

Ensuring National Security in Conditions of War: NATO's Influence

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ABSTRACTS

The study is devoted to determining the NATO's influence on building Ukraine's national security in wartime. The purpose of the study is to determine the prospects for building national security with and without NATO's participation in the conditions of war and the realities of the current military situation in Ukraine. The relevance of the study is determined by the public and government discussion points regarding the possibility of ensuring peace by the Alliance in the context of the war between Ukraine and Russia and the government's position on finding alternative ways to ensure national security without NATO participation. General scientific methods of cognition were used to study the issue, the key of which is a critical analysis of statements of officials, politicians and officials on the formation of national security, published in the media. The study results show the current state of NATO's cooperation with Ukraine, Ukraine's readiness to participate in the Alliance, and the assessment of readiness by representatives of NATO member states. The discussion field is formed by statements of Ukrainian officials on alternative options for the formation of national security without NATO participation. The conclusion is made that cooperation with NATO is necessary for Ukraine, and it should be strengthened by future membership after completing a number of tasks. The practical significance of the study lies in the possibility of its use for building strategic directions for the formation of national security.

HIGHLIGHTS

- ① The study is devoted to determining the NATO's influence on building Ukraine's national security in wartime.
- ② The relevance of the study is determined by the public and government discussion points regarding the possibility of ensuring peace by the Alliance in the context of the war between Ukraine and Russia and the government's position on finding alternative ways to ensure national security without NATO participation.

Keywords: National security, NATO, mass media, war

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24 February 2022 will be a date that will remain in the history of Ukraine for a long time. Russia's unprovoked, unjustified and barbaric invasion of Ukraine was a manifestation of the enormous danger that took away the peace of mind of all Europeans. This war has effectively shattered the entire security architecture that has been persistently built on the continent over many decades, including international commitments agreed over the past 30 years.

Ukraine has aspired to become part of NATO since 2014, when Russia occupied Crimea and some parts of Ukraine received Russian military support for separatism. Since then, the Ukrainian government has made constant requests to initiate closer cooperation with the Alliance to preserve the country's territorial integrity. These requests are not only «on paper». To prove that Ukrainians are ready to join the alliance, many changes have been introduced that adapt the political and economic sphere to connect with the EU and NATO (Khavariivska, 2020).

The search for protection in NATO has become one of the justifications for Russia's military invasion, according to Putin. Russia's official position explains its military aggression in 2022 by threats of expansion of the North Atlantic Alliance to Russia's borders from Ukraine. In turn, NATO's reaction, despite the active military support of Ukraine by the European Union and the United States, has been and remains restrained. And even on June 30, 2022, four months after Russia's full-scale military invasion, President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy, in his address to the NATO Summit in Madrid, called on the Alliance to stop terror against Ukrainian civilians and help in the war against Russia (Army Inform, 2022). In response to this, NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg noted that there is no accelerated membership procedure following the example of Finland and Sweden, and NATO's current focus is to support Ukraine on the battlefield and strengthen its position in potential negotiations with Russia (European Truth, 2022).

In such circumstances, the issue of shaping national security with the NATO factor in mind becomes particularly controversial. There was a lot of information in the media that actually discredited the Alliance and reduced its importance in shaping national security. Moreover, there were attempts by

government officials and official pro-government bodies to convey to the public the possibility of creating other military, alternative alliances that could assume security guarantees. In fact, no country in the world is ready to assume military guarantees of peace without an equivalent exchange. That is why the question of the importance of NATO in the formation of national security remains open, debatable and requires further study.

The purpose of the study is to determine the prospects for building national security with and without NATO participation in the conditions of war and the realities of the current military situation in Ukraine. To achieve this goal, the following tasks will be performed in the research:

- ♦ to study the theoretical basis for the formation of national security and regulatory documents that define the basic principles of national security;
- ♦ to study the current level of cooperation between Ukraine and NATO;
- ♦ to identify the main obstacles to Ukraine's cooperation with NATO;
- ♦ to show the discussion basis for building national defense with or without the participation of NATO.

