



Ukraine and the EU: More than Neighbours





Introduction



Source: http://www.mygeo.info/landkarten_europa.html



Introduction



Source: CIA World Factbook



Jacek Saryusz-Wolski (European Parliament Vice-President) :

“The Orange Revolution has given so much to Europe. It was the beginning and not the end of the journey that still lies ahead of you [= EU]. A newly democratic Ukraine has chosen a European cause. It has declared its wish to join the EU and a democratic process. The time of grand demonstrations has passed and now it is the time for hard work, adopting EU standards and the *acquis communautaire*.”



1. Is Ukraine ready for the EU?

1.1 The impact of the Orange Revolution

1.2 The cleavage between Eastern and Western Ukraine

2. The EU's response to Ukraine's aspirations

2.1 Relations between the EU and Ukraine

2.2 European Neighbourhood-Policy

3. Ukraine on the Way to EU membership?!

or

Why the EU should acknowledge Ukraine's demand



1. Is Ukraine ready for the EU?

1.1 The impact of the Orange Revolution

1.2 The cleavage between Eastern and Western
Ukraine



1.1 The impact of the Orange Revolution



- What are the underlying sources and causes of Ukraine's breakthrough to democracy?
- How is it possible to maintain the political change?



1.1 The impact of the Orange Revolution



- the genesis of the Orange Revolution (according to Hryhoriy Nemyria):
 1. 1991-2001: maturation
 2. 2002-2003: incubation
 3. 2004: breakthrough



1.1 The impact of the Orange Revolution



- outgoing President Kuchma's choice of Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich as his successor
- manipulated Presidencies
- Putin's support for Yanukovich



1.1 The impact of the Orange Revolution



- relevant causes for the Orange Revolution:
 - modes of external pressures
 - maturity of civil society
 - national identity
 - nature of political institutions



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1.1 The impact of the Orange Revolution



- peaceful, non-violent Revolution
- Orange Revolution as a success of the Common Foreign Policy of the UE
- Orange Revolution as an example for the former Soviet space and the broader Black Sea region



1.1 The impact of the Orange Revolution



Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan (“Toward Consolidated Democracies”):

“Civil society by itself can destroy a nondemocratic regime, but democratic consolidation must involve political society.”



1.1 The impact of the Orange Revolution



- disappointment one year after Revolution:
 - fight against corruption hardly progresses
 - separation from business and politics is still missing
 - law is far distant from being independent
 - economic development



1.1 The impact of the Orange Revolution



- 26th March 2006: first peaceful, free and democratic elections of the “Verchovna Rada” according to international standards
- freedom of the media and freedom of expression were guaranteed



