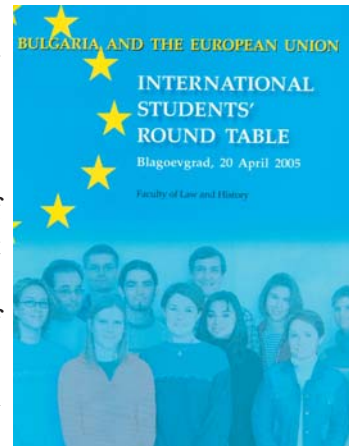


## UKRAINE IN THE NEW FORMATS OF THE EUROPEAN REGIONAL SECURITY SYSTEM AFTER THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN UNION



The modern comprehension of the concept "security" excludes completely the static approach. But a more dynamic and flexible assessment would include not only the military but also the economic and political factors, the status of democracy and stability of the different countries and groups of countries, as well as the existence - or lack - of benevolent and friendly relations between them. That kind of interpretation leads to a fundamental change in the



sphere of international security. This is mainly due to the activation of asymmetrical threats and international terrorism in particular. We could add the concentration and the uncontrolled proliferation of conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction and the intensifying political, economical, ethnic, religious and other conflicts. The risk of emergence of new and the resumption of old hotbeds of tension, their swift escalation and the growing international involvement is growing. Ukraine is also a subject to various external threats.

Europe attaches a great importance to the new challenges to the international and regional security and stability. One of their main sources is organized international terrorism, whose acts shook recently Spain and Turkey. Violence could easily be transferred to the West through the uncontrolled migration from the East. This brings forward the question of stabilization of the borders of the EU. They are plainly endangered by the aggravation of local conflicts (Georgia, Nagorni Karabah, Dnester Region, Palestine, Kurdistan etc.). In addition to all that there are also the problems related to post-war Iraq. So it comes naturally for Europe to be worried by the socio-economic weakness and not insufficient level of democratic development of the neighbor countries that breed conflicts and political instability. Unfortunately the developed European countries do not always manage to promote stable inter-ethnic peace along their borders, using the traditional (legal, social and cultural) levers of state policy.

The global unification of functions and missions of different international organizations, unions and other forms of integration is characteristic feature of contemporary international relations. Therefore it is almost impossible to distinguish and separate the influence of organizations such as EU and NATO over the policy of security, even provided that their main activity is the establishment of stability, peace and security. That is why when it comes to Ukraine's participation in the regional security system the existence and development principles of these two organizations should be considered.

The process of enlargement and reformation of the EU should be viewed not only as extension of the borders of the "common market" but also as an active factor for building security architecture on the continent. That kind of "architecture" has a complex character and various dimensions - economical, political, military, humanitarian. Along with the process of enlargement of NATO, there is another geopolitical space being formed on the European continent, which is also a security zone due to the following factors: the ambition of EU to survive and strengthen its position as a collective security system of transcontinental character. As such, it functions as a key element in the sphere of European security and spreads its jurisdiction over the whole European space. The European centre is strengthened through the introduction of uniform currency and the establishment of common defence and security policy structures. In this vein of activities, new regional structures for security on the European continent are formed and separation of geopolitical segments which are parts of the common European space (Western Europe, countries from Central and Middle Europe, Baltian countries, Southeast Europe, the Caucasus) takes place. The recognition of common rules of ensuring peace and stability by the European community includes the possibility to use force or coercion to countries which violate the generally accepted norms of common existence and human rights. The increasing role of use-of-force components in the international policy, as well as consolidation of military postures against unconventional threats leads to activation of the now existing and implementation of new mechanisms of defensive cooperation both on the bilateral and the multilateral level. They also accelerate on national level the process of unification of the different force structures and their optimization in the struggle against the new threats. And along with all that, the effectiveness of national policy in determining the place of the state in the new world order, plays a really significant role.

Each of the parties - Ukraine, EU and NATO has its own opinion and conceptual approach to the issue of improving stability in the region. They also regard subjectively their own place in the configuration of security factors. The position of each party deserves special attention. From the point of view of Ukraine, its Euro-Atlantic intentions are very firm. And her links should not be considered as separate processes of cooperation with different institutions. The plan of action Ukraine -NATO contains goals, the achievement of which will contribute to the European integration of Ukraine. Such provisions for extended dialogue are also contained in the document on EU neighbouring environment. Thus NATO and the EU set uniform requirements for the countries which are not members. That includes Ukraine. If NATO or EU deny or delay partnership with Ukraine, that would mean breaking the relations between Kiev and the West on institutional level.

