

ЕКОНОМІКА ТА УПРАВЛІННЯ НАЦІОНАЛЬНИМ ГОСПОДАРСТВОМ

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FINANCIAL PREREQUISITES AND ASSESSMENT OF DEFENSE UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN HYBRID WAR

ФІНАНСОВІ ПЕРЕДУМОВИ ТА ОЦІНКА ФІНАНСУВАННЯ ОБОРОНИ В УМОВАХ РОСІЙСЬКО-УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ГІБРИДНОЇ ВІЙНИ

Urgency of the research. Today, humanity faces the challenge of hybrid wars - not only military aggression, but also the confrontation of financial systems. Russia's aggression against Ukraine is a starting point for the formation of the hybrid universe and violates the financial and territorial stability, causing devastating consequences for the economy.

Target setting. On the eve of the development of the hybrid war, Ukraine was on the brink of a deep economic crisis, and defense financing was carried out on the principle of minimum sufficiency.

Actual scientific researches and issues analysis. In general, studies of "hybrid wars", or as they are also called "transformational wars", "mixed wars", "multidimensional wars", "unconventional wars", "non-standard wars", were engaged by such Ukrainian and foreign scholars as Antonov A., Gilov A. ("multidimensional or hybrid war"), Glen R. ("hybrid conflict", "hybrid war"), Golovchenko V., Gorbulin V., Doroshko M., Illarionov A. ("unconventional war", "non-standard war"), Klymenko S., Kreveld M., Magda E. ("transformational war"), Surkov V. ("nonlinear war"), Hofman F. ("mixed war") and others.

Uninvestigated parts of general matters defining. The essence of the modern interstate confrontation, its financial prerequisite for achievement of the corresponding political and economic goals is insufficiently researched.

The research objective. Temporal occupation by Russia of part of the territory of Ukraine and the destruction of the system of world and regional security, the principles of the international law, led to the revision and clarification of the doctrinal provisions regarding to the formation and implementation of the national security policy of Ukraine and the amount of defense financing in accordance with the new Military Doctrine.

The statement of basic materials. The necessity of a rapid increase in defense expenditures through the Russian hybrid war against Ukraine in order to maintain real independence and not to become a de facto Russian satellite.

Conclusions. The state of the national economy is one of the determining factors on which the amount of defense financing depends. The lack of readiness of the Armed Forces in the beginning of the hybrid war to resist the enemy is a result of chronic underfunding for decades.

Keywords: hybrid wars; transformational wars; mixed wars, multidimensional wars, unconventional wars; non-standard wars; network-centric wars, armed conflict; defense financing; military doctrines; national security.

Актуальність теми дослідження. Сьогодні людство стоїть перед викликом гібридних війн - не лише військових агресій, а й протистоянь фінансових систем. Агресія Росії проти України є точкою відліку для формування гібридного світоустрою і порушує фінансово-територіальну стабільність, спричиняє руйнівні наслідки для економіки.

Постановка проблеми. Напередодні розгортання гібридної війни Україна опинилася на краю глибокої економічної кризи, а фінансування оборони здійснювалося за принципом мінімальної достатності.

Аналіз останніх досліджень та публікацій. Дослідженнями "гібридних війн", або як їх ще називають "трансформаційних війн", "змішаних війн", "багатовимірних війн", "неконвенційних війн", "нестандартних війн", займалися такі вітчизняні та зарубіжні вчені як Антонов А., Гільов А. ("багатовимірна чи гібридна війна"), Глен Р. ("гібридний конфлікт", "гібридна війна"), Головченко В., Горбулін В., Дорошко М., Ілларіонов А. ("неконвенційна війна", "нестандартна війна"), Клименко С., Кревельд М., Магда Е. ("трансформаційна війна"), Сурков В. ("нелінійна війна"), Хоффман Ф. ("змішана війна") та інші.

Виділення недосліджених частин загальної проблеми. Недостатньо досліджено сутність сучасного міждержавного протистояння, його фінансових передумов для досягнення відповідних політико-економічних цілей.

