responses to modern security challenges and threats[23].

Therefore, Ukraine has currently determined the priorities of its security. However, it should be noted that candidates for NATO membership have to fulfil many criteria, concerning a certain level of internal stability in particular. Thus, a NATO candidate takes the responsibility for "peaceful settlement of ethnic conflicts and external territorial disputes, including claims for not reunited land, and internal jurisdictional disputes". However, some researchers point out that the Charter of the organization does not contain points restricting membership of a state which has problems with its boundaries[24].

In the Ukrainian case, another crucial task towards joining NATO is the transformation of the security sector (Diagram 3). However, given the degradation of the latter during recent years, due to lack of funds and corruption, it requires reconstruction rather than transformation. It is clear that the length of the process is another factor of restrained and cautious attitude of the European and American officials to the prospects of Ukraine's membership of NATO.

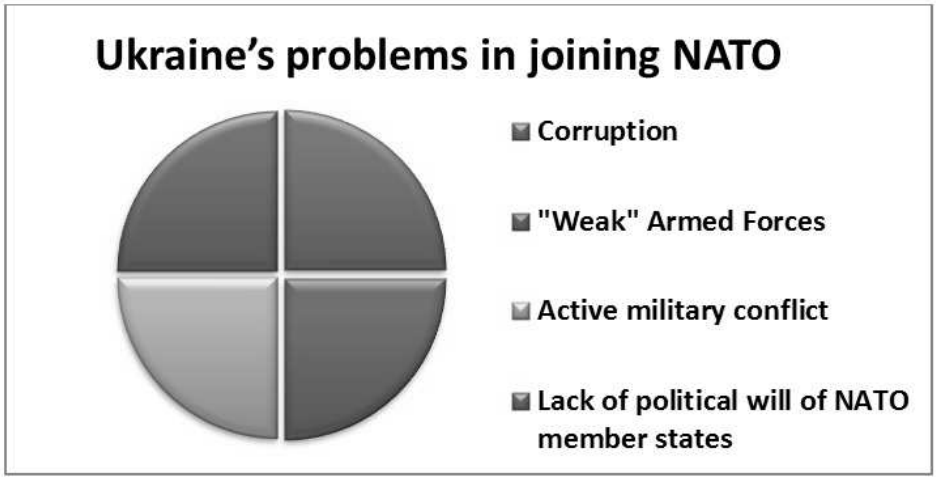

Diagram 3. Main Problems of Ukraine in Joining NATO

It should be emphasized that NATO is already helping Ukraine in addressing this issue. For instance, there are NATO trust funds formed due to contributions of member-states (total funding in 2014-2017 constitutes €10 million). Through these funds, a number of programs is implemented, namely:

[23] "The National Security Strategy of Ukraine", cit.
[24] O. Kramar, "Take Out the Head from the Sand", cit.

the modernization of communication systems and automation of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, retraining and resettlement of those who visited the area ATO ("Anti-terror operation"), physical rehabilitation and prosthetics of the wounded, reformation and harmonization of Logistics of the Armed Forces according to NATO standards, and the fight against cybercrimes[25]. In addition, diplomats say that the NATO cluster system, in which every member-state specializes in a particular branch of the defence sphere, can give Ukraine the opportunity to direct their own development of military industry into a "right" channel[26].

Alternative Regional Security Systems

Issues of probability of Ukraine's accession to NATO remain open, given the complexity and inconsistency of prioritizing by the Ukrainian people and their elites, and the attitude of Ukraine's partners to its Euro-Atlantic choice, their readiness to accept Ukraine. Along with this, national analysts have proposals on the formation of alternative (sub)regional security systems caused by the probability of blocking or decelerating Ukraine's integration into NATO by the Russian Federation and other subjects or factors. L. Chekalenko notes that Ukraine needs a new protection model. Therefore, it is advisable to suggest NATO to provide Ukraine with a partner status of "strategic liability" and secure it legally. In addition, Valeeva claims the necessity of a military association with the neighbours "Ukraine+", drawing attention to those states which indeed can support us: Turkey, Romania, Bulgaria, Iran, etc.[27].

Thus, such analysts as O. Kramar suggest using the experience of military-political alliances created during the Cold War by the most active members of the Alliance in Asia and the Pacific region. These were original "copies" of NATO which encompassed local states along with the member-states (the USA, the UK, Turkey, France) that had some particular spheres of interests. For instance, in 1955-1979, CENTO block existed in the Middle East. The association included today's three NATO members: the United States, the United Kingdom and Turkey; in Southeast Asia, 1955-1977, SEATO involved the USA, the UK and France, and in the Pacific region, ANZUS included the USA, Australia and New Zealand[28].