We could hardly speak today of the existence of global European geostrategy, compatible in scale with the American one. When it comes to global issues, Europe sticks to the Atlantic (American) geopolitical paradigm, and till the present moment that was justified. The main European countries tend to settle their relations with the other countries on bilateral basis and strengthen their influence in the classical spirit of the colonial era, e.g. in those fields, where they had economical domination. But the further development of the integrative processes in Europe logically demand that the Europeans consider their geopolitical and geo-economical interests vis a vis the outer world, even on a global level. That should not necessarily seem to be an alternative to the leadership of USA or be considered as confrontation with Moscow. In the framework of the civilized competition of global interests, Europe is obligated to recognize itself as an important geopolitical subject. Or else it will have to isolate itself and face all the consequences stemming therefrom.

Some particular steps towards consolidation of the foreign political interests of Europe have already been made. Along with the formation of the Common European policy in the sphere of security and defense, a tendency appears for extension of the sphere of European strategic in-

terests in the Eastern and Southern direction. The main objectives seem to be the Caucasus and Central Asia. Clearly, Ukraine can bind its future to such a geopolitical paradigm grounded on the consolidated interests of the European world.

The establishment of a new system of international relations in the sphere of security, the deepening of the integration processes in Europe, and the qualitative change in the level of cooperation between the leading strategic partners of Ukraine appear to be basic factors that affect the realization of the national interests of our country. The large-scale enlargement of NATO with Ukraine's neighbour countries from Central and Eastern Europe, the new contents of the NATO - Russia relations, the dangerous processes in the region of the Black Sea and the Near East creates a qualitatively new situation surrounding our country. It finds herself both "propped" by NATO-orientated belt, while facing new threats from the South and from the East. Under those uncertain conditions, Ukraine can no longer stay aside from the common European integration processes, especially in the sphere of security. The response to the challenges of time lies with the consolidation of the democratic countries on the ground of common values. Considering the fact that in the contemporary globalized world the most effective way to protect middle and small countries remains the collective defence, it would be illogical for Ukraine to stick to a out-of-block or neutral statute and limit its relations with NATO only to a special partnership. A number of European tendencies give enough reasons to assume that a neutral position in the modern world loses ground gradually and irrevocably. Especially after the end of the Cold War, the opportunities for mediation for a neutral state do not actually present a lever to affect world politics. That is why none of the claims on such a role sounds convincing and might even seem like anachronism. The experience of Ukrainian diplomacy, which tried to act as a mediator during the Balkan events, in the conflict in the Caucasus, in the Dniester region etc., comes as an evidence of that.

The establishment of own system of national security based on the democratic values and loyal participation in an international security setup underlies the integration of Ukraine to the new architecture of European security. Being a part of a nuclear superpower in the past, Ukraine did not inherit its mentality and totally gave up the confrontation approach. It did so fully aware of its international responsibilities. By strengthening its international positions, Ukraine started to gain its own positive influence and increasing role regarding security on the continent. We could not imagine a stable Europe without stability in every European country. Moreover, the threat to stability is most strongly sensed in the new, highly vulnerable independent countries undergoing radical economic and political reforms. Being preoccupied with their internal stability, these countries rely on their own strength, they seek mutual support, and along with that they enter the zone of democracy, of political and economic stability, which moves nearer their borders. We are speaking, of course, about the European Union.

Creating a system of national security adapted to the international requirements, Ukraine strives to take an active part in the unification of the regions, the European and world security systems at all stages of that process - from the development of concepts to the participation in particular joint operations.

Already recognized as an important factor of European security, Ukraine appears to be the only country that belongs to Eastern, Central and South-eastern Europe. It is the one able to play a consolidating role in the cooperation between the new independent countries in Europe, to assist their integration in the European and Euro-Atlantic structures, to prevent the restoration of artificial barriers in that part of the continent which is a part of the former USSR or was under its control.

Ukraine takes an active position in the development of the European regional cooperation, using structures, such as the Central European Initiative, the Black Sea Economic Community

and others, and calls for combination of the efforts of OSCE and CEI on the issues of stability and security in the Central and East European region.

The cooperation within the defensive EU components opens to Ukraine some considerable perspectives. The beneficial cooperation in that field might turn into one of the main positive developments of relations between Ukraine and the EU. Because the relations between Ukraine and the EU inevitably centre on effective collective measures against the new threats to world security - terrorism, proliferation of weapons for mass destruction, organized crime, illegal emigration. Ukraine has already demonstrated its ability to cooperate with the EU in that sphere. The participation of Ukraine in the police missions of the EU in Bosnia and Herzegovina is highly appreciated. The consultations on a special agreement for using of the capabilities of Ukraine for air transportation to distant destinations by the EU are still in process.

