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## **CRITERIA OF STATE POWER THROUGH RESEARCH OF ACADEMIC DISCOURSE ON NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES**

### **Abstract**

The article examines the academic discourse on the scientific and categorical concept of "state power", its essence, as well as the role and importance in the development and implementation of public policy in the field of national security (especially foreign policy, state, and military security). Theoretical and methodological interrelations between the "state power" and "national security" phenomena have been considered. Academic works have been analyzed, penned by Ukrainian and foreign scholars who studied the criteria of state power, including through the prism of public administration's goals and objectives in the field of national security. Scientific analysis and systematization have been done of the key prerequisites and factors of human development, society, and the state, which contribute in an interconnected and complementary way to the development of state power and national security. They can also be seen as criteria that characterize their current state and development level. It has been concluded that it is important to take into account the widest possibilities of criteria of the society's mental and spiritual potential, which in combination with other criteria comprehensively characterize state power. This applies to the criteria of the potential for society's resistance to external threats of geopolitical, geoeconomic, military-political, informational nature, etc., which in turn generate internal threats that could lead to disorganization of such a society and state. An extensive list of criteria has been developed, characterizing state power, which consists of the following categories of potentials: spiritual and value; social; political and ideological; socio-humanitarian; geopolitical; strategic and managerial; foreign policy; domestic policy; public administration; security (in the context of the security and defense sector's development potential); information; scientific and technological; economic potential, etc.

**Key words:** State, state power, national security, public policy, public administration, criteria, assessment, threats.

### **Introduction**

Formulation of the problem. When developing public policy in the field of national security, it is feasible to take into account the criteria and an integrated indicator of state power. After all, the shaping and implementation of national security goals without taking into account and prior comprehensive assessment of the state's integrated capacities (managerial, organizational, political, economic, humanitarian, information, military, scientific, security, etc.), as well as the nation's potential to defend their country could lead to actual threats emerging to the "person-society-state" security. In particular, the lack of relevant knowledge on the full range of criteria-based characteristics of state power hinders the government from taking adequate and timely

measures to respond to threats in an aggressive security environment. This particular circumstance defines the link of the general problem with the most important scientific and practical tasks of researching theoretical and practical issues of ensuring national security and studying the interconnectedness of this process with state power.

Previously unresolved parts of the general problem. The said academic topic was researched by Ukrainian scholars, including: V.H. Sytnyk, V. Smolianiuk, A. Kachynsky, V. Bohdanovych, V. Abramov, V. Mandrahelia, M. Shevchenko, D. Molochenko, H. Khrapach, Ye. Pirohovska, V. Yakushyk, etc. Among foreign researchers, theoretical foundations of state power were studied by G. Clifford, R. Cleine, K. Waltz, L. Yang, T. Wang, C. Kegley, E. Wittkopf, Go-hua Ou-yang, Shuo Feng Huang, etc. Ukrainian and foreign scholars studied the theoretical foundations (a scientific-categorical concept, essence, potentials, criteria, an integrated indicator, approaches, and methods of assessment) of state power.

This research was done through the prism of studying the criteria and evaluation of the overall capacities and potentials of the state in order for it to gain advantages in the international arena for the sake of promotion and protection of national interests. In Ukraine, the study has developed of the world's best practices on the comprehensive maintenance of national stability as a component of national security. In particular, Ukrainian scholars O. Reznikova<sup>1</sup>, S. Siomin<sup>2</sup>, and others conducted research toward enhancing the mechanisms of strategic analysis and planning the development of capabilities of the state and its territories in the field of national sustainability. However, the criteria that characterize the development of national sustainability and state power share a number of common features, although the concept and essence of these phenomena differ, as disclosed in this research paper.

However, there is little research on developing an expanded set of criteria that in a single set of features would holistically characterize state power, taking into account the society's mental and spiritual potential, which ensures its consolidated resilience to external and internal threats. In addition, there is little research on the study of state power criteria in the context of addressing national security issues. Also, further research is required of the key prerequisites and factors of the "person -society-state" development and security, which contribute in an interconnected and complementary way to the formation of state power and national security.

Research work's objective: Based on the study of domestic and foreign academic discourse on the theoretical foundations of state power and its criteria through the prism of ensuring national security, to improve the list of these criteria by conducting additional scientific analysis of prerequisites and factors characterizing the "person-society-state" development and security.

### **Outline and substantiation of research results.**

The scientific-categorical concept of "state power" has multiple layers to it and consists of various components. In science, it is mainly considered through the criteria of the state's

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<sup>1</sup> O. O. Reznikova. *On the concept of ensuring national sustainability in Ukraine*. 2020. niss.gov.ua. Access mode: URL: <https://niss.gov.ua/doslidzhennya/nacionalna-bezpeka/schodo-koncepcii-zabezpechennya-nacionalnoi-stiykosti-v-ukraini>.