Another suggestion concerns creation of a regional defence alliance in the Baltic-Black Sea arch (including Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Belarus

[25] M. Majer, "It Is Important for Ukraine to Keep Patience", cit.
[26] "NATO Countries Need Ukraine Not Less than We Need Them", cit.
[27] Yu. Valeeva, "The Challenges to European Security Architecture: Ukrainian Context", cit.
[28] O. Kramar, "Take Out the Head from the Sand", cit.

and Ukraine), the foundation of which would be similar to the NATO Charter (containing real, not just declared commitments of security).

The development of such a regional collective security system can be a transitional step towards the accession by all its members to the Alliance, establishing guarantees of the "nuclear umbrella" and an effective system of military support from the USA, the UK and other Member states in case of aggression of "the third" force against the subjects of the arch. Such a union can be formed with the participation of Ukraine, Poland, Romania, Turkey, Baltic, Caucasus, and other states with the necessary involvement of the USA and the UK into its structure[29]. These two models should be represented schematically.

Feasibly, the hypothetical proposals and analytical developments concerning possibilities of establishing and operating new collective security systems in the near future is an urgent issue only for Ukrainian scientists, politicians, journalists and activists. In the European information space, unfortunately, there is no discourse which would reflect theoretical elaborations of geopolitical strategies, and thus, the practical security strategy to combat eastern aggression does not exist. However, the contradiction between key international players interferes with the actual creation of effective security structures in Europe and in the world[30]. Particularly, the EU continues to respond situationally (tactically) to Russian aggression against Ukraine, hoping for exhaustion of masses and Russian elites from economic downturn. Another possibility, and more realistic one according to analysts, is to wait until the conflict in Donbass "freezes" or completely "rests on the shoulders" of Ukraine because of apparent, one-sided implementation of Minsk agreements by the latter[31].

Obviously, the prospects of European security directly depend on the probability of the emergence of a "frozen conflict" in Ukraine, which would not only stop the process of democratization and European integration, but also create a source of instability and a threat to the whole Europe. The following factors will cause such a scenario: Russia's attempts to legitimize the so-called Donetsk People's Republic and Luhansk People's Republic, force the Ukrainian authorities to conduct direct dialogue with these terrorist groups, non-fulfilment of the Minsk agreements, etc. With the deployment of "frozen" conflicts in neighbouring countries, Russia is trying to stop integration of its satellites into the EU and NATO[32]. Transnistria, South Ossetia and Abkhazia are examples of such influence of the Russian Federation. The danger of this scenario increases. Possible evolutions of relations between Russia, the USA, the EU and NATO

[29] O. Kramar, "Take Out the Head from the Sand", cit.

[30] "Ukraine Security Policy in the Context of the Collective Security System in Europe: A Policy Brief", *The National Institute for Strategic Studies*, July 12, 2015, www.niss.gov.ua/articles/421.

[31] A. Korbut, "Neighbourhood Disagreement", cit.

[32] J. Bugajski, *The Cold Peace. Russia's New Imperialism*, Praeger, New York, 2004.

could lead to a transformation of the "frozen conflict" zones in the CIS region (Transnistria, Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, the Crimea) and potential conflict zones (Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine, in particular) into a bargaining chip in the fight of global and regional leaders for the spheres of influence. It can result in tensions in defined regions, emergence of new division lines, and spread of conflict to neighbouring countries and regions. Therefore, the creation of "frozen conflicts" (pro-Russian enclaves) in eastern Ukraine will become not only a tool used by Russia for political and economic exhaustion of Ukraine and slowdown of its European and Euro-Atlantic integration, but also a means to keep in suspense the whole system of regional security.

It is clear that elaborating a common strategic approach to security within the European space is most necessary and vital primarily for Central and Eastern European states. However, their association in a strong political and security alliance faces numerous problems. For example, Alexander Korbut analyzes the Visegrad group, whose members, after joining NATO and the EU, "fell asleep on the laurels of success", having lost the motivation to act and thus, did not develop a common vision of their future political and security priorities.

In January 2015 was created the "Slavkovsk Triangle" by the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Austria, whose heads of governments distanced from further strengthening of EU sanctions against Russia and spoke for restoration of political and economic cooperation with Russia in the long term. Representatives of the group assure that it will not become an alternative to the Visegrad Group, although the confidence of the Polish elite in these "too independent" partners is already undermined, taking into account the indicated facts[33].

