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Oleksiy KRIUKOV

National University of Civil Defence in Kharkiv

ORCID: 0000-0002-6335-5429

Tomasz MICHALSKI

University of Gdansk

ORCID: 0000-0002-7916-9620

GEPOLITICAL CHOICE OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY IDEOLOGY: THE EXAMPLE OF UKRAINE¹

GEPOLITYCZNY WYBÓR IDEOLOGII BEZPIECZEŃSTWA NARODOWEGO: PRZYKŁAD UKRAINY

Abstract:

The purpose of the article is to clarify the correlation that exists between the ideology pursued by the government and the state of national security. National security is considered in the context of the state's domestic and foreign policy and its efforts to maintain social stability and development. The directions of state activity, in turn, depend on the geopolitical orientation, which is a derivative of civilizational choice. The analysis made is illustrated with examples from Ukraine, which has made a pro-Western geopolitical and civilizational reorientation.

Keywords: ideology, geopolitics, national security, Ukraine.

Definition of the problem

Modern states cannot develop successfully solely based on the understanding of their own interests and ignoring the geopolitical context and trends in the development of world civilization. In this context, Ukraine's awareness of its own interests is inextricably linked to

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how the world public perceives Ukraine and how it sees the country's place in the world. Defining the geopolitical interests of Ukraine requires considering the entire system of global interests of different countries, as well as the actual distribution of power — economic, political, military, ideological, etc. Recent events, such as the full-scale war with Ukraine launched by the Russian Federation in February 2022, have made this topic even more relevant.

The geostrategy of the Ukrainian state in modern conditions and its ideological dimension are currently determined by two main paradigms: the Eurasian and the Euro-Atlantic one. It is evident that the war will accelerate Ukraine's positioning in these two dimensions. Although it is impossible to ignore the point of view of some Western experts that Ukraine can still become a neutral state, as the American geopolitician H. Kissinger believes (2022). In this context, ensuring national security is a matter of shaping the state's strategy, aimed at achieving and maintaining social stability and development.

Therefore, the category of "national security" is of fundamental importance in the formation and functioning of each state. Ideology is another such leading structure of the state's values. After all, every system of human values always aims at fulfilling the diverse personal needs, which on a macro scale take the form of group and public interests. In turn, these needs and interests, generated by the material and spiritual conditions of human existence, create an appropriate system of values and are institutionalized in the form of ideology.

The aim of the study is to analyze the role of ideological factors in the formation of contemporary states and their impact on shaping the national security of the state, in the context of their interaction with geopolitical aspects of contemporary politics. This was done based on the example of Ukraine.

Terminological considerations

State security can be considered as its internal and international position, which ensures the protection of its national interests, existing system, and territorial integrity, as well as removes the real threat of internal destabilization or aggression from other states. In general, each country's national security includes political, economic, military, ideological security, etc.

The concept of "security" has a long history of development. Already M.T. Cicero (Цицерон, 1999) claimed that nature gave each species of living beings a desire to defend and protect its life. In general,

it can be stated that *“the philosophers of the 15th–17th centuries, recognizing security as a purely state activity, could not penetrate deeply into the social nature of this phenomenon”* (Кардашова 2005, pp. 51–55). The concept of “security” became widespread in the scientific and political circles of Western European countries thanks to the philosophical concepts of T. Hobbes, J. Locke, J.-J. Rousseau, and other thinkers of the 17th–18th centuries. Thus, B. Spinoza (Спиноза, 1997) associated security with the direct functioning of the authorities. In turn, S. Montesquieu pointed to such types of security in his writings as: the security of an individual person, of citizens, of private persons, of a sovereign, of a master, or of a ruler, and he identified personal freedom with personal security (Монтескье, 1995). Until the beginning of the 20th century, security was understood as either maintaining state sovereignty, strengthening external borders, or suppressing internal enemies.

At the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century, there were changes that led to the understanding of security as creating conditions that do not threaten the life of an individual. S. Ożegow interprets security as “a state in which there is no danger, it is protection against danger” (Ожегов, 1990, p. 47). Currently, the development of a modern concept of national security requires a comprehensive approach to solving the problems of counteracting threats to humanity, in which the geopolitical dimension of ideology plays an important role. This can be clearly seen in the UN position, according to which development, security and respect for human rights must be ensured at the same time. Without making progress in all three directions, it is impossible to achieve success in any of them (Гузенко, Радченко, 2016). Therefore, we can conclude that in the modern sense, “security” is a rather comprehensive concept that applies to many processes.