Постановка завдання. Тимчасова окупація Росією частини території України та руйнування системи світової та національної безпеки, принципів міжнародного права, зумовили перегляд та уточнення доктринальних положень щодо формування та реалізації політики національної безпеки України та обсягів фінансування оборони відповідно до нової Воєнної доктрини.

Виклад основного матеріалу. Обґрунтовується необхідність швидкого нарощення оборонних видатків через гібридну війну РФ проти України, щоб зберегти реальну незалежність та не перетворитися на фактичного російського сателіта.

Висновки. Стан національної економіки є одним із визначальних чинників від якого залежить обсяг фінансування оборони. Неготовність ЗСУ на початку гібридної війни протистояти ворогові - результат хронічно-го недофінансування протягом десятиріч.

Ключові слова: гібридна війна; трансформаційна війна; змішана війна; багатовимірна війна; неконвенційна війна; нестандартна війна; мережево-центрична війна, збройний конфлікт; фінансування оборони; воєнна доктрина; національна безпека.

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Urgency of the research. Today, humanity faces the challenge of hybrid wars - not only military aggression, but also the confrontation of financial systems. Russia's aggression against Ukraine and earlier against Georgia, the 90's in South Ossetia and Abkhazia, in August 2008, the Russian-Georgian war is a starting point for the formation of the hybrid universe and violates the financial and territorial stability, causing devastating consequences for the economy.

Target setting. On the eve of the development of the hybrid war, Ukraine was on the brink of a deep economic crisis, and defense financing was carried out on the principle of minimum sufficiency (sometimes less than 1% of GDP), that is, in general, it was clearly insufficient. World practice has been proved, if the annual defense spending is less than 1% of GDP, then it leads to the loss of the country's defense capability and the emergence of threats to national security.

Actual scientific researches and issues analysis. In general, theoretical and practical studies of "hybrid wars", or as they are also called "transformational wars", "mixed wars", "multidimensional wars", "unconventional wars", "non-standard wars", were engaged by such Ukrainian and foreign scholars as Antonov A., Gilov A. ("multidimensional or hybrid war"), Glen R. ("hybrid risk", "hybrid conflict", "hybrid war"), Golovchenko V., Gorbulin V., Doroshko M., Illarionov A. ("unconventional war", "non-standard war"), Klymenko S., Kreveld M., Magda E. ("transformational war"), Surkov V. ("nonlinear war"), Hoffman F. ("mixed war") and others. Since 2014, the number of publications on hybrid wars has increased dramatically.

Uninvestigated parts of general matters defining. Scientific researches of this problem are characterized by insufficient research of the essence of the modern interstate confrontation of the beginning of the XXI century, its financial prerequisite, new forms and methods of struggle between the states for achievement of the corresponding political and economic goals and the solution of interstate contradictions - such conflicts that are called in the modern world terminological field "hybrid wars".

The research objective. Temporal occupation by the Russian Federation of part of the territory of Ukraine - the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol (February-March 2014), the provocation of Russia's armed conflict in the mainland of Eastern Ukraine (April 2014) and the destruction of the system of world and regional security, the principles of the international law, led to the revision and clarification of the doctrinal provisions regarding to the formation and implementation of the national security policy of and the amount of defense financing in accordance with the new Military Doctrine. It is impossible to achieve the necessary level of state security due to insufficient financing of defense needs. But the problem lies not only in increasing funding, but also in the need to determine the optimal cost structure in line with national priorities in the field of national security.

The statement of basic materials. Today Ukraine is at the undeclared war with Russia. Russia calls into question our statehood and seeks to revise our status quo, since the independence of Ukraine as a result of the collapse of the USSR from the outset was considered and determined by the Russian elite as a shameful historical misunderstanding, which should be corrected as soon as possible. According to Putin's definition, the collapse of the USSR is "the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the twentieth century." And sociological surveys, conducted in January 2016, show that 64% of Russians support aggression against Ukraine [1].

At the beginning of the 21st century a new kind of global confrontation emerges in a modern destabilized international security environment. In place of the classical forms of armed struggle, the so-called "hybrid wars", which are not a return to the Cold War, came to replace it in the form of chains of hot conflicts, they are of a hidden nature and are carried out, mainly in the political, economic, informational and other areas. At the same time, to solve the individual problems, the armed forces are involved in a limited scale. Therefore, today, in the conditions of military aggression of Russia, there is a demand to protect the state independence and territorial integrity of our state as a full-fledged subject of international relations and to increase in the amount of defense financing.