<sup>2</sup> O. O. Reznikova, S. V. Siomin. *Issues of organizational support for building up national sustainability in Ukraine. State and municipal administration: theory, methodology, practice: collective monograph*. University of Vern, Zagreb, Croatia. Riga 2020, pp. 188-205.

capacity to strengthen its role and influence in the international arena, to implement foreign policy to promote and protect national interests worldwide. At the same time, the criteria of state power in the context of ensuring national security (first of all, its components such as foreign policy, state, and military security) against external and internal threats are only indirectly studied in the scientific circles.

The scientific concept of "national resilience" has become relevant in security theory. O. Reznikova and K. Voitovsky<sup>3</sup> define the concept of "national sustainability" as the capacity of a state and society to effectively counter threats of any origin and nature, adapt to changes in the security environment, maintain sustainable functioning pre-, amid, and post-crisis, and quickly recover to the state of desired balance. The essence of this phenomenon is for the "state-society-local communities" to develop preparedness to and capacities to tackle the risks and threats caused by emergencies, including natural, man-made, environmental, biological, social, terrorist, military, cybersecurity, etc.

The results of the research work allow stating that the processes of development of national sustainability and state power share certain common features, namely – a complex and comprehensive development of capabilities, in which both a state and society engage. However, there are fundamental differences between them in the philosophical nature of their essence, purpose, goals, objectives, and mechanisms of implementation. In particular, it is seen that the essence of state power development through the prism of national security is the development of integrated state capacities based on the formation of strategically balanced public policy, able to ensure comprehensive and phased growth of resource potential and provide quality creative influence on a country's geopolitical, geoeconomic, and military political environment, as well as the internal security environment in order to neutralize the relevant external and internal threats to national interests and national security. In this context, an important task is to ensure protection of state sovereignty, constitutional democracy, territorial integrity, and other national interests from existing and potential threats.

The term "state power" is used, as a rule, in close connection with such concepts as "force", "national force", "elements of force", "material and spiritual potential", "national might", etc. In particular, the analysis of scientific research works by Ye. Pirohovska and V. Yakushyk<sup>4</sup> shows that state power can be characterized by the concepts of "hard power" and "soft power". The author of the article believes that "hard force" is, in fact, the geopolitical and military power of a state, which ensures the balance of geopolitical, military, and political forces in the international arena in its favor (or dominance, or shift in the balance of forces in its favor) in regions are key to the promotion and protection of national interests, security and sustainable development of the state. On the contrary, "soft power" is the attractiveness of the state's integrated potential for other countries and foreign citizens (potentials of state economy, its

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<sup>3</sup> O. O. Reznikova, K. Ye. Voitovsky. *The problem of terminological uncertainty in the field of building up national sustainability*. 2021. niss.gov.ua. Access mode: URL: <https://niss.gov.ua/doslidzhennya/nacionalna-bezpeka/problema-terminologichnoi-neviznachenosti-u-sferi-rozbudovi>.

<sup>4</sup> Ye. V. Pirohovska. Typology of States by Their Power / Ye.V. Pirohovska, V. M. Yakushyk // Scientific notes of NaUKMA. Political science, 2014, V. 160, pp. 3-10. - Access mode: [http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/NaUKMAp\\_2014\\_160\\_3](http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/NaUKMAp_2014_160_3).

investment, production, and trade capacities, socio-political, socio-economic development, culture, science, technology, etc.).

In order to ensure high quality disclosure of the topic in the research work, which contains various interpretations of theoretical provisions, a prior disclosure is required of scientific views on related scientific and categorical concepts that are part of this topic, such as: "state", "national security", "national interests", "threats to national security", "state sovereignty", "constitutional order", "territorial integrity", "criteria", etc.

Thus, Ukrainian researchers A. Bobrovnikov, S. Konyk<sup>5</sup>, and L. Shypilova<sup>6</sup> define and characterize the concept of "state" as follows:

The "state" is a universal political form of society organization, characterized by sovereign power, the exercise of powers within a given territory through a system of specifically created governing bodies set to ensure political, economic, ideological leadership over society, as well as public affairs management.

"State" is the basic and highest form of society's political life that consists of three features: nation, territory, and sovereignty. Without any of the given features, ensuring state security is impossible. Also important is the concept of "sovereignty", the essence of which lies in supremacy and independence of state power, which is manifested in the relatively independent solution of all issues of domestic and foreign policies.

V. Horbulin and A. Kachynsky<sup>7</sup> define the concept of "national security" as the protection of vital interests of person, society, and state in various spheres of life from internal and external threats, which ensures a country's sustainable and progressive development. The main objects of national security are: a person – their rights and freedoms; society – its material and spiritual values; and state – its constitutional order, state sovereignty, and territorial integrity. The main actor as regards national security is a state, which performs functions in this area through its legislative, executive and judicial authorities.