Literature Review

Many works in domestic and foreign science are devoted to the general issues of national security in Ukraine. In most scientific papers, security is considered as a state of society's protection from various kinds of dangers. This approach to the definition of security was integrated into the national science and was mainly based on the foreign scientists' research. In the Glossary of Terms in the Field of National Security, the term «national security» is defined as one of the main spheres of state functioning, which ensures the survival, development and freedom of realization of national interests in a specific safe environment, accepting challenges, using opportunities, reducing risks and counteracting various threats (Słownik terminów z zakresu bezpieczeństwa narodowego, 2008). As it is known, the term national security has American roots and was first introduced by US President T. Roosevelt in his political statement to

Congress in 1904. National security in the United States is defined as a state of society “in which the United States is preserved as a free nation and the inviolability of its basic institutions and values is respected” (Alexin, 1992). As for the direct normative consolidation of this concept, it took place in 1947 with the adoption of the US law “On National Security” (Pavlyutin, 2020).

Domestic approaches to the definition of national security have specific features. According to Sytnyk (2011), in essence, national security is an integral multicomponent assessment of the existing (desired, projected) level (degree) of protection of vital national interests and the conditions for their implementation, in particular, the state of the socio-economic system, social and political institutions in the country, the ability of the national armed forces to withstand threats to the territorial integrity and independence of the state, etc. Sytnyk's opinion is shared by Goncharenko *et al.* (2022). At the same time, Lipkan (2009) emphasizes that national security is “the security of its people as the bearer of sovereignty and the only source of power in Ukraine”.

But despite the numerous studies in the field of national security, the problem gained practical clarity after 2014 - when Russia annexed Crimea and began to support the separatism of Donetsk and Luhansk regions. At this time, the key factors of national security were clearly defined, and the state strategy became more pronounced - national security should be formed in the direction of Euro-Atlantic integration. Theoretical studies on the formation of national security in the direction of NATO were carried out by scientists Zamana V. (2013), Silaev N. (2018), Briezhnieva T. (2017) and other authors. The issue became particularly relevant in 2014, when Ukraine took a number of steps to cooperate with NATO and accelerate the possibility of joining the Alliance.

Fundamental among many sources is the document that reflects NATO's place in ensuring national security - the National Security Strategy of Ukraine of February 16, 2022 (2022). Ukraine's cooperation with NATO is based on a fairly solid legal framework. Its beginning was laid in the early nineties. In the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war, the Ukrainian authorities implemented a series

of practical measures that contributed to effective counteraction to Russian aggression. Among the latter was the rejection of the non-aligned status, consolidation of the Euro-Atlantic vector of state development in the Constitution, adoption of a new national security strategy of Ukraine, military doctrine, other legislative and regulatory documents governing national security.

Research Methodology

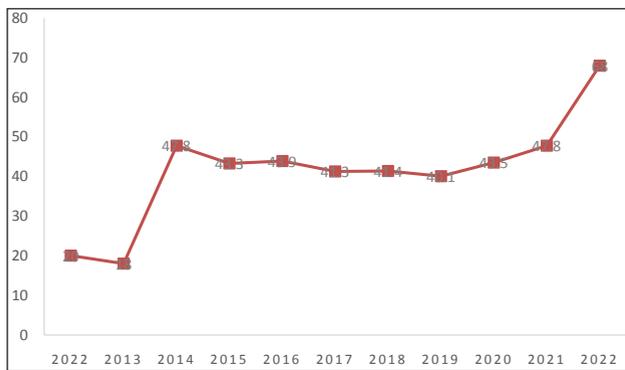
In order to study national security and ways to overcome threats in wartime, a number of scientific literature defining the concept of national security and the basic theoretical foundations of the formation of national security of Ukraine were studied. For the current study, not only scientific literature is used but also the opinion of experts, politicians and government officials who expressed their opinion in accordance with the current state of national security and prospects for cooperation with NATO. The analysis of literature and systematization of data allowed to build a chronology of building relations between Ukraine and NATO. By grouping these indicators, the main problems of cooperation and prospects for cooperation in the conditions of war between Ukraine and Russia were identified. Using deductive and inductive methods, solutions were found for the rational construction of a national security strategy based on the need for cooperation with the North Atlantic Alliance. In the course of the study, the survey results were used to collect information about the public opinion on Ukraine's accession to NATO. The support of the population for joining NATO was the main reason for the rejection of the application for membership in 2008, so such studies are important for strategic planning of the state development and ensuring national and military security. In order to supervise and present the results of the study, graphical methods of displaying statistical information and Infographics are used.