"Hybrid wars" are the latest wars, the fourth generation of wars that are inherent in the 21st century, a complicated and unstable form of relations in the international arena. Military theorists

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believe that after the end of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) several generations of wars have changed. [2, p. 10]. Under the general name of the fourth generation of war, a number of applied theories, including the network-centric and hybrid wars, arose. These wars are asymmetric and are divided into the following types: regular (network-centric), irregular (partisan war, rebel war, criminal war, war on terror), non-war (economic war, political war, cyberwar), compilation, hybrid [3, p. 27].

Experts consider modern wars as a kind of broader concept - an "armed conflict" (armed conflict), which involves two compulsory components: the presence of organized armed contingents and engagement in combat operations of a certain intensity. In addition, following the rules of international law after 1945, the fact of the declaration of war is not decisive for the fact that a war or an international conflict exist de jure. Therefore, Article 2 of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 states that their provisions apply also in cases of undeclared war (armed conflict, partial occupation of the territory, etc.) [4].

The official definition of the term "hybrid war" is absent in any international legal instruments, as well as in military doctrines of certain states (USA, Russia, Ukraine). International law experts, political leaders of other states, and employees of the international organizations also do not use these concepts.

In professional publications, various terms are used to find out the essence of the war of the new generation, but the most commonly used is the "hybrid war" (hybrid war) - the combination of traditional and non-traditional forms of warfare when the aggressor wants to combine them into a shock combination to destroy the enemy's security system through the use of classical armed forces, sabotage groups, illegal armed groups in parallel with the organization of civil protests under the influence of information and propaganda tools supplemented by hacker attacks to enemy information systems [2, p. 13].

At the beginning of the hybrid war of the Russian Federation in Ukraine, the inefficient economy, the unreformed financial system, populism in the field of public finances, corruption and the high level of economic shadowing were maintained, which became the internal stimulus of the aggressor. Therefore, among the main financial prerequisites for the aggressor of the "hybrid war" are:

Table 1

The main financial prerequisites for the "hybrid war" of Russia against Ukraine

№	Financial prerequisites	Essence
1	2	3
1.	Chronic fiscal deficit and an increase in the 'hidden' budget deficit	Excessive macroeconomic indicators of economic and social development, a high proportion of social expenditures and retirement expenditures with a low level of capital expenditures. Increase in the cost of imported Russian natural gas, the problems of the CEN, pre-paid taxes, the imbalance of local budgets, and the Pension Fund's deficit.
2.	High level of taxes	Salary shadowing, dependence of the Pension Fund's balance and local budgets on transfers from the state budget.
3.	The use of methods of punitive and repressive tax control	Diligent taxpayers are forced to pay taxes in advance for future tax periods, spreading raids, which worsened the already changing investment climate in the state.
4.	Maintenance of the NBU artificially fixed rate of hryvnia	In the context of the monetary and financial crisis since the end of 2008 and the forced devaluation of the hryvnia exchange rate, the NBU provided an artificial support at the rate of about 8 UAH / USD, which limited the export potential of the economy, stimulated cheap imports and depressed its own production. The logical consequence is the loss of international reserves.
5.	Weak banking system	The total number of working banks during 2008-2012 was between 175 and 184 units, while most of them remained problematic, loss-making, undecapitalized, "circuit" and "pocket". After the global financial and financial crisis of 2008, there was no real "recovery" of the banking system: the dubious quality of the bank's loan portfolio, the high dependence of banks on foreign currency loans and deposits, high levels of foreign capital presence in the banking system, the number of operating branches (a significant number of them loss-making) significantly exceeded the real needs of the economy and consumers.