Law of Ukraine On National Security of Ukraine of June 21, 2018, № 2469-VIII defines<sup>8</sup>:

- "National Security of Ukraine" is the ensured protection of state sovereignty, territorial integrity, democratic constitutional order, and other national interests of Ukraine from current and potential threats:
- "National interests" are the vital interests of a person, society, and state, the implementation of which ensures the state sovereignty of Ukraine, its progressive democratic development, as well as safe living conditions and welfare of citizens.
- "Threats to national security" are phenomena, tendencies, and factors that make it impossible or difficult or may make it impossible or difficult to realize Ukraine's national interests and preserve national values .

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<sup>5</sup> S. M. Konyk, A. O. Bobrovnikova. State. Encyclopedia of Public Administration: in eight volumes / Nat. Academy of Public Administration under the President of Ukraine; Scientific Editorial Board: Yu. V. Kovbasiuk (chair) and others, K.: NAPA 2011. V. 2., p. 122-124.

<sup>6</sup> L. M. Shypilova. Comparative Analysis of Key Concepts and Categories of of Ukraine's National Security Foundations: author's ref. dis. for scientific degree cand. of polit. sciences: Jan 21, 2001. Kyiv, 2007, p. 22 .

<sup>7</sup> V. P. Horbulin, A. B. Kachynsky. Strategic Planning: Addressing Issues of National Security: Kyiv: NISS, 2010. P. 288.

<sup>8</sup> On National Security of Ukraine, Law of Ukraine of June 21, 2018, No. 2469-VIII (Online resource), Access mode: <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2469-19>.

Ye. Hryshko<sup>9</sup>, Y. Shemshuchenko<sup>10</sup>, and O. Dakhno<sup>11</sup> define the concepts of "state sovereignty", "constitutional order", and "territorial integrity":

"State sovereignty" is a political and legal feature of state power, which implies its supremacy and wholeness within the country, as well as independence and equality in interstate relations.

"Constitutional order" is the procedure laid down in Constitution for the organization and functioning of the institutions within the state and society, the system of public relations that is guaranteed, provided for, and regulated by legislation passed in line with the Basic Law.

"Territorial integrity" is the prohibition of forcible disintegration of territory of any state and its annexation. The concept of "integrity" is defined as an integrative quality of social systems, inherent only in a sovereign state, a sovereign political power. It presupposes the state of internal unity of the object (which becomes one), its relative autonomy, and independence from the surrounding environment.

A. Kachynsky<sup>12</sup> defines the concept of "criterion" as a feature used to distinguish, judge, and measure the definition or assess the phenomena, processes, systems or state of the object (this feature is taken as a classification base).

Ukrainian scholars A. Kachynsky<sup>13</sup>, D. Molochenko<sup>14</sup>, Ye. Pirohovska<sup>15</sup> H. Sytnyk, and M. Shevchenko<sup>16</sup> define the concept of "state power" as:

- A quantitative indicator of a state's forces and resources, which it can apply in relations with other actors in the system of international relations;
- A set of existing material and spiritual<sup>17</sup> capacities of a state and its society, used by a country's top public authorities to achieve geopolitical goals and ensure national security; and

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<sup>9</sup> Ye. M. Hryshko. State Sovereignty. Encyclopedia of Public Administration: in eight volumes / Nat. Academy of Public Administration under the President of Ukraine; scientific editorial board: Yu. V. Kovbasiuk (chairman) and others, Kyiv 2011. V. 8., pp.559-561.

<sup>10</sup> Yu. S. Shemshuchenko. Constitutional System // Legal Encyclopedia: (in six vols.) / Ed. board Yu. S. Shemshuchenko (ed.) (etc.). - Kyiv: MP Bazhan Ukrainian Encyclopedia, 2001, V. 3: K - M., p.792.

<sup>11</sup> O. Yu. Dakhno. Territorial Integrity of the State as an Object of National Security. Vistnyk. NTUU "KPI". Political Sciences. Sociology. Law. Ed. 3/4 (27/28). 2015, p. 17-21.

<sup>12</sup> A.B. Kachynsky. Indicators of National Security: Definition and Use of Limit Values: Monography / AB Kachynsky. - Kyiv 2013, p.104.

<sup>13</sup> A. B. Kachynsky. Indicator of State Power - an Important Tool for System Analysis and Strategic Planning in the Field of National Security (2016) (Online resource) - Access mode: <http://journal.iasa.kpi.ua/article/viewFile/45298/60811>.

<sup>14</sup> D. R. Molochenko: Euclidean Distance as an Integral Indicator of the Power of the State (2015) (Online resource) - Access mode: <http://is.ipt.kpi.ua/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2015/06/Molochenko-Publication1.pdf>

<sup>15</sup> Ye. V. Pirohovska Typology of States by Their Power / Ye.V. Pirohovska, V.M. Yakushyk // Scientific Notes of NaUKMA. Political Science, 2014, V. 160, pp. 3-10. - Access mode: [http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/NaUKMAp\\_2014\\_160\\_3](http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/NaUKMAp_2014_160_3).