In order to determine the current situation in building the security development strategy of Ukraine, the statements of officials of Ukraine and other countries published in the media were analyzed. At the same time, not only publications in the media, but also statements published on the official pages of social networks of officials are taken into account, which are accepted as the

official position of the government, representatives of international organizations and experts.

Results of the Research

The need for Ukraine’s accession to NATO as the main way to guarantee the country’s security crystallized after the beginning of the Russian war in Ukraine in 2014. Since then, this idea has been consistently supported by about 45-50% of citizens. At the same time, it should be noted that until 2014, Ukrainians had a negative attitude towards cooperation with NATO for quite a long time. Until 2014, the population of the country was categorically against joining this Alliance, which can be seen in Fig. 1.



Source: Word and Deed, 2021; Ranking (2022).

Fig. 1: Opinion of the population of Ukraine on joining NATO

Before Russia’s full-scale military invasion of Ukraine in 2021, 47.8% of citizens supported Ukraine’s membership in the Alliance, and a week after the outbreak of full-scale hostilities, the level of support skyrocketed to a record 76% (March 1, 2022). However, during the first weeks of the war, Ukraine launched an information campaign to discredit NATO.

At the same time, the Ukrainian delegation in Istanbul signaled its readiness to talk about neutrality and refusal to move towards NATO membership. And as of March 30-31, sociologists recorded a decrease in support for joining NATO - 68%.

At the same time, the course for membership in the Alliance is still supported by the vast majority of the population, and it would be an outright exaggeration to talk about a rapid decline in support. Ukraine’s membership in NATO is also supported

by the international community. In particular, in Poland, Lithuania, Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia and Romania, the majority (from 51% in Romania to almost 80% in Poland) believe that Ukraine should become a member of the European Union and/or the Alliance in the future.

Now that the wave of information discrediting the Alliance has slowly subsided, we can confidently say that before accusing NATO of weakness and indecision, a conscious citizen needs to understand the power of political decisions on cooperation between Ukraine and NATO. The main achievements of NATO’s support for Ukraine are:

1. Reforms. Ukraine’s cooperation with NATO in the area of reforms was one of the main and perhaps the most important. The Alliance provided advisory assistance in this area and helped to identify the most priority reforms for implementation.
2. Control over the Armed Forces. Thanks to the support of NATO member states, Ukraine took the first steps towards establishing democratic and civilian control over the armed forces - the norm that the Minister of Defence should be a civilian was introduced; reforms of the Security Service of Ukraine and intelligence were launched; positive changes in the Armed Forces took place: reform of the NCO corps of the Armed Forces, improved medical support for the military, etc.
3. Increasing the combat capability of the Ukrainian army. Over the years of cooperation (Ukraine’s relations with NATO were officially established in 1992), Ukraine has become the only partner state of the Alliance that participated in all its major missions and operations. Since 2014, Ukraine has participated in numerous joint exercises with NATO: Sea Breeze, Rapid Trident, Joint Juncture, Defender Europe, Coherent Resilience, Cossack Mace-2021, etc. All this has contributed to increasing the level of combat capability of the Ukrainian army, implementing in Ukraine the best practices and standards of the armies of Europe and the United States, as well as strengthening interoperability with the armies of NATO member states.