Ukraine has potential abilities to contribute considerably to the project for common European security and defence in different geographic areas and technical fields. One should mention the Black Sea-Caspian direction in particular; the preparation and realization of peacemaking operations, providing military contingents and armament; in the performance of strategic and military transportation; in the utilization its most up-to-date technologies in the aero-cosmic field.

In the framework of the implementation of the Concept of common European security and defence policy, the Ukraine armed forces join the initiative for the creation of rapid deployment action forces. Consultations are held concerning the inclusion of an Ukrainian unit in the existing Polish-Slovak-Hungarian brigade of the Rapid deployment force. The already signed agreements about sending a permanent representative of Ukraine to the leading military structures of the EU and the inclusion of Ukraine national unit in the multinational rapid deployment brigade has been successfully implemented. A military-transport squadron of the Ukraine air forces has been proposed for assignments in strategic transfer of the EU units. For the realization of other assignments multi-national engineer unit "Tisa" could be used. It has been created with the participation of Ukraine, Romania, Slovakia and Hungary. There is a proposal that the Yavoriva training centre for peace-keeping forces is used for the organization of tactic and command-staff drills.

The perspectives before Ukraine as a transit space for the transportation of Caspian energy carriers to the EU, increase considerably. This is helped by the active participation of USA and the European countries in that project. So another opportunity for Ukraine-Euro-Atlantic strategic cooperation is on the way of being materialized - protecting regional communications of vital significance. That strengthens the statute of GUUAM in the sphere of security. On the other hand, the delay in economical and political reforms in Ukraine, as well as the problematic building of power structures, gradually leads to Ukraine's lagging behind the neighbour countries - new members and candidates for membership in the EU. The weak democratic and civil institutions and the high level of corruption hamper Ukraine's movement to the EU and cause new problems. In the context of the enlargement of the EU, Ukraine often finds itself in the position of a source of threats for the security of the EU. That is especially in areas such as protection of the environment, nuclear security, illegal emigration, organized crime, money laundry and so on. That position has been fixed in the document "The Ukraine Country Strategy Paper (CSP)", adopted on December 27, 2001 by the European Commission. It is a document that launches a strategy of assisting Ukraine to reach the EU standards for the period 2002 - 2006, but at the same time cautions about the problems in the relations between the EU and Ukraine.

Unfortunately, the EU idea of granting Ukraine (along with Moldova and Belarus) a special statute of neighbouring state is not as much of an evidence of the intentions of the EU to cooperate with Ukraine as it is of the worry of possible risks caused by the unstable neighbour, e.g. it seeks to prevent the penetration of criminal elements and illegal emigration through the new



Eastern borders of the EU.

It is generally recognized that the rapprochement between Ukraine and EU depends most of all on the strengthening of the democratic fundamentals of the Ukraine society, starting with the development of the market economy. Despite the presence of some particular problems in those fields, the potential extending cooperation between Ukraine and the EU in the sphere of security should not be underestimated. It is the very sphere where Ukraine has actual chances to gain a well-deserved place among the European democracies and strengthen its chances for future membership in the EU. Ukraine is distinguished from the rest of the candidate countries for the ability to be a user in the sphere of security, but also an actual supplier of it. It is true, for example, in the field of strategic transportation, use of space, intelligence, peace-keeping, legal activities, crisis situation management etc.

In the context of Ukraine's accession to the EU the other principle opportunity - a full-fledged membership of NATO is also of special importance. The way to NATO membership was not chosen accidentally by today's candidates for EU membership from the post-communist camp. The perspective before Ukraine regarding NATO membership could be taken as movement in direction to Europe. Playing the role of a future member of NATO, Ukraine will not be a threat to the EU due to its instability and unpredictability. The NATO membership is perceived as appurtenance to the Western civilization and the relevant system of values. This tendency will be gaining strength as NATO enlarges.

Of course, the cooperation between Ukraine and the EU (as well as the relations with NATO) requires the observance of certain obligations and investing new sizable efforts. But the risk for the national security of Ukraine of chill in the relations with NATO and EU might be dangerous since it will deprive the Ukraine state from Euro-Atlantic security guarantees and the perspectives for European integration.

Ukraine's entry in the integrated European and Euro-Atlantic security space is the challenge of time for our country and it wins nation-wide recognition as a common strategic goal. In the broader sense, we could consider this process an important part of the Ukraine national ideal, the natural way to recognition of Ukraine as an independent country. The realization of that goal will influence the formation of stable and powerful system of European security and will not hinder the development of equal and dynamic relations with the other countries.