<sup>16</sup> M. M. Shevchenko. The genesis of the essence of the "State Power" Concept and Approaches to Quantitative Analysis of the Power Potential in the Late XX Century / M. M. Shevchenko // Ways to Improve Public Administration of National Security of Ukraine / Proceedings of the round table (Kyiv, March 17, 2011). / general editing by H.P. Sytnyk, K. 2011, pp. 39 - 44.; M. M. Shevchenko Evolution of Naval Power of the USA and China in the Context of Geopolitical Confrontation / M. M. Shevchenko // Military-Historical Bulletin, 2011, No.2., pp. 117-122.; H.P. Sytnyk: Ways to Improve the System of Public Administration to Ensure National Security of Ukraine: Textbook in two parts. P. 2 / editorial board: H. P. Sytnyk, V. I. Abramov, V. A. Mandragel, and others.; general editing by H. P. Sytnyk, Kyiv 2012, p. 44.

<sup>17</sup> As for the concept of spiritual capacities, this implies a mental and spiritual readiness of society to defend their state, the potential for sustainability and resilience of the nation to external and internal threats of various origins.

- Special features of a state, which determines its place in the international arena; building up power helps it position itself as an influential actor to be reckoned with prior to important decision-making.

Cambridge University Professor G. Clifford has defined national power as a concept that characterizes the will to fight, quality of government planning and competence in decision-making amid wartime, as well as the economic potential of the state.

The analysis of the said scholars' research works allows stating that state power is a generalized quantitative criterion that characterizes the integrated potential of a state, which the country uses to achieve target national goals in foreign policy, sustainable development, foreign policy, state, and military security. This integrated potential consists of political, economic, financial, social, spiritual, military, scientific, demographic, geographical, organizational, managerial and other potentials. Each of the individual potentials is characterized by a comprehensive list of criteria, defined based on a study of prerequisites, factors, and other features of these potentials' development.

Scholars identify the following factors that contribute to the development of state power:

- a. Geographical – location and size of the territory, its orographic and hydrographic features, and environmental conditions.
- b. Demographic – population, level of urbanization, structural features of the population (age, ethnicity, religion, and others).
- c. Economic – availability of natural resources, the level of technological development, industrial and agricultural potential, financial system, and gross national product (GNP).
- d. Infrastructure – the level of development of transport links, transport potential, communication systems, telecom networks, information technology, critical systems for the state, society, and person, etc.
- e. Military – manpower and hardware available in security and defense forces, their combat capability, military culture and traditions.
- f. Political – stability of the political system, the position of the national political elite, the level of development of the state apparatus, a state's political prestige in international relations, and the quality of diplomacy.
- g. Historical – factors related to the historical image of a state as an actor in international relations.
- h. Psychological – historically determined mentality of the population, national character, social values, and volitional qualities of the nation.

T. Shustrova proposes the typology of states in line with the criteria of their power level:

1. superpower or global hegemon; 2. a great world power; 3. a leading global military power; 4. a great power in the zone of influence of a certain civilization; 5. a leading military power in the zone of influence of a certain civilization; 6. a great power in the zone of regional influence; 7. a leading military power of regional influence; 8. a major global partner in the economy (finance / trade); 9. a major partner in the economy (finance / trade) in the area of influence of a certain civilization; 10. a major regional partner in the economy (finance / trade); 11. an ordinary power, which is a convenient military-political partner for one or more countries; 12. an ordinary power,



which is a convenient partner in the economy (finance / trade) for one or more countries; 13. an ordinary power operating only within own territory<sup>18</sup>.

Ukrainian scholars H. Sytnyk and M. Shevchenko distinguish nine general criteria of state power: 1. management; 2. territory; 3. natural resources; 4. population; 5. economy; 6. culture and religion; 7. science and education; 8. security and defense forces; and 9. foreign policy (geopolitical environment). These scholars, schematically, structured state power based on a post-industrial worldview (see Figure 1)<sup>19</sup>.

The analysis of research works compiled by Ukrainian scientists – A. Kachynsky, D. Molochenko, and Ye. Pirohovska, and those by foreign researchers - Ch. Kegley<sup>20</sup>, Go-hua Ou-yang<sup>21</sup>, R. Cleine<sup>22</sup>, K. Waltz<sup>23</sup>, L. Yang and T. Wang<sup>24</sup>, and Shuo Feng Huang<sup>25</sup> provides opportunities to synthesize and explore a more detailed list of criteria for state power in the following categories:

1. Criteria that characterize a state's geopolitical potential: area; geographical location; raw materials and their volumes; benefits of the geographical environment; natural population rise, etc.