From the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century, when a new concept was formed – a nation, as a historically shaped, stable community of people, which was established on the basis of the commonality of territory, economic life, linguistic and mental composition, which manifests itself in the community of culture – corresponding concepts also appeared: “national security,” “national interests,” “national idea.” In this context, the influence on the process of shaping national interests, the development of national and ideological ideas based on them, etc., is important in the process of shaping each state. In general, national interests mean a balanced set of interests of individuals, communities, society, and the state in the sphere of broadly

understood domestic (social, economic, environmental, information, etc.) and international (international relations, military, border, etc.) politics.

When analyzing the term “national security” in general, one should bear in mind that it began to be widely used only after the end of World War II. The war divided the major victors into military and ideological camps, each with a large and growing arsenal of weapons capable of causing widespread destruction and even the mutual annihilation of all humankind.

Security in these conditions primarily began to mean military security; furthermore, the protection of territorial integrity and political stability was seen as a fundamental and permanent factor in the system of international relations. The foreign and military policy of member states and allies of NATO and the Warsaw Pact towards each other and third parties reflected the bipolar atmosphere in the international arena, where both alliances fought ideological, political, and economic battles. This resulted in increased militarization of foreign policy, with both sides building their military presence around the world. Thus, throughout the post-war period, the ideology of national security was reduced to (Кардашова 2005):

- protection of the countries’ territories against external interference;
- defense against the information influence of ideological opponents;
- development of relationships and structures of foreign aid which was based on the East–West balance;
- use of arms, military links, global military presence and covert operations as a foreign policy tool;
- diplomatic efforts to reduce the arms race.

The transformation of the security paradigm took place in the following main directions.

Firstly, in recent years, the concept of security has acquired a broader and holistic meaning. In the past, security analysts were limited to a relatively narrow range of issues, especially the balance of military forces between different states and blocs, as well as the ability of these entities to protect their sovereignty. Non-military sources of economic, social, humanitarian, and environmental instability have been of little concern, but they have become a planetary threat to peace and security in recent decades. Humanitarian and ethical issues, which previously played a rather limited role in the global security debate, now occupy a central place in it. The concept of security has expanded in recent years,

and now it has acquired a more humanistic, interest-oriented character. The new ideology of human security has two main aspects: protection against chronic threats such as famine, epidemics and repression, and protection against sudden and devastating disasters that disrupt everyday life.

Secondly, in recent years, there has been a growing awareness of an inseparable relationship between state security and the well-being of its citizens. On the one hand, it becomes clear that powerful states are not necessarily strong and stable from a military-strategic point of view.

Thirdly, the modern evolution of the concept of security is expressed in the strengthening of an emphasis on international cooperation, as opposed to the more traditional reliance on rivalries and conflicts. It has already been recognized that the main threats to international, national, and personal security are of transnational origin and cannot be effectively eliminated through unilateral action.

The national interests of society are expressed in state ideology. Ideology allows justifying the dominance of historically updated entities in politics and society, and promoting their transformation into a political elite. Ideology can refer to any set of detailed and coherent concepts thanks to which a certain social group perceives and understands the world around it (Радченко 2016). Ideology begins with a belief that society can live better than it actually does. In fact, it is a plan to improve the socio-political system. Therefore, the main content of any ideology is its corresponding social ideal. As a rule, ideology does not so much interpret the existing socio-political system as it shows "how it should be" – it synthesizes real political processes with the interests and desires of the social community which is the carrier and propagator of this ideology. According to A. Downs (1957), ideology is a verbal image of a better society and the main ways of creating it. Therefore, every ideology contains elements of Utopianism. This is due to the need to involve broad masses of people in the implementation of a given ideology, which is why the creators and carriers of ideology try to present it not as an ideal desirable for their limited social community, but as an ideal that is more acceptable to the entire nation or the majority of citizens. Therefore, the expansion of utopian promises and elements, social populism, which in the process of the formation of the state within the appropriate ideology objectively lead to a discrepancy between what is promised and what is real, between word and deed, is inevitable. Therefore, according to S. Eisenstadt (1973), ideology mainly operates not with rational arguments, but with slogans, desires,

superstitions, myths, appeals to feelings, appeals to authorities, etc. Ideology objectively lies deep in social life, is the basis for the formation and development of the state, society, and the individual. It gives an idea of the place and the role of man in the structure of the world, the meaning of his life, the best organization of the future society, etc. Ideological knowledge and values organize, regulate, direct, and integrate people's activities in the spheres of spiritual, political, economic, social, and family life, unite countries of the same ideology, and ensure the integrity of the sociosphere as a whole.