1.1 The impact of the Orange Revolution



- Election results:**



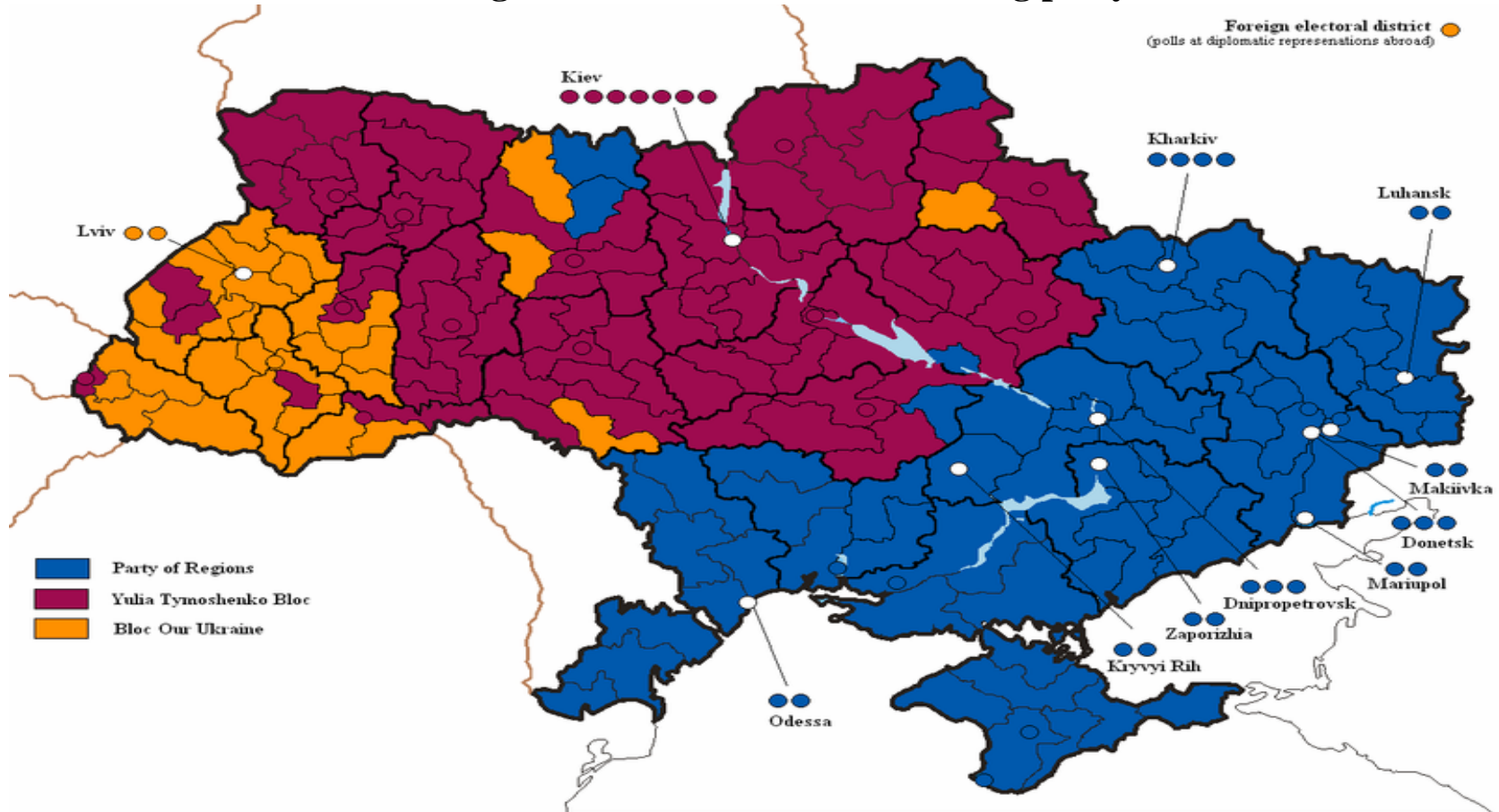
Source: Central Election Commission of Ukraine



1.1 The impact of the Orange Revolution



Distribution of votes through 225 electoral districts: leading party or bloc



Source: Central Election Commission of Ukraine



Samuel P. Huntington (“Clash of Civilisations”):

- conflicts between civilisations will replace the political and ideological ones of the former Cold War
- cultural cleavage between occidental (catholic) and oriental (orthodox) part of Ukraine



1.2 The cleavage between Eastern and Western Ukrain



- historical background:
 - immigration of Russians in the beginning of the 20th century
- languages:
 - Russian: 78%
 - Ukrainian: 78%
- regional and traditional differences



1.2 The cleavage between Eastern and Western Ukrain



- Ukraine at the intersection of overlapping integration spaces:
 - EU and NATO
 - Russia, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and the Single Economic Space (SES)
 - Black Sea region
- different and conflicting interests



1.2 The cleavage between Eastern and Western Ukrain



- the relationship to Russia:
 - Ukraine's energy dependency
 - Russian's influence-policy ('low-hanging fruit'-policy) towards Ukraine after independence
 - Russia tries to regain its influence on Ukraine
 - e.g.: crisis of Ukrainian gas supply
 - importance for EU-Russian relationship
 - pro-European \neq anti-Russian



2. The EU's response to Ukraine's aspirations

2.1 Relations between the EU and Ukraine

2.2 European Neighbourhood-Policy



2. The EU's response to Ukraine's aspirations



- refuse of EU and NATO enlargement to Ukraine
- Ukraine's image:
 - too big
 - too poor
 - too Soviet



2.1 Relations between the EU and Ukraine



- *Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA)*
 - concluded in 1994
 - entered into force in March 1998
 - formed the legal basis on Ukraine-EU relations



2.1 Relations between the EU and Ukraine



- co-operation in:
 - political dialogue
 - trade and investment
 - economic and legislative issues
 - cultural and scientific cooperation



2.1 Relations between the EU and Ukraine



- based on the respect for common values
- aims:
 - consolidation of democracy in Ukraine
 - development of the country's economy and its transformation into a functioning market economy
- prospect of establishment of a free trade area