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1	2	3
6.	The presence of Russian capital in the Ukrainian banking market	Until now (as of the end of 2016) four subsidiary banks of Russian state banks operate in Ukraine: Prominvestbank, VTB Bank, Sberbank and BM Bank, which threatens the gradual loss of monetary sovereignty owing to an increase in the share of foreign Russian capital. Other risks include: chronic bank losses that negatively affect the level of loss of the entire banking system, the threat of bankruptcy, the possibility of influencing the exchange rate, through currency speculation, additional pressure on the level of prices, the risk of capital withdrawal abroad.
7.	Companies with Russian capital are among the largest taxpayers	Enterprises with Russian capital are present in virtually in all types of economic activities, and therefore, they are aware of their features and problems (PJSC Prominvestbank, PJSC Kyivstar, PJSC MTS Ukraine, PJSC Sberbank of Russia, PJSC VTB Bank, etc.). In addition, they are integrated into supply chains of goods, works and services.
8.	Close trade and economic relations between Russia and Ukraine	The unique approaches in the field of state regulation, in particular the financial relations (in the fiscal-tax sphere, the necessity for the adoption of the Tax Code, the unification of four ECU contributions, such as Russia's single social tax, was grounded in 2011). In addition, copying other innovations did not ensure their effectiveness and effectiveness in practice.
9.	Rapid growth of external debt	Issued in December 2013 Eurobonds of Ukraine worth \$ 3 billion ("Yanukovych's debt"), which was redeemed by the Russian state fund, is considered as a loan, which in essence was a "bribe" to Yanukovych for refusing Ukrainian European integration course, was not financial but political in nature. Thus, an instrument of financial pressure was formed, the realization of which threatened the financial security and national interests of Ukraine.
10.	Dependence on money transfers of individuals from the Russian Federation	Relative share in the structure of remittances of individuals coming to Ukraine from abroad, the RF in the past years ranked first, and their total volume - 4-7 billion dollars. US per annum, equal to the amount of external lending by the state in recent years.

Source: created by the authors on the basis of [3]

The Russian strategy of hybrid warfare is aimed, first of all, at the weaknesses of Ukraine, one of which is the financing of defense, since its role is significantly increasing in times of crisis / war, because the wars are also called war economies and the winner also has a state with more powerful financial potential.

Financing of defense in Ukraine is carried out solely at the expense of the State Budget of Ukraine in the amounts that are determined by the Law of Ukraine "On the State Budget of Ukraine for the relevant year", which ensures the proper fulfillment of defense tasks, but not less than 3% of the planned volume of GDP (Article 2 of the Law Ukraine "On the Defense of Ukraine"). Moreover, according to the Law of Ukraine "On Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on Strengthening the Material and Financial Provision of State Defense Capacity", the financing of the Armed Forces of Ukraine can be carried out additionally at the expense of charitable donations of individuals and legal entities in accordance with the procedure established by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine.

Generally, defense funding depends on the accepted military doctrine and in the world there are three main approaches to its formation: total abandonment of military expenditures (Andorra, Costa Rica, Grenada, Liechtenstein, Marshall Islands, one of the smallest countries in the world - Nauru, the island country of Palau, Samoa, Solomon Islands); the creation of a mighty military superpower (USA, China, Russia, Saudi Arabia, France, Japan, Germany, India, Brazil), defense spending on the principle of minimum sufficiency (Ukraine before the armed aggression of the Russian Federation) [6, p.50].

The defense financing in Ukraine was carried out in accordance with the third approach before the armed aggression of Russia, and its level was insufficient to ensure the effectiveness of the Armed Forces, their force performance and military's preparedness. By comparison, according to the Stockholm International Institute for the Study of Law Problems, the total military budget of all

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countries in the world in 2015 amounted to 1776 billion dollars or 2.4% of world GDP. The United States accounted for about one third of the world's defense budget - \$ 610 billion or 3.5% of the country's GDP. In this case, for example, the defense budget of China, which ranks second position after the United States, was \$ 216 billion or 2.0% of the country's GDP [7].

The armed military aggression of the Russian Federation in the Donbass has led to the need for a rapid increase in defense expenditures, since during the last decade their share in the budget and as the share of GDP gradually decreased and fluctuated within 1-2% of GDP of the country, which was critically low, and from the crisis of 2009 at the level of 1% of GDP, which led to the unpreparedness of the Armed Forces to the acute phase of the hybrid war.