As one of the most important cultural complexes, ideology supports the influence of one social institution or another and justifies and explains its activities. In the ontological aspect, being one of the basic social institutions, ideology is the foundation of social integration and consensus in the conditions of a stable social system, and in the conditions of a transforming society, it is one of the important determinants of the direction and nature of democratic transition (*Філософський...*, 2002). As historical studies show, there has never been a society without the presence of specific worldviews and norms of behavior, i.e. ideologies-worldviews (Лісовий, 2002). In the late 20th century, Samuel Huntington actually identified ideology and worldview. Developing the views of D. Bell (Белл, 2001), in today's globalized world, classical ideologies, which are the product of only Western civilization, are increasingly falling into the background. Instead, their place is taken by civilizational worldviews – value systems inherent in the largest possible social collectives – civilizations (Хантингтон, 2003). Therefore, there is a relationship between the concepts of “national security” and “ideology,” i.e., the geopolitical choice. In this sense, ideology reflects national interests, which are the subject of national security; therefore, national security contributes to the preservation of ideological foundations in a state. Since ideology is a system subject to change whose direction depends on the interests of the state and society, the choice of ideological priorities of the state is closely related to its national security. Hence, there is reason to discuss the existence of a special kind of ideology – an **ideology of national security**, based on valuable principles of national interest. In modern conditions, it is also the ideology of the geopolitical dimension of contemporary politics.

Reference to modern Ukraine

National security aims at ensuring the sovereignty of the state, ensuring maximum protection of the state against external and internal

destabilizing factors, creating external and internal conditions for effective self-sufficiency of the state and its reaching a competitive economic level on a par with the leading countries of the world. One can distinguish four main principles on which the contemporary ideology of national security of Ukraine should be based.

Firstly, it is the territory of the state. The territory is the historical heritage of each nation, its main wealth. Almost every nation sets greater boundaries than the current borders of the state. It is no different in the case of Ukraine (Fig. 1). But the inviolability of the current state borders should be considered indisputable (Zapałowski, 2019).

Fig. 1. Historical lands of Ukraine

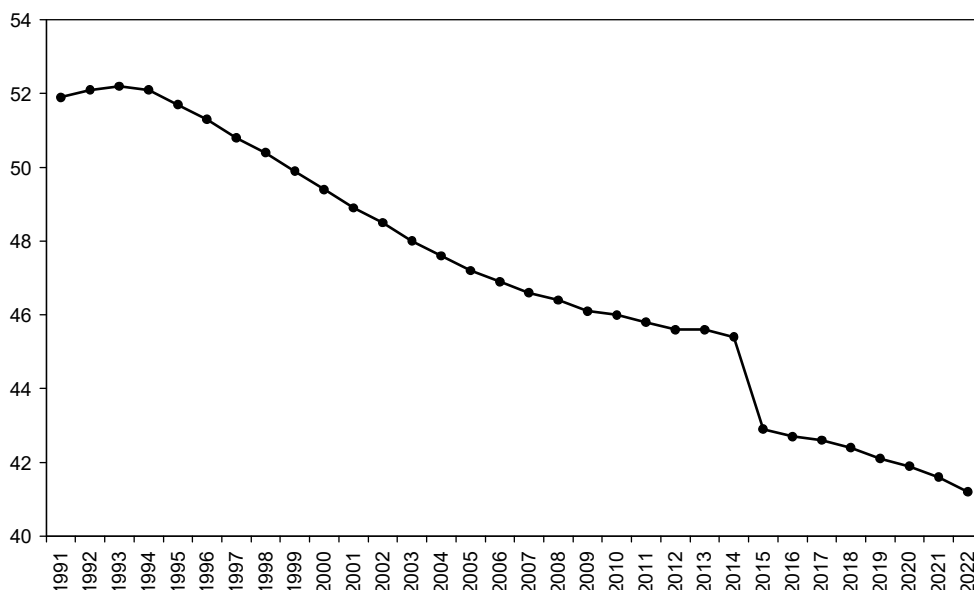


Source: *Historical regions of Ukraine*, <https://www.techpedia.pl/index.php?str=tp&no=38440>