2.1 Relations between the EU and Ukraine



- institutional framework:
 - Co-operation Council (yearly Summits)
 - Co-operation Committee
 - Sub-Committees
- PCA does not touch upon the issues of membership
- protocol to the PCA signed in March 2004:
 - extension to the ten new member states



2.1 Relations between the EU and Ukraine



- specific agreements:
 - trade (textiles and steel)
 - science and technology
 - nuclear energy
- technical, macro-financial and humanitarian assistance



2.1 Relations between the EU and Ukraine



- Ukraine:
 - *Strategy for European Integration*
 - adopted in 1998
 - in 2002 President Kuchma declared EU **membership** a long-term goal
 - President Yushchenko declared European Integration a strategic priority



2.1 Relations between the EU and Ukraine



- European Union:
 - *Common Strategy*
 - adopted in 1999
 - developing of a **strategic partnership**
 - acknowledges Ukraine's European aspirations and welcomes the country's European choice



2.1 Relations between the EU and Ukraine



- principal objectives:
 - to support the democratic and economic transition process in Ukraine
 - to meet common challenges on the European continent
 - to strengthen co-operation between the EU and Ukraine in the context of enlargement



2.2 European Neighbourhood Policy



- *European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP)*
 - launched by the European Commission in its *Communication on Wider Europe* of March 2003
 - Communication in July 2003
 - **it clearly refuses the option of EU membership**



2.2 European Neighbourhood Policy



- strong commitments to shared values and political, economic and institutional reforms
- invitation to enter into closer relations with the EU
- establishment of a “ring of friends”

- Ukraine has the possibility to gradual integrate the EU’s Internal Market



2.2 European Neighbourhood Policy



- *Action Plan*
 - concluded in September 2004
 - adopted at a special Cooperation Council on 21 February 2005
 - ambitious framework for work with Ukraine



2.2 European Neighbourhood Policy



- identification of all the key areas of reform
- prescriptions for harmonisation with EU norms and standards
- the quality and duration of implementation will depend on Ukraine



2.2 European Neighbourhood Policy



- *Ten Points for Closer Co-operation*
 - early consultation
 - possibility of closer co-operation in the area of foreign and security policy and in key sectors
 - deepening trade and economic relations between the EU and Ukraine towards an EU-Ukraine Free Trade Area



2.2 European Neighbourhood Policy



- further support of Ukraine's WTO accession
- visa facilitations
- the approximation of Ukrainian legislation, norms and standards to those of the EU
- efforts in the fields of democracy and rule of law
- financial assistance



3. Ukraine on the Way to EU membership?!

or

Why the EU should acknowledge Ukraine's demand



3. Ukraine on the Way to EU membership?!



- a considerable change to the EU's position
- division on the long-term goal for relations with Ukraine :
 - pro: most of the new member states
 - contra: majority within the EU



3. Ukraine on the Way to EU membership?!



Romano Prodi in 2002:

EU offers: “sharing all but institutions”



3. Ukraine on the Way to EU membership?!



- Ukraine obtained market economy status at the end of 2005
- Ukraine has to become a member of the WTO
- initiative now must come from Ukraine



3. Ukraine on the Way to EU membership?!



- EU has refused to extend the prospect of membership to Ukraine and Moldavia, while admitting the Baltic republics
- there are no convincing grounds for denying the prospect of membership to Ukraine



3. Ukraine on the Way to EU membership?!



1. Ukraine is a European State (Article 49 of the Treaty on EU).
2. Enlargement seems to be the most effective foreign policy tool.
3. Its important strategic and geopolitical position makes of Ukraine a protagonist for building bridges between the European Union and Russia and the Black Sea region.



3. Ukraine on the Way to EU membership?!



4. Non of the thirteen former member candidates had fulfilled the Copenhagen criteria completely.
5. Ukraine is at least as qualified as Turkey.
6. As a European country of nearly 50 million people Ukraine has a considerable economic potential.
7. A successful Ukraine would be a good example, playing a stabilising role in Wider Europe.



3. Ukraine on the Way to EU membership?!



- the EU should acknowledge that Ukraine is a **potential member** of the EU
- in practical terms Ukraine's membership is a **long term perspective**
- **step-by-step association**



3. Ukraine on the Way to EU membership?!



- role of the **new members**
- the considered **free trade area** should be followed by **gradual inclusion into the single market**
- **necessary efforts** have to be made from both sides



Thank you for listening!