

Ukraine in EU: A European Dream or a Real Opportunity?



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Questions

1. What is the history of the lands and peoples of Ukraine? What are the legacies of past divisions within the country?
2. What are the main challenges Ukraine faced during the transition from 1991 to 2014?
3. Ukraine at war. How is grey zone conflict unwrapped in a full-scale war?
4. How might the war end? What implications does it have for the EU and Ukraine's EU prospects?

A Divided Nation? How the history of people and land affects nation building



Territories annexed to Ukraine...



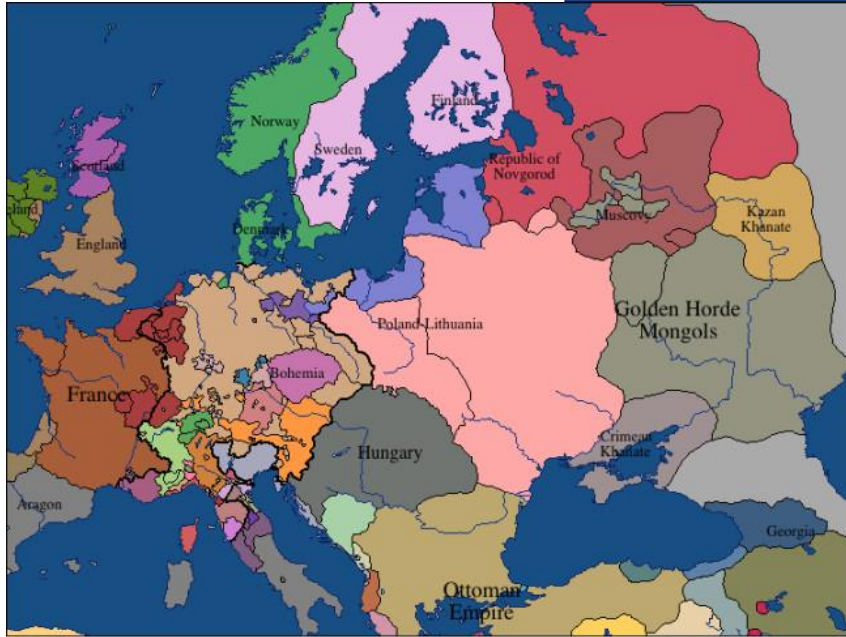
Kyivan Rus'

VIII-XII AD.

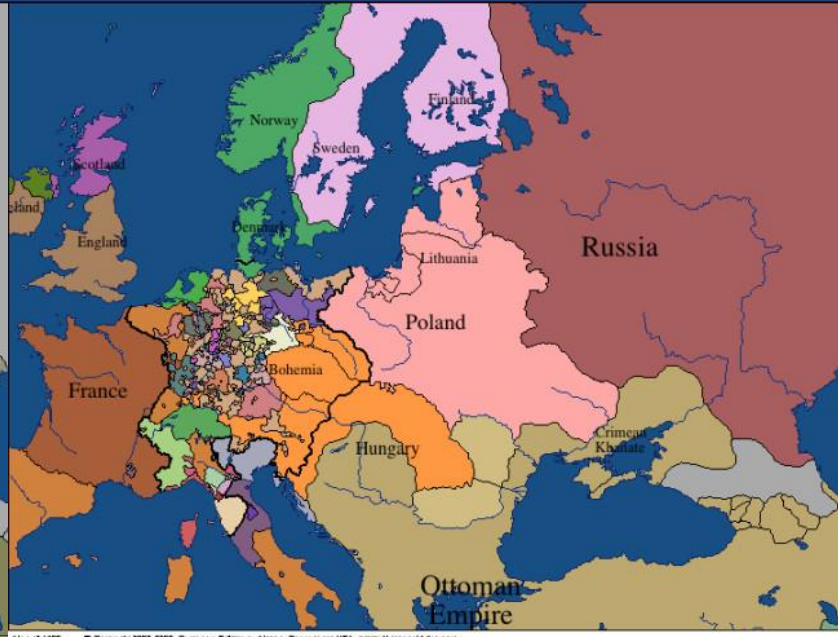
Medieval state of north and east Slavs, stretched from the Baltic Sea in the North to the Black Sea in the South and from the headwaters of the Vistula in the west to the Taman Peninsula in the East, uniting the majority of East Slavic tribes.



