

TRANSATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY IN CURRENT SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The aim of this paper is to study stabilizing influence of transatlantic partnership on the system of international relations. In this article we verify correspondence of NATO structures, capacities and approaches to the challenges and needs of international system. In this paper author studies certain challenges that Alliance has to resolve in order to strengthen leadership potential and develop common principles for the provision of collective and international security.

Key words: Transatlantic partnership, US, EU, NATO, international security, international system, stability, security challenges.

Стаття присвячена дослідженню стабілізуючого впливу трансатлантичного партнерства на систему міжнародних відносин. Автор вивчає адекватність структури, компетенції та підходів НАТО до викликів та потреб, які постають перед міжнародною системою. У цій статті автор вивчає проблеми, які Альянсу необхідно вирішити для зміцнення лідерського потенціалу і формування спільних принципів забезпечення колективної та міжнародної безпеки.

Ключові слова: Трансатлантичне партнерство, США, ЄС, НАТО, міжнародна безпека, міжнародна система, стабільність, виклики безпеки.

Статья посвящена изучению стабилизирующего влияния трансатлантического партнерства на систему международных отношений. Автор исследует адекватность структуры, компетенций и подходов НАТО по отношению к вызовам и потребностям международной системы. В этом исследовании автор также изучает проблемы, которые Альянсу необходимо решить для укрепления лидерского потенциала, а также формирования общих принципов обеспечения коллективной и международной безопасности.

Ключевые слова: Трансатлантическое сотрудничество, США, ЕС, НАТО, международная безопасность, международная система, стабильность, вызовы безопасности.

Current transformative phase of the international system bears in itself a number of challenges for traditional actors of international relations. After the end of bipolar confrontation international system fell in the new spin of its conversion and currently remains in its transformative phase. The complexity of development of the new international system consists of the growing number of security challenges that arise for international community as well as the growing number of actors with their rising inequality.

In 1991 Ukraine became an independent state; however it appeared to be more fact rather than factor of international relations. As Ukraine progresses in its development it seeks for optimal strategy to satisfy its national interest through productive cooperation and development of sound dialog with its neighbors. Given that transatlantic partnership embodies union of global and strategic importance, Ukraine aspires to build productive partnership with it. Another

important factor that binds interests of EU and Ukraine is geopolitical proximity that dictates necessity to cooperate and build development strategies with mutual interests. In a view of the fact that Ukraine has interlinked interests with transatlantic community it is important to conduct research on the developments in transatlantic relations and their influence on international security and international system.

Great number of scholars around the globe dedicates their studies to the problem of transformation of current international system, but there is still no agreement on its structure, nor on pattern of its development. Ukrainian science offered proceeding of O. Koppel, V. Madisson, V. Shakhov, O. Parkhomchuk and others who provide sound theories on international systems [1]. Transatlantic relations and international security also remain within the scope of attention of a great number of scholars

around the world. However, further researches on these themes are in demand because of necessity to provide timely updates with latest developments and need to provide theoretical elaborations for further developments. By continuing tradition on research of this topical issues, author in this paper raises question on ability of transatlantic partnership to contribute to the stability of international system by the means of serving as a stabilizer of international security. The author aims in this article to study the potential of transatlantic community to shape international security as well as to provide recommendations for its strengthening.

Basic characteristics of emerging international system can be outlined as soon as acceptable balance among the major powers is achieved along with unified principles of cooperation [2, c. 115]. Security of the system as its fundamental precondition for its functioning will remain its core quality [3, c. 73]. The concept of security in this context exceeds its understanding as the absence of threats, but includes the ability of the system itself to withstand threats by means of providing reasonable and efficient response to them [4, c. 134].

Globalization with its free flow of information, goods and people has increasingly great influence on international cooperation, as well as burden on international security. Problems in one part of the world are felt in the others and serve as a source of instability for the whole international community. Unequal distribution of benefits of globalization gave opportunity to deteriorate global threats of international organized crime, terrorism, arms smuggle and other occurrences of human rights violation. Furthermore, the transformation of international system is affected by other security-related challenges such as resources scarcity, energy security and climate change with its consequent severe natural disasters. Most of the new security deviances require cooperative approach to them, since none of the states can tackle them on its own, no matter what extent of power it may enjoy. Tragic incidents of September 11, 2001 challenged the perceptions of threats and showed the reality of the XXI century, when the most powerful state equipped with the most sophisticated technologies was severely attacked by a group of terrorists armed with cardboard knives and supported with limited resources [5, c.127].

Global interdependency of states alters the concept of powerful state. The accent in this concept is shifting more from military and defense capabilities to economic viability and might. Therefore the ability to satisfy demands and to secure the supply of resources will define the power of state more than ever. It means that states in the interdependent world are in need of reliable, coherent and sustainable cooperation in order to satisfy their national interests. However, it is also important for leading states to ensure the growth of developing world, since in the world with blurring borders the developing states may serve as a source of instability and burden in terms of illegal immigration, social tension, crime and even terrorism. Current

issues require effective multilateralism in order to resolve them thoroughly.