4. Military education development programs. The Alliance has also provided assistance to Ukraine through capacity building programmes: for example, the Professional Development Programme (PDP, the development of management and leadership skills for civilian officials), the Defence Education Enhancement Programme (DEEP), etc.
5. Trust Funds. Within the framework of the Comprehensive Assistance Package, which included 40 targeted activities in 13 key areas, Allies provided assistance to Ukraine through trust funds (a mechanism for providing targeted practical assistance in various fields on a voluntary basis by individual NATO member and partner countries).
6. Anti-corruption reforms. NATO has contributed to anti-corruption reforms in Ukraine (introduction of electronic declaration for officials, reduction of secrecy in public and defence procurement), judicial reform (establishment of the High Anti-Corruption Court - HACC), etc. These reforms directly affect the life of the population and are tangible for ordinary Ukrainians.
7. Procurement system. In 2015, Ukraine joined the NATO Support and Procurement Agency, a specialized procurement system of the Alliance, and in 2019 began to carry out procurement under a simplified procedure and reduced prices.
8. Intelligence data. In-depth intelligence sharing has become possible, in particular, thanks to Ukraine's Enhanced Opportunities Partner (EOP) status. Among other advantages of this status are: increased participation of Ukraine in joint NATO exercises and training, strengthening cooperation to ensure the security of the Black Sea, expansion of Ukrainian representation in NATO structures, etc.
9. Protection against radiation threats. US officials have noted that if Russia deliberately damages a nuclear reactor at a Ukrainian nuclear power plant, causing a radiation leak, it would be a violation of NATO Article 5, which provides for a military response to a nuclear threat from Russia (Espresso, 2022).

At the same time, it should be noted that the war between Russia and Ukraine has caused large-scale changes in NATO aimed at strengthening the Alliance's defense capabilities. An important reaction of NATO to Russia's military aggression was the decision to:

- ♦ strengthening the battlegroups in the eastern part of the Alliance;
- ♦ increasing the number of High Readiness Forces to more than 300 thousand;
- ♦ additional investments in NATO and increased joint funding from member countries;
- ♦ approval of the new NATO Strategic Concept, which defines NATO's approach to Russia and other threats, including terrorism, cyber and hybrid threats;
- ♦ launching a new NATO initiative fund to help the Alliance strengthen its technological advantage (UN, 2020).

Therefore, the question remains open what is holding back NATO membership and what measures should be taken to ensure that accession to the Alliance takes place. To understand the state of affairs, it is worth examining the statements made by officials to the media. And here one can find some differences of opinion among leaders (Lozynskiy, 2021).

Opinion 1 – There are no obstacles. According to Ambassador Kurt Volker, the NATO Membership Action Plan is essentially irrelevant for Ukraine, as Ukraine has now completed all the reforms necessary for membership.

Opinion 2 – There is an obstacle: unfinished reforms. In turn, President Biden, in response to a reporter's question, said that Ukraine should reform in order to become a NATO member (Lozynskiy, 2021). After the summit, US President Joe Biden at a press conference confirmed Ukraine's possibility of joining NATO, but noted that this is a matter of a distant prospect, as it requires eradicating corruption (Prizova, 2021). Despite large-scale reforms in various areas of public administration, the issue of corruption remains open and relevant today. It is impossible to solve it in the short term, and it is also impossible to fully solve the issue of corruption, even in the long term. A derivative of corruption is the issue of information security (Zajkivskij & Onistrat, 2020). Given that in the

conditions of war today, the media clearly trace statements about the leakage of state secrets, about Kremlin agents in the Ukrainian government, all these weaknesses must be eliminated.

The authors share the opinion of scientists who note that there are still obstacles to NATO membership. In particular, Kudlai & Tsebro (2020) noted that the problem of building cooperation between Ukraine and NATO is the communication component. The presence of a clear initiative and the absence of doubts and appropriate official rhetoric about the need for NATO membership would significantly accelerate this process.

DISCUSSION

In March 2022, the debate on whether Ukraine should aspire to NATO membership began with a new active wave in Ukraine (Pravda, 2022; Channel 24, 2022). There are increasingly strong arguments that if it is such a strong “trigger” for Russia that NATO membership is worth giving up. Many experts complain that Ukraine has not received the protection and assistance it hoped for from NATO. If NATO does not become a component of national security, then what alternative way can be used to strengthen the level of defense capability.