Therefore, given the situational displays of solidarity of the Visegrad Group members, Ukraine does not seek for new forms of collective defence in its framework. In this context, attention is drawn to the security strategy of Poland and the Baltic States, which currently look for support within NATO and do not try to simultaneously build regional security networks (including the one which involves the Scandinavian countries) in which they would be less dependent on Western European allies who do not exhibit excessive readiness to defend their allies in the case of a military crisis[34]. Thus, Germany and France oppose the expansion of permanent contingent of NATO in Eastern European countries. In its turn, Poland, which has chosen to bandwagon with US foreign policy as a priority, buys the US SAM Patriot and is ready to place heavy American weapons on its territory. In the international debate, Ukraine is not mentioned even as a potential partner in the regional security network[35].

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[33] A. Korbut, "Neighbourhood Disagreement", cit.
[34] *Ibidem*.
[35] *Ibidem*.

On the other hand, the Baltic States and Poland are the partners which can support Ukraine in confronting its aggressor from the East. E. Lucas notes that these states have a deep culture of strategic vision. In these countries, public and professional politicians are aware of the need for a serious approach to defence. An example of such strategic vision is the activity of Estonia, which enables it to leave beyond NATO standard 2% of GDP for defence budget. Since 2005, Polish military expenditures have increased by 38% in real terms, and in 2015, they were planned to increase further – almost by 20%. In particular, $10 billion spent on missile defence is considered here. Instead, Lithuania regained conscription and doubled spending on defence. Even Latvia, which traditionally for the Baltic region "lags behind" in the military sphere, has increased the defence budget by 15%[36].

Therefore, despite scepticism about the Ukrainian partnership in security alliances, we agree with the opinion of E. Lucas on division of Europe into countries whose elites are afraid of Russian revisionism, and other countries whose elites are not afraid of this. Based on this division and the increasing number of states that are aware of the aggression possibility (according to E. Lucas, "the coalition of scared"), the formation of a Scandinavian-Baltic-Polish security alliance (including Norway, Sweden, Finland, the Baltic states and Poland) is possible (also with the possible support of the USA), which overlaps the division of NATO members and non-members[37].

E. Lucas notes that the association of states in this security alliance would require painful changes. In particular, Poland would have to seriously consider "smaller" neighbours' elites; the Baltic States – to agree with the involvement of partners outside NATO into their defence; Sweden and Finland – to deepen mutual collaboration and cooperation with the Alliance, and, at last, to end the philosophical arguments concerning undesired dependency on non-member-states[38].

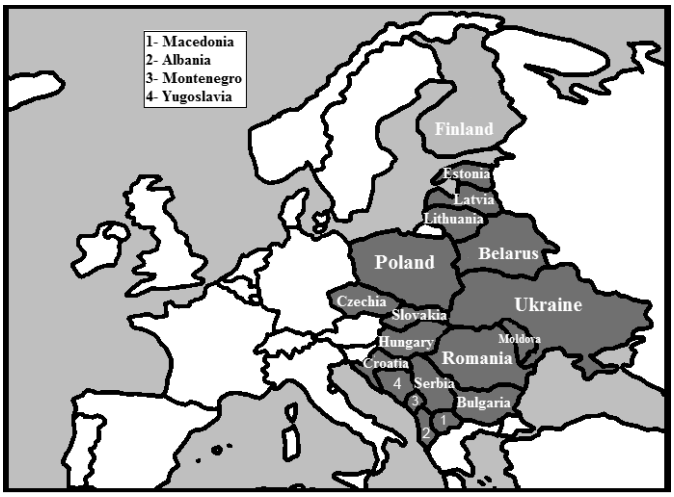
In addition, analysts point out that such security and defence structures, based on Visegrad Group, involving Ukraine and Romania, and with the political center in Warsaw are especially advantageous for the USA[39], would be viable only under the leadership of America, which is an important partner for all countries of the region and for which this structure is beneficial[40]. However, some US experts suggested the formation of a regional alliance strategy on

[36] E. Lucas, "The New Security Configuration", cit.
[37] *Ibidem*.
[38] E. Lucas, "The New Defence Alliance", cit.
[39] S. Forostovets, "Obama Wants to Turn Away Kyiv to Helsinki", *Comments*, June 13, 2014, http://gazeta.comments.ua/?art=1402556754.
[40] E. Lucas, "The New Defence Alliance", cit.

long-term containment of Russia. This has not been vividly supported by the US government yet[41].

Of course, although until recently the highlighted ideas were not even discussed by officials, now there is a high probability of their implementation. Particularly, the initiative of creating a new geopolitical influential block involving Ukraine, Poland and Romania was introduced by the newly elected Polish President Andrzej Duda[42]. This would imply a partnership which covers the territory from the Baltic Sea to the Adriatic and Black Seas. According to A. Duda, "The state is strong when it is surrounded by allies; it is also an element of increasing the strength in the world. Currently, there are signals from heads of states in the region that indicate a desire to conduct meetings and negotiations"[43].