Transatlantic partnership was vital for bipolar international system and was consolidated with security interests. This partnership was developed in the spirit of protecting liberal democratic values from threats arising from the Soviet Block. However, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and dismantle of the Berlin Wall the necessity to cooperate in terms of providing security didn't fall, but increased. There was no more single adversary and the strategic environment has changed into more unpredictable and insecure one [6, c. 11].

Providing security is the fundamental precondition for the development therefore transatlantic partners has begun to adapt their security Alliance in conformity with the new reality. During the bipolar confrontation the core mission of NATO was providing common defense mainly from a single rival, but in present reality its mission evolves to the provision of common security which is threatened by a number of challenges which emanate from diverse sources. This process questions the suitability of NATO's security structures and approaches, which are to be resolved. The Alliance is in need of flexibility in order to correspond to the continuously changing international reality and adequately respond to current burning issues.

The key global issues that affect security of transatlantic partners for the foreseeable future will constitute consequences of the global financial crisis, international organized crime, terrorism, regional conflicts, resource scarcity and cyber security. Moreover, the top agenda for the transatlantic relations will include the involvement in Afghanistan, nuclear program of Iran, Israeli-Palestinian relations, energy security, the rise of new powers and climate change. Only common approach can be effective in dealing with these issues, so it is vital to develop productive and coherent partnership. The Agenda for transatlantic partners is global and resource demanding, so it requires global involvement. It is reasonable to develop the sound dialog among international institutions as well as to improve the collaboration mechanism with the other concerned partners.

Currently NATO represents the biggest security entity that has the best capacity to undertake the role of global leadership in the field of international security. There is no other structure that could compete or question the potential of it; however it appears much weaker if it has major problems in its operation. Leadership of the alliance is reasonable in a view of its availability to unique capacities, structure, resources as well as the absence of other alternatives. However, its functioning will demonstrate its ability to cope with this responsibility. Involvement of the Alliance in Afghanistan will define its future and reveal veritable capacity of partners to cooperate and deal with current challenges. Ability to build relations on the principles of mutual trust and further convert it into cooperation for dealing with major issues is the

key to leadership in modern time. Effective leadership will bring value to the international system and can exemplify cooperation needed for sustainable cooperation.

Present framework of transatlantic relations is essential, yet insufficient for its agenda. The diversity of issues that needs to be resolved along with dynamics of current international relations requires new institutional structures for productive transatlantic partnership with a view of providing intense consultations on objectives and means of their achievement and pave toward effective and prompt responses. While some scholars argue whether bilateral relations between US and European countries or relations within NATO structures represent main framework for the Transatlantic Relations, the idea of expansion of this framework to Transatlantic Political Council has its rationale in terms of providing facility for partners to ensure better connections among them on the top political issues that would make their agendas mutually reinforcing by means of coordination [7, c. 22]. The framework of Transatlantic Political Council would benefit to constructive political dialogue among partners both in NATO structures and in bilateral relations.

The key challenge for the transatlantic relations in present time is the ability to build unity and assure common grounds of understanding and coherent action. Crisis in transatlantic relations during the Iraq war was extremely harmful in terms of questioning solidarity of partnership, deteriorating differences in threat perception and response to them, resorting to unilateral approach in international relations and division of Europe. However, it also served as a good lesson that revealed importance of the unity for both partners. International environment appeared more unfavorable for the USA with their proactively unilateral approach in international relations and without support of the European partners. While EU was struggling to forge its unity it suffered the political division, perceived disadvantages of its underdeveloped security pillar and potential dependence on military capabilities of the USA in provision of its defense. It was a time of missed opportunities to adapt for further changing international reality and to act as a sole entity in response to menace of terrorism. Even though in final years of presidency of George W. Bush transatlantic relations mostly recovered after the crisis of 2004, the new impetus towards developing partnership was presented by new administration of Barack Obama who offered to recast Euro-Atlantic Partnership [8, c. 149]. This momentum needs to be used thoroughly in order to remodel and boost new energy for the revived development. The ability to adapt current structures and mechanisms of transatlantic cooperation will outline further success or failure of the Alliance. As the need for effective Atlantic Partnership raising it is timely to assure that it is equipped with new long-term strategy that would focus Alliance on collective interests with a view of surmounting differences in threat perception, strategic cultures and resources.

New strategic concept should be presented on NATO 2010 Summit and it should introduce new vision of the future development and role of Atlantic Partnership.