The armed military aggression of the Russian Federation in 2014 required the rapid creation of a capable army, which, accordingly, needed financial support, that is, the sharp and rapid growth of defense expenditures (Tab. 2).

Table 2

Dynamics of defense financing under the Consolidated Budget of Ukraine in 2011-2016

Indicator	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016*
Defense expenditures in a percentage of GDP,%	1,02	1,03	1,02	1,72	2,63	2,73
Defense expenditures,%	3,18	2,94	2,93	5,23	7,65	7,28
Defense expenditures, billion UAH	13,2	14,5	14,8	27,4	52,0	61,8

Note: for 2016, the planned targets are given

Source: created by the authors on the basis of [8]

Thus, the expenditures of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine to GDP indicate that they make up less than 3% of GDP, although this was set at the legislative level in the New Military Doctrine. Typically, that defense spending was at the highest level of growth with the expansion of the hybrid warfare during 2014-2015. But when calculating in US dollars, the level of financing in 2015 is a return to the level of 2013, after the devaluation of the national currency in 2014. This factor is negative, since Ukraine will have to purchase a significant amount of weapons from foreign suppliers for currency.

The scale of economic threats requires the immediate solution to the problem of ensuring economic security at the national level. Despotism of economic security can lead to catastrophic consequences: the decline of the economy and the undermining of the life support system of the nation, with the subsequent loss of sovereignty of the country. An independent and independent state is considered to be capable of providing economic security at all levels. The so-called "passive" provision of economic security of the state is used in Ukraine, which is based on the method of responding to the challenges, threats and threats in case of deviation of the actual values of indicators of economic security from their safe levels. This indicates a situational response, which enables to eliminate already existing threats and minimize their negative impact on the system of economic security of the state [9, p.22].

The necessary level of state security can not be achieved due to the insufficient funding. But the problem is not only the need to increase defense spending, but also to determine their optimal structure in accordance with the state priorities in the field of national security. Furthermore, another drawback of the defense budget of Ukraine is its structure which does not conform to the world standards: the NATO military classical budget usually consists of three parts - personnel costs (up to 45%), operating costs (25%), financing defense R & D (up to 10%) and the acquisition of new weapons and equipment (up to 20%). In Ukraine, the maintenance of the main warehouse was spent on armed aggression of Russia to 80% of the funds. These costs can rightly be called "budgeting", since there were no funds left for such articles as "procurement of weapons and military equipment" and "research and development work". The risk of further escalation of the military conflict stipulate a high level of spending, primarily in terms of monetary and logistical support.

Financial resources designed to meet military needs necessary not only to be allocated but also to be used effectively. Therefore, defense expenditures are part of the economy that serves the protection of the vital interests of society and they are aimed at ensuring national security for the effective development of the economic, social and other spheres of life of the state.

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Conclusions. In general, since the second half of the 1990s, elements and technologies of hybrid wars have been used by Russia in Transdnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorny Karabakh, as well as the United States, NATO and the EU - in Kosovo, Iraq, Libya and Syria, and from the beginning of the XXI century a similar scenario is actively used by Russia and Ukraine and, thus Russia is trying to change the world system by challenging the United States, the EU and NATO. The main objective of Russia is to deprive our state of real independence (while maintaining formal political independence) and to include Ukraine in the sphere of Russia's steady military-political and economic influence, that is, the actual transformation into a Russian satellite.

Russia's hybrid war implies a diverse long-term destabilization of the situation in Ukraine. Ukraine is not a member of any military-political alliance, and the war includes armed aggression and the pressure of a much larger and stronger state, which has its own nuclear weapons. In addition, Ukraine is fighting the consequences of this aggression almost independently.

The state of the national economy is one of the determining factors on which the amount of defense financing depends. The lack of readiness of the Armed Forces in the beginning of the hybrid war to resist the enemy is a result of chronic underfunding for decades. The occupation of the territories in the East radically changed the approach to forming of defense budget of our state, since defense of the state is the main task that must be carried out constantly, and for this purpose it is necessary to have systemic financial providing. Ukraine has been forced to allocate more and more financial resources in recent years to ensure national security, territorial integrity and sovereignty. And although the level of defense spending in developed countries is still far away, funding priorities are gradually shifting towards the development budget.

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