An alternative to security guarantees is armed neutrality of the Israeli or Swiss model. In order to minimize the risks of aggression from the Russian Federation to a critically low level, it will be necessary to systematically invest huge amounts of money in defense, the latest technologies, the military-industrial complex, etc. With such a level of defense expenditures, Ukraine will simply not have the resources to develop and perform other state functions.

Our leaders want to receive security guarantees from the world powers that will not be inferior to Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty. These are new military alliances, where each of the participants will help in resolving military conflicts. Among the potential guarantors of Ukrainian security were the UK, China, Poland, USA, France, Turkey, Germany, Canada, Italy, Israel and even Russia. However, consultations with potential guarantors of Ukraine’s security have shown that the “security guarantees” that our Western partners are ready to consider are not analogous to Article 5 of the Washington Treaty, but only “assurances” of security (Silina, 2022).

The abandonment of the NATO course, as well as a strong dissociation from the Alliance, would mean not only the abandonment of the idea of membership, but also the possible end of in-depth or any cooperation with NATO at all. By abandoning the course towards the Alliance on its own, Ukraine will only facilitate the task of opponents of our country’s accession to NATO (and during the years of independence, Ukraine has already several times declared membership as its goal, and then refused it), and in case of a new attack, Ukraine may be left without the support and assistance of partners (Fakhurdinova, 2022).

Another option is NATO membership after EU membership. Ukraine’s path to the EU will, among other things, increase the economic motivation of European countries to guarantee the security of their investments in our country. In terms of European security, the EU and NATO are closely linked to each other. That is why all Eastern European states were moving towards membership in these two international organizations simultaneously.

At the same time, if in Eastern Europe the order was mainly “from NATO membership to EU membership”, this year’s example of Sweden and Finland, which became EU members in 1995, shows the opposite approach (Pravda, 2022)

We must finally admit the obvious: without strong military assistance from our partners, almost all of whom are NATO countries, Ukraine will not be able to effectively deter Russian aggression. Taking into account the strong position of the Allies during the consideration of the “security requirements” of the Russian Federation announced by the United States and its allies last December, NATO will never “unilaterally deny” our country the right to membership without Ukraine’s consent. This would be the end of the value system of the North Atlantic Alliance and the collective West as such. For obvious reasons, as of now, the Alliance cannot offer us membership. But there is a factor that brings this prospect closer: the door to EU candidate status is now opening for Ukraine.

It is more important than ever for Ukrainians to understand that our movement towards the Alliance is a path of reforms that qualitatively change the state along with its security sector and law enforcement system. Following a parallel roadmap

of reforms to both the EU and NATO significantly increases our chances for eventual membership in both organizations.

CONCLUSION

According to the results of the study, it was found that the main aspects of building national security is to ensure military security, which in wartime contributes to the ability of the state to function, preserve its territories and resources. Ukraine has a successful experience of cooperation with NATO in the field of military capability building. At the same time, NATO's position in support of a non-bloc member facing war is clearly expressed. As long as the military aggression does not directly affect NATO countries, no direct military action is envisaged by the organization. However, this does not exclude military assistance from the member states of the Euro-Atlantic Alliance. The main obstacles to joining NATO today are the presence of military operations on the territory and a number of other problems, including corruption, information security and diplomatic relations. According to the authors, the speed of joining the Alliance will depend on diplomatic relations, since the government's rhetoric in this direction is unclear, uncertain, and, moreover, an information background is being formed that considers the possibility of building national security without NATO. In the conditions of war, the rhetoric on the need to join NATO changes constantly, depending on the results of military operations - the more confident Ukraine's victory is, the more widespread the ideas of the need to join NATO become. Conversely, if Russia wins this war, Ukraine will have to give up the idea of building national security through participation in the Alliance. An alternative is a non-aligned state of the country, which provides for serious financing of defense with a sufficiently strong economy. In fact, this alternative is not realistic for Ukraine. Other newly created military associations can only help to solve the problem, but they cannot provide any security guarantees. Under such circumstances, it should be understood that the path to NATO to build a defensible country is inevitable, but it cannot be short-term, as it requires additional reforms, clearly defined tasks for their implementation and consistent steps on the part of Ukraine.

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