Analysts state that the projects of such unions appeared after the First World War. For example, the idea of "Intermarium" was mentioned (see Picture 1) by the Polish leader Jozef Pilsudski, who was visiting Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldova, Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Finland. In the first half of the twentieth century, Ukrainian social and political activist Yuri Lypa wrote about creation of the Baltic-Black Sea Union. American geopolitists called this union "Intermarium" – from Latin "between seas"[44]. The main purpose of this association is the desire to transform the specified region from the object into the subject of collective global policy able to compete for global leadership.



Picture 1. "Intermarium"

41 Yu. Valeeva, "The Challenges to European Security Architecture: Ukrainian Context", cit.
42 Yu. Grytsyk, "From Sea to Sea", *Express*, August 13-20, 2015, p. 4.
43 Quoted in *Ibidem*, p. 4.
44 *Ibidem*.

A Union between Ukraine and Poland in the economic, political and military spheres would be evidence of the possibility to restructure the European geopolitical "chessboard" because this union could compete with such countries, as France, the UK, and "outrun" Russian potential.

The fact that Ukraine and Poland can freely compete on the European and international markets is not only geopolitically beneficial, but also industrially and commercially. In geopolitical terms, such an association would "completely block" a land route from Europe (from the Baltic and the Black Seas) to Asia. This union has significant advantages for the states also in the military sphere (interest-free loans to the Ukrainian defence industry, transferring innovative developments to the defence enterprises, grants for armed forces of Ukraine, similar to those received by Israel and Turkey)[45].

Along with a large number of benefits, such an alliance should overcome a number of institutional obstacles. The problem is that the potential subjects of the Union (except for Ukraine) are EU and NATO member-states and cannot solve the suggested geopolitical dilemmas. After all, there are allegations that the existence of an independent European security is impossible without NATO, and this powerful alliance plays a key role in systems of regional and global security. For several further decades, a major unifying point for European policymakers will be the strengthening of NATO, and not the EU enlargement. Therefore, economic priorities will continue to be replaced by the military ones. The Euro-Atlantic security zone will be further strengthened, and Sweden and Finland may become the first candidates for its entry[46].

Under these circumstances, if Ukraine does not fully participate in the system of Euro-Atlantic security, it will be deprived of guarantees for its own security[47]. However, own efforts have to be put into the field of security and defence, as partners' help may be delayed. This is supported by the experience of most members of the European community which for a long time relied on NATO, delegating to the alliance powers to protect their territory from potential external threats and actually refusing to invest in their own defence. Nowadays, most NATO and EU member-states understand that they have to work out their own strategic positions concerning national, regional and continental security, develop full-fledged intelligence, army, to advance military culture and become stronger in this sense[48].

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45 S. Forostovets, "Obama Wants to Turn Away Kyiv to Helsinki", cit.

46 M. Artemov, "The Continental Climax", cit.

47 H. Yavorska, "European Security and NATO", *The Ukrainian week*, February 29, 2008, http://tyzhden.ua/Columns/50/1197.

48 A. Lazareva, "Now or Never. United Europe Requires the Common Security and Defense Strategy", *The Ukrainian week*, March 28, 2013, http://tyzhden.ua/World/75204.

Conclusion

All in all, security plans of the European and US elites reflect European and Euro-Atlantic prospects of Ukraine in a complicated and contradictory way. In general, currently Ukraine is not regarded as a full partner. Ukrainian analysts suggest that the initiative in this matter was overtaken by Kyiv. They define and emphasize positive consequences of its internal reforms, justify plans for further changes, propose new strategic vision of regional security structure and define the place of Ukraine in it.

Presently, our state has to search ways of effective cooperation with NATO, given the differences in its members' views on developments related to the latest threats, aggression and behaviour of Russia. Ukraine should take the liberty in launching the creation of a new security system and actively participate in its formation along with other states in the region. Obviously, NATO membership is widely supported by the population, but joining this organization is hardly probable for Ukraine. Thus, the issue of developing Ukraine's own strategic and tactical action plans which would include a variety of options for national and European security is referred to. If our country's membership in NATO is significantly delayed, a new format of relations with the Alliance has to be elaborated: to conclude a specific "union", to create a common area of collective security (by M. Kapitonenko), to strengthen and deepen partnership in all areas. Therefore, there is substantial need in further research of innovative developments, ideas, and paradigms suggested by analysts and political activists on possible alternatives for future geopolitical choices of Ukraine and its place on the political map of its region and the world.