Secondly, it is the population of the country. No matter how large the territories are, they only matter if they are inhabited and developed, which is why the assessment of each country is mainly measured by the size of the population and its demographic situation. In this respect, the situation of Ukraine is very bad, because the country is in a deep demographic crisis caused by both natural increase (Palian, 2015; Курило et al., 2016) and negative net migration (Pozniak, 2017). This results in a rapid decline in the population (Fig. 2), which will accelerate in the aftermath of the full-scale war with Russia. And this is another

demographic disaster of Ukraine (Романюк, Гладунн, 2015; comp. Wilczyński, 2018).

Fig. 2. Change in the official population of Ukraine in millions of citizens (as of 1 Jan.).



Source: *Населення України...*, 2022.

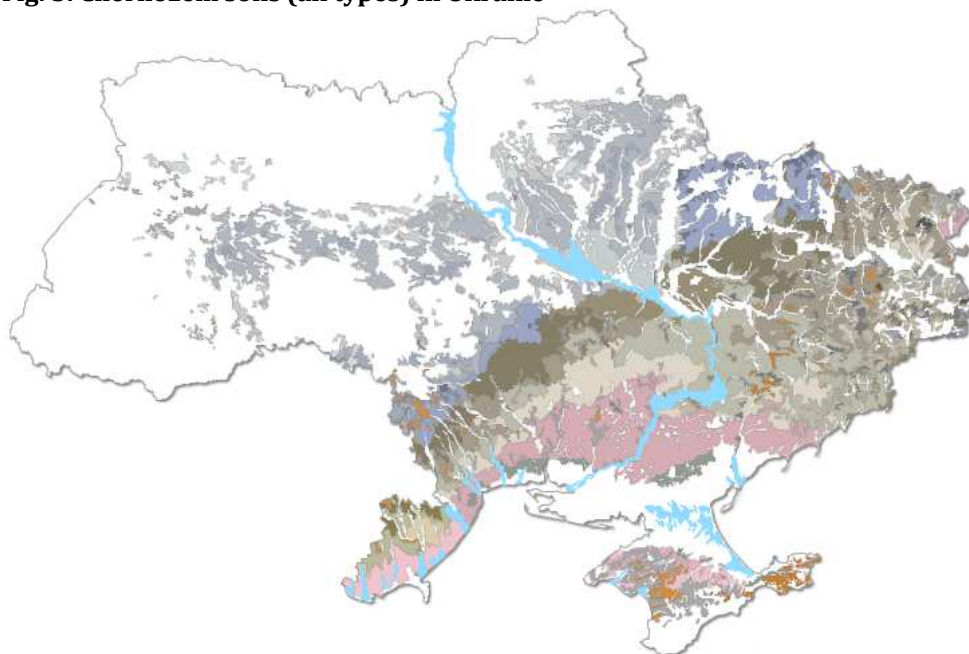
Thirdly, it is the raw material potential of the state. Despite technological progress, mineral and natural resources still exert a very large impact on the competitiveness of the country and its resilience to global crises. Prior to Russia's aggression against Ukraine in 2014, more than 90 types of minerals were known to be useful in almost 8,000 deposits. 10 times more useful minerals were extracted per square kilometer in Ukraine than the global average (Zastawnyj, Kusiński, 2003). Yet the most famous natural resource of Ukraine is very high quality soils, especially chernozem soils (Fig. 3). Thanks to all the crops harvested on them, tens of millions of people in the world can avoid hunger.

Fourthly, it is the quality of human capital understood as the level of people's morality, ability to generate world progress, etc. In the case of Ukraine, corruption is undoubtedly the most important factor hindering the development of the standard of living, but also worsening the level of national security. After the collapse of the communist system, almost all countries had problems with corruption (see Karklins, 2005), but some