2. Criteria that characterize a state's economic potential: the relative degree of development of state economy; the level of self-sufficiency of the economy; dynamics of real indicators of gross national product and gross domestic product; expenses of the state budget; share of manufacturing in total production; able-bodied population; the number of people employed in the manufacturing industry; productivity; dynamics of real incomes per capita, taking into account social protection benefits and uneven distribution of income; energy security; trade volumes; savings and investments; dependence on foreign supply of resources; technological capabilities; the share of innovative products in high-tech industries; development of economic ties, dynamics of national wealth; the level of food security of the population, etc.

3. Criteria that characterize the strength of society: national morale and social solidarity; life expectancy; fertility rate; science expenditures; level of education, human development index; the share of citizens identifying as part of the state and society, consider the country as their homeland, and inheriting the historical and cultural heritage of the nation that formed the state;

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<sup>18</sup> T. V. Shustrova. The structure of the Model of a State's Geopolitical Status (Online resource) / T.V. Shustrova // Journal of Scientific Publications of Graduates and Doctoral Students. Access mode: <http://jurnal.org/articles/2010/polit7.html> .

<sup>19</sup> M. M. Shevchenko. The genesis of the Essence of the "State Power" Concept and Approaches to Quantitative Analysis of the Power Potential in the Late XX Century / M. M. Shevchenko // Ways to Improve Public Administration of National Security of Ukraine / Proceedings of the round table (Kyiv, March 17, 2011). / general editing by H.P. Sytnyk, K. .: NAPA, 2011, pp. 39 - 44 M.M. Shevchenko Evolution of Naval Power of the USA and China in the Context of Geopolitical Confrontation / M.M. Shevchenko // Military-Historical Bulletin, 2011, No.2., pp. 117-122 H.P. Sytnyk: Ways to Improve the System of Public Administration to Ensure National Security of Ukraine: Textbook in two parts. P. 2 / editorial board: H.P. Sytnyk, V.I. Abramov, V. A. Mandragel, and others.; general editing by H.P. Sytnyk, K. 2012, p. 44.

<sup>20</sup> Ch. Kegley. World Politics: Trends and Transformation / Ch. Kegley, E. Wittkopf – 10th instructor's edition, Belmont 2000, p. 688.

<sup>21</sup> Guo-hua Ou-yang. The comparison Model of the Comprehensive National Strength under the Globalization / Guo-hua Ou-yang // International Journal of Business and Management / Ou-yang Guo-hua, 2006, No 3, Vol. 1., p. 70–85.

<sup>22</sup> Cline. R. S. World Power Assessment: a Calculus of Strategic Drift/ R.S. Cline, Boulder 1975, p. 173.

<sup>23</sup> Waltz K. Man, The State and War: a Theoretical Analysis/ K. Waltz. , 2nd edition, N. Y. 2001, p. 263.

<sup>24</sup> L. Yang and T. Wang Theory and application of nonlinear dynamics , Beijing 2006.

<sup>25</sup> S. Huang Study of Comprehensive National Power and Situation — China National Conditions and Strength, 1 (1992), p. 13-19.

readiness of society to resist large-scale external military aggression of the enemy and to have courage to defend their homeland; development of social ties; civilized behavior and education of the population, etc.

4. Criteria that characterize the effectiveness of public policy and administration: the effectiveness of state-level decision-making; level of public support for the efforts made by state authorities; political culture and values; ideology; ability to state organization; diplomatic culture, etc.

5. Criteria that characterize the military power of a state: combat readiness of the armed forces; national defense expenditures; arms exports; military-technical capacity for inflicting irreparable damage to any aggressor in wartime (availability of nuclear weapons and modern military hardware, etc.).

6. Criteria that characterize the scientific, technological and information power of a state: scientific and technological development, index of development of information and communication technologies; control over information (soft power), introduction of technological innovations.

The analysis of scientific research by A. Semenchenko<sup>26</sup> and O. Reznikova<sup>27</sup> allows stating that important criteria for assessing state power include the level of efficiency of state organization and management (public, anti-crisis, and military), without which any changes in the national security area would be impossible. In particular, the organizational and administrative capacities of a state provide: effective anti-crisis management and an effective format of coordination and interagency cooperation; qualitative strategic analysis of the security environment and assessment of risks and threats; effective strategic management and planning; objectivity and prioritization in shaping up goals based on a qualitative assessment of existing capabilities and capacities, rational use of available forces, means, and resources, etc.

The analysis of research works by Ukrainian scholars V. Kyrylenko and M. Shevchenko<sup>28</sup> allows concluding that in the context of national security, state power can be developed based on a complementary organizational and managerial model. The model provides for the creation of a system of guidelines and measures for the development of state power and protection of a country and society, their national interests, primarily from threats of geopolitical, geoeconomic, military-political, domestic-political and other nature. This complementary model should be based on a comprehensive implementation of relevant public policy, in which the institutions of state and society act as one public administration mechanism, organically in an interconnected and complementary way, united by a single strategic plan and algorithm of action. To characterize quality of such public policy, criteria can be used, among others, that characterize:

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<sup>26</sup> A. I. Semenchenko. Methodology of Strategic Planning in the Sphere of State Management of National Security of Ukraine: a monograph / A. I. Semenchenko. - Kyiv 2008, p. 428.

<sup>27</sup> National Systems of Risk and Threat Assessment: Best World Practices, New Opportunities for Ukraine: Analytical Report. / (O. O. Reznikova, K.Ye. Voitovsky, A. V. Lepikhov); general editing by O. O. Reznikova. Kyiv 2020, p. 7-27. niss.gov.ua. Access mode: URL: <https://niss.gov.ua/publikacii/analitichni-dopovidi/nacionalni-sistemi-ocinki-rizikiv-i-zagrozi-kraschi-svitovi-praktiki>.

<sup>28</sup> V. I. Kyrylenko: Methodology of Construction and Use of the Complementary Model of National Economic Security / V. I. Kyrylenko, M. M. Shevchenko // Scientific Bulletin of the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine. Issue 22. Foreign Policy and Diplomacy: Traditions, Trends, Experience. Part III. Series "Economic Sciences" / general editing by N.O. Tatarenko, V. H. Tsivatyi, Kyiv 2015, p. 40-50.



- Compliance of the declared strategic and public administration goals with the available resource capabilities of the state toward their implementation;
- The effectiveness of public policy in the field of national security for the timely detection and neutralization of threats of external and internal origin to the national interests and security of Ukraine;
- Rational use of forces, means, and resources of the state by the principle of ultimate economically feasible reduction of risks and threats;
- Quality of a comprehensive and wide-ranging approach to multilevel coordination and interagency cooperation, strategic management and planning in the implementation of public policy in the field of national security, etc.

V. Bohdanovych<sup>29</sup> focuses research on the principle of ensuring the efficacy of public policy in the field of national security, which is based on the need to take into account the level of state power development. It is about fulfilling the main requirement – not to allow a gap between public policy goals and state power. The researcher notes that a particularly threatening situation arises when top public authorities overestimate their capacities and go for planning and implementing strategic or public administration goals without taking into account the state's current resource potential.

The analysis of research works by H. Sytnyk<sup>30</sup> and H. Khrapach<sup>31</sup> allows stating that the degree of state power development determines the government's ability to implement an effective state policy to influence shifts in the strategic security environment in own favor. These policies include domestic and foreign ones. In this case, foreign policy is a continuation of domestic policy. Therefore, it is evident that in order to effectively realize national interests in the international arena, public authorities must first consider whether state power is sufficient to: a) ensure protection, sustainability and resilience of a state and society to external and internal threats to national security; b) ensuring the appropriate level of foreign policy and military-political security for the country. Based on the scientific achievements of the said Ukrainian researchers, it is feasible to outline the general criteria of state power that characterize the efficacy of this public policy:

1. In the internal security dimension: the ability to ensure political and socio-economic stability in society; development of the national economic system and domestic economic markets; unity of the nation around social values; safety of the population and its social protection; ensuring human rights and freedoms; the observance of balance of vital interests of a person, society, and state; rule of law; development of mutual responsibility of a person, social groups, and state for addressing issues of ensuring national security; development of the security and defense sector; approval of the priority of peaceful means in resolving conflicts of social, interethnic, interfaith nature, etc.

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<sup>29</sup> Theoretical and Methodological Foundations of National Security of Ukraine: a monograph in seven vols. Vol.1. Theoretical Bases, Methods and Technologies of Ensuring National Security of Ukraine / V.Yu. Bohdanovych, I.Yu. Svida, Ye. D. Skulysh; general editing by Ye. D. Skulysh, Kyiv 2012, p. 548.

<sup>30</sup> H. P. Sytnyk. State Management of National Security of Ukraine: a monograph / H. P. Sytnyk., Kyiv 2004, p. 408.

<sup>31</sup> H. Khrapach. National Power as a Factor of State Sustainability in the Context of Exacerbation of International Conflict. Collection of Scientific Works of the Center for Military Strategic Studies of the Ivan Chernyakhovsky National University of Defense of Ukraine, No. 3 (61) 2017, p.126 (Online resource) Access mode: <http://journals.urau.ua/index.php/2304-2699/article/view/124423>.

2. In the external security dimension: the ability of a state to balance interests with leading international actors (international organizations, global and regional powers, transnational companies, etc.); to use to own benefit and in national interests the potentials of strategic partnership, in particular, within international political, economic, military-political alliances; to influence the international, geoeconomic, geopolitical and military-political situation; to defend and promote national interests on the world stage; to ensure strategic stability and implementation of the strategy of deterring external geopolitical (military-political) rivals; to ensure geopolitical, and military-political balance of power (or its shift in own favor); and maintain a good image in the world arena.

Modern forms of interstate confrontation are characterized by new methods of warfare, based on asymmetric simmering conflicts, as well as on the technologies of gradual de-sovereignization and disorganization of the target state by external forces. Therefore, to ensure national security, it is important to take into account the criteria of mental and spiritual potential of sustainability and resilience of society, in particular, its engagement and readiness to withstand external threats of geopolitical, geoeconomic, military-political, informational, and other nature.

Particularly dangerous are hybrid threats tailored by an external aggressor. This category of threats is characterized by multi-stage manifestation, unprecedentedness and uncertainty for a state's crisis management system. In particular, the analysis of research works by Ukrainian scientists V. Smolianiuk<sup>32</sup>, V. Bohdanovych<sup>33</sup>, and M. Shevchenko<sup>34</sup> allows stating that the initiators of external threats, as a rule, prepare in advance a set of favorable conditions toward de-sovereignization and disorganization of the target state. Particular focus is put on the gradual imposition on a society in the target state of certain types of behavior, worldviews, political and ideological stereotypes to ensure gradual transformation of public consciousness into a form favorable to the aggressor. Therefore, extended criteria must be developed for assessing the potential of society's resistance to such destructive external manifestations, which will complement the generally accepted criteria of state power.

Based on the results of studying the mentioned scientific pieces by Ukrainian and foreign researchers, the author, in order to enhance the research, developed a detailed list of existing and additional criteria that characterize the development of state power and the state of national security. These criteria are comprehensively systematized into the following categories of potentials:

Spiritual and value potential. Attitude in society to spiritual values. National morale. Conciliarity and unity in society. Knowledge. Historical experience. Religion. Traditions. National

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<sup>32</sup> V. F. Smolianiuk. De-sovereignization of Modern States as a Consequence of Globalization (Apr.22, 2015) (Online resource) Access mode: <http://nationalecurity.org.ua/2015/04/22/desuverenizaciya-suchasnikh-derzhav-yak-naslidok-globalization/>.

<sup>33</sup> V. Yu. Bohdanovych. Modeling of the Strategy Focused on Regime Change in the Selected Target Country through Its Immersion in Chaos, Based on the Method of Functionally Significant Interim States / V. Yu. Bohdanovych // *Modern Information Protection*, No. 2. 2015, pp. 44-53; New "Labyrinths" of the Security Environment and Their Impact on the Military Security of the State. V. Yu. Bohdanovych, A.M. Syrotenko, V. I. Vovchansky, and A.M. Pryma. *Science and Technology of the Air Force of the Armed Forces of Ukraine*, 2019, No. 2 (35), p. 9-15.

<sup>34</sup> M. M. Shevchenko, O. H. Davydenko, V. A. Sokolov, V. I. Kurhanevych, and V.P. Masovets. Modern Trends of Interstate Confrontation and Strategy of State Response to Threats to the Territorial Integrity of Ukraine. // *Public Administration: Improvement and Development*, No9 2017, Access mode: [http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/Duur\\_2017\\_9\\_5](http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/Duur_2017_9_5).

culture. The unity of the nation around social values. The level of spiritual and value-related identification of citizens as part of the state, as well as their acceptance of the country's historical and cultural heritage.

Social potential. Society's perception of statehood as a fundamental organizational basis for existence, development and security. The level of political maturity in society, its patriotism. The existence of a state-level unifying ideology. The nation's sense of own identity and its consolidation around national values and interests. Maturity and legitimacy of the national ruling elite. Balance of national, state, and corporate interests. Social solidarity. Willingness of the population to defend the country from external aggressors and courage in defending their homeland; development of social ties; civilized behavior and education of the population, etc.

Political and ideological potential. The quality of the formation by the state's top authorities of ideologies able to unite society. Effectiveness of information support and PR campaigns promoting public administration in the field of national security. The level of socialization of the citizens, based on unifying ideologies, in order to actively engage in ensuring national security.

Socio-humanitarian potential. Indicators of the nation's health, demographic condition, well-being, birth rate; expenditures on science and education; and human development index.

Geopolitical potential. The area of the state. Its geographical location. Raw materials and their volumes. Benefits of the geographical environment. Natural population rise, etc.

Strategic and managerial potential. Level of strategic culture. Effective implementation of strategic administration and planning in the areas of international relations, sustainable development, promotion and defense of national interests and national security. The ability of top authorities to adhere to the balance of creative and adaptive components in building and implementing foreign and domestic public policy and in the field of national security. The ability of the top state authorities to think strategically, as well as to organize, consolidate, and coordinate the actors involved in strategic management and planning toward achieving strategic goals. Correspondence of strategic goals to the defined priorities, available resources and capacities of the state in the context of the most probable scenario of the strategic security environment's development.