If NATO is willing to remain a key security actor its structures should be less politicized and more function oriented, as political disputes may block its effective course and question its trust by means of raising the matter of its cohesion. The main challenge for the Alliance is bared within itself and deals with the ability to adapt to its needs and speak with single voice. This task is complex as expanded structure of Alliance and its decision-making principle based on consensus envisages accommodation of interests of every single member. This challenge concludes trial for the alliance whether it is capable to adapt and build unanimity on its priorities and the mechanisms of achieving its goals. The need to accommodate interests of Turkey in Alliance presents a substantial issue for its functioning. It appears that Alliance became hostage of Turkish vague process of integration in European security architecture and Cyprus dispute [9, c. 107]. Unilateral actions of the USA in 2004 also questioned the role of transatlantic partners in its foreign policy and the importance of the Alliance. Consequently it gave rise to discussion whether Asia with its fast growing economies is to become a new priority in American foreign policy. It is important to stress that transatlantic partnership represents democratic identity and has its core value to promote liberal values. Eventually it is essential for transatlantic partners to confirm their alignment with their commitments, so it will require solidarity, will and determination from all partners.

NATO is one of the main factors in international strategic environment, and the role of transatlantic relations in current global affairs is substantial for securing stability. The alliance possesses unique structure that has no competitors at the present time and comprises in itself the most resourceful potential to respond to global threats. Global interdependence of states in the current international reality urges NATO to withstand global issues, therefore Alliance itself is interested in stable strategic environment and this aim becomes a high priority for both sides of Atlantic. However, Alliance does have a number of issues that need to be addressed if its potential is adequate for the reality and effectively employed. NATO represents itself as a security actor of a global importance in the view of the fact that it adopts global agenda, a part of which are ambitions of leading western states [10, c. 38]. Obviously, the Alliance is pursuing its own interest in terms of guaranteeing defense to its members and it is not a panacea for international community in provision of security and tackling new challenges, but it does serve as a stabilizer for global security environment. Current international relations have the sole most powerful state in the face of the USA, but at the same time other powers are rising and the concept of power is changing itself. Transatlantic partnership can't dominate and shape international relations; but it can

have a great influence on it. However, its effectiveness still remains to be proved, and if this potential is to be employed for the common good depends on will and determination of its members.

Healthy transatlantic relations will indeed take a turn for the better of international system if they demonstrate ability to build consensus on common priorities and establish principles of cooperation in provision of collective security in further. Such a practice would be value added contribution to forge common principles of operation of emerging

international system. Security of international system in terms of its ability to withstand threats could be forged along with the establishment of unified principles of cooperation in provision of collective international security. Progressive development of the collective security in the framework of NATO may have far-reaching effect on the stronger international system. The ability to build consensus on common priorities will make this partnership stronger and more attractive for the other states to contribute to it and make it stronger in the long term.

ЛІТЕРАТУРА

1. Коппель О. А. Міжнародні системи та глобальний розвиток: [навч. посіб.] / О. А. Коппель, О. С. Пархомчук. – К. : Київський університет, 2004. – 314 с.; Маддісон В. В. Політологія міжнародних відносин: [навч. посіб.]. / В. В. Маддісон, В. А. Шахов. – К. : Либідь, 1997. – 176 с.
2. Коппель О. А. Міжнародні системи та глобальний розвиток: [навч. посіб.] / О. А. Коппель, О. С. Пархомчук. – К. : Київський університет, 2004. – 314 с.
3. Маддісон В. В. Політологія міжнародних відносин: [навч. посіб.]. / В. В. Маддісон, В. А. Шахов. – К. : Либідь, 1997. – 176 с.
4. Коппель О. А. Міжнародні системи та глобальний розвиток: навч. посіб. / О. А. Коппель, О. С. Пархомчук. – К. : Київський університет, 2004. – 314 с.
5. Бжезинский Зб. Выбор. Мировое господство или глобальное лидерство / Збигнев Бжезинский. – М. : Междунар. отношения, 2006. – 287 с.
6. Hamilton D. A revitalized NATO in a new Atlantic Partnership / D. Hamilton // Panorama of global security environment 2009 : зб. наук. праць / [наук. ред. R. Ondrejcsak]. – Bratislava: CENAA., 2009. – С. 11–20.
7. Zaborowski M. Organizing a strategic EU-US partnership / M. Zaborowski // Panorama of global security environment 2009 : зб. наук. праць / [наук. ред. R. Ondrejcsak]. – Bratislava: CENAA., 2009. – С. 21–33.
8. Ondrejcsak R. American foreign and security policy under Barack Obama: change and continuity / R. Ondrejcsak // Panorama of global security environment 2009 : зб. наук. праць / [наук. ред. R. Ondrejcsak]. – Bratislava: CENAA., 2009. – С. 147–162.
9. Najslova L. Turkey and the European Union: still marching alone / L. Najslova // Panorama of global security environment 2009 : зб. наук. праць / [наук. ред. R. Ondrejcsak]. – Bratislava: CENAA., 2009. – С. 103–116.
10. Istvan G. Nato's crisis – or renewal / G. Istvan // Panorama of global security environment 2009 : зб. наук. праць / [наук. ред. R. Ondrejcsak]. – Bratislava: CENAA., 2009. – С. 35–40.

Рецензенти: Шевчук О. В., д.політ.н., доцент;
Седляр Ю. Л., к.політ.н., доцент.

© Маковецько В. П., 2010

Стаття надійшла до редколегії 12.11.2010 р.