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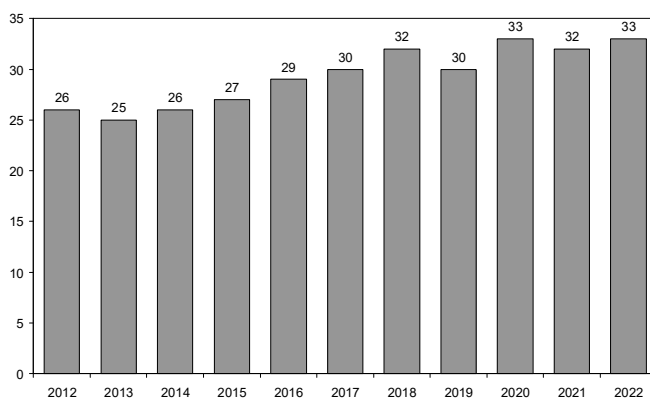
of them succeeded in fighting it. Unfortunately, Ukraine does not belong to those countries. Looking at the values of the Corruption Perception Index for recent years, one can see some improvement in this respect. But this improvement is very slow, and it is unknown how the war hardships and post-war reconstruction will affect the behavior of the population, especially of civil servants, in this regard.

Fig. 3. Chernozem soils (all types) in Ukraine



Source: *Ґрунти України*, n.d., <https://geomap.land.kiev.ua/soil.html#close>

Fig. 4. Corruption Perception Index in Ukraine



Source: <https://www.transparency.org/en/>

At the present stage of the development of society, ideological work is carried out by various institutions of power representing a specific political regime, the system of state administration, because ideology is the manipulator of people's consciousness, which contributes to the preservation of the current political system and the system of power. Based on what has been said, this means that the most important components of ideology in modern Ukraine are:

- comprehensive policy pursued by the state's administrative apparatus in all areas of social life;
- observance of the national interests of the whole society; laws, norms and principles governing socio-economic relations;
- geopolitics, its ideological dimension;
- problems of the state's defense capabilities;
- cultural and spiritual values of society.

Each nation lives within a specific civilization, has its own set of spiritual values that determine the national specificity of socialization and the formation of civic consciousness. Destruction of this feature may lead to the destruction of key foundations of national security, which puts the possibility of the state's future existence into question. Thus, national interests are reflected in the ideology of the state through political-ideological, socio-economic, cultural-historical, and spiritual relations, which form an appropriate form of organization of the state and its political system. These relations are very specific to each nation; they determine the course of certain socio-economic processes, become part of the spiritual level of the social masses and shape a desire to support the established state order and existing social relations in the minds of future generations within the framework of the established state ideology.

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In conclusion, it can be stated that national ideology, as the identity of a nation, is an integral part of national security that ensures its strength and development. Ideology is a system of political, legal, moral, religious, aesthetic, and philosophical views and ideas that focus on property relations, on the relationship between people and reality and one another, on social problems and conflicts. These views and ideas also include the goals of social activity aimed at perpetuating or changing social relations. This means that ideology is a manifestation of the identity of a nation actively affecting the society by accelerating or

hampering its development. The contemporary ideology of security is closely related to the management of society and to the issue of threats to its development. Under these conditions, the issue of ensuring national security is becoming increasingly important in the ideology of the state and in the practice of public administration.

For a long time after gaining independence, reforms in Ukraine were implemented inefficiently or not at all. This resulted in a bad economic situation in the country, impoverishment of society and a number of other negative processes (Albin, Baluk eds., 2002). It was also not conducive to raising the level of national security. The Orange Revolution (Avioutskii, 2007) did not change this situation either. It was only the revolution in 2014 and the shock caused by the Russian aggression that triggered willingness to change. The local government reform may be its good example (Michalski et al., 2022).

For Ukraine, this also means an urgent need to actually prove its right and ability to have a truly democratic self-government, an ability to become part of the European community (including the EU), i.e., to make an ultimate geopolitical choice (Радченко 2016).

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Streszczenie:

Celem artykułu jest wytłumaczenie zależności jaka istnieje między ideologią realizowaną przez państwo a stanem bezpieczeństwa narodowego. Bezpieczeństwo narodowe jest rozpatrywane w kontekście polityki wewnętrznej i zagranicznej państwa oraz jego dążeń do utrzymania stabilizacji społecznej i rozwoju. Kierunki aktywności państwa zależą z kolei od geopolitycznej orientacji, która stanowi pochodną wyboru cywilizacyjnego. Dokonana analiza jest ilustrowana przykładami z Ukrainy, która dokonała prozachodniej reorientacji geopolitycznej i cywilizacyjnej.

Słowa kluczowe: ideologia, geopolityka, bezpieczeństwo narodowe, Ukraina.