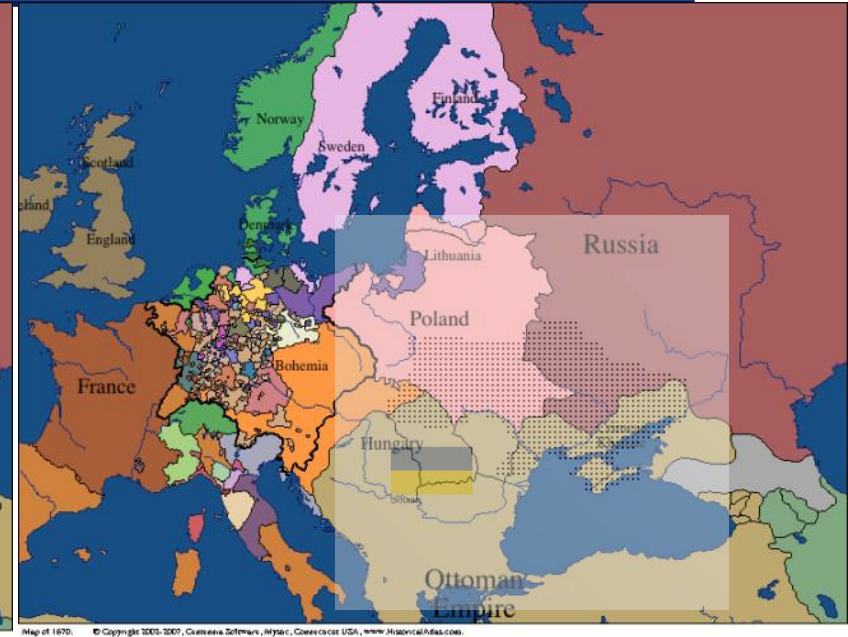
Power shifts and regional invasions



1240 -1450



1600-1670



1670

Zaporozhian Cossacks and Ukrainian state during the epoch of Modern

Bohdan Khmelnytsky

*Cossacks- former serfs and fugitives from Muscovy and local Ukrainian peasants who formed frontier military units. Western Russia; lead rebellion against increased Polish taxation. Zaporozhian Cossacks rebel in 1648

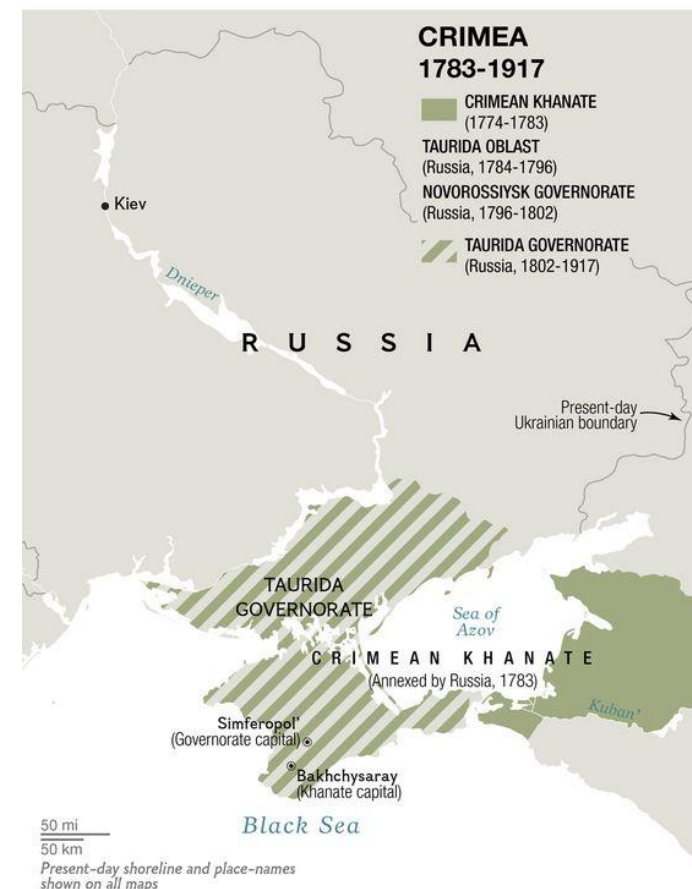


Ukrainian territories played a crucial role in finalizing the Russian Imperial project in 17 century

(Reply of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, Ilya Repin, 1891)

Catherine the Great and the Annexation of Crimea, 1783