Foreign policy potential. State participation in international (collective) security systems. The ability of the state to defend and promote national interests on the world stage. The state's ability to make good use of the strategic partnership potential to meet the national interest, including within the framework of international political, economic, and military-political alliances. The ability of the state to balance interests with leading international actors (international organizations, global and regional powers, transnational corporations, etc.). The ability of the state to influence the international, geoeconomic, geopolitical, and military-political situation, as well as to influence the balance of geopolitical and military-political forces (or to gain the appropriate advantage). The ability of the state to ensure strategic stability and implementation of the strategy of deterring external geopolitical (military-political) rivals; and the ability of the state to maintain a good image for the country in the world stage. The level of diplomatic culture.

Domestic policy potential. The ability of the state's top authorities to rally the public around the idea of protecting national interests. The level of public support for public authorities.

Ensuring the coherence of the interests of all social groups, political pressure groups, national and regional elites around the processes of sustainable development and ensuring national security. Political stability in society. Balance of the political system. Political culture and integrity in society. Ensuring social justice, human rights and freedoms. Adherence to the balance of vital interests of a person, society, and state. Rule of law and adherence to law. Development of mutual responsibility of a person, social groups. and the state for addressing issues of ensuring national security. The level of protection of rights and freedoms of national minorities. Balancing and reconciling their interests. Taking into account the needs of all ethnic minorities in the implementation of public policy, as well as in the political system. Ensuring the peaceful co-existence of citizens of all nationalities in the same country based on respect and tolerance. Ensuring harmony and unity of all ethnic groups around national values and interests.

Public administration potential. Effective decision-making by public authorities. Organizational and managerial culture in the system of state and public relations. Maintenance by public authorities of a balance of national goals and state resource capacities. Close communication links between the government and civil society. The ability of public authorities to mobilize society to address problems of national security.

Security potential (in the context of the security and defense sector's development potential). Development of the security and defense sector. Defense capabilities. Combat readiness of the armed forces. Defense budget. Arms exports. military-technical capacity for inflicting irreparable damage to any aggressor in wartime (availability of nuclear weapons and modern military hardware, etc.). The effectiveness of the national security system. Security of public administration in the context of ensuring, first of all, the continued anti-crisis management in the country. State of anti-terrorist measures. Resilience in the face of terror, extremism, and separatism threats. The government's ability to effectively resolve interethnic conflicts between different ethnic and political groups, to counter malign social manifestations in a multinational society. The state of state security in the context of combating xenophobia, ethnic, racial and religious hatred. Security of critical infrastructure. Public security, civil protection, and social security. Development of territorial defense. The level of security culture.

Information potential. The ability of the authorities to accumulate the potential of mass media toward effective counteraction to external and internal non-military threats to the state security of Ukraine. The government's ability to ensure a high level of information security and cybersecurity. Index of development of information and communication technologies. Information control (soft power). Psychological climate in the national information space.

Scientific and technological potential. Scientific and technological development. Introduction of technological innovations.

Economic potential. Relative volume of the state economy. The level of the economy's self-sufficiency. Dynamics of real indicators of gross national product and gross domestic product. State budget expenditures. Share of manufacturing in total production. Able-bodied population. The number of people employed in the manufacturing industry. Productivity. Dynamics of real incomes per capita, taking into account social protection benefits and uneven distribution of income. Energy supply. Volumes of trade. Savings and investments. Level of dependence on foreign resource supplies. Technological capabilities of the economy. The share of innovative

products in high-tech industries. Development of economic ties. Dynamics of national wealth. The level of the population's food security.

## **Conclusions**

Thus, domestic and foreign scientific discourses underscore the fact that the realization of goals and objectives as regards national security depends on state power development, in particular, on its managerial, organizational, resource and other capacities, which together form the potential to influence the strategic security environment beneficial for the country and society.

Characterizing the essence of state power and its role in ensuring national security, it would be appropriate to conclude that it implies the development of integrated state capacities based on shaping a strategically balanced public policy able to ensure comprehensive gradual growth of state resources and provide qualitative and creative influence on shifts in geopolitical, geoeconomic, and military-political environments, as well as the internal security environment of a given country in order to neutralize the relevant external and internal threats to national interests and national security.

The results of the scientific research conducted allow stating that the list of the studied criteria of state power needs to be expanded in the context of national security tasks. In particular, its prerequisites and factors should be taken into account that characterize development and security in the triangle of interconnected and complementary values and interests of "person-society-state". It is vital to take into account the expanded list of criteria for assessing the society's mental and spiritual potential, which in combination with other criteria comprehensively characterize state power. This, first of all, is about assessing the potential of society's sustainability and resilience to external threats of geopolitical, geoeconomic, military-political, informational and other nature, which, among other things, create internal threats toward de-sovereignization and disorganization of such society and state.

Taking into account the scientific results obtained, an attempt was made to enhance the detailed list of criteria that characterize state power, which can be formed from among the following categories of potentials: spiritual and value; social; political and ideological; socio-humanitarian; geopolitical; strategic and managerial; foreign policy; domestic policy; public administration; security (in the context of the security and defense sector's development potential); information; scientific and technological; economic potential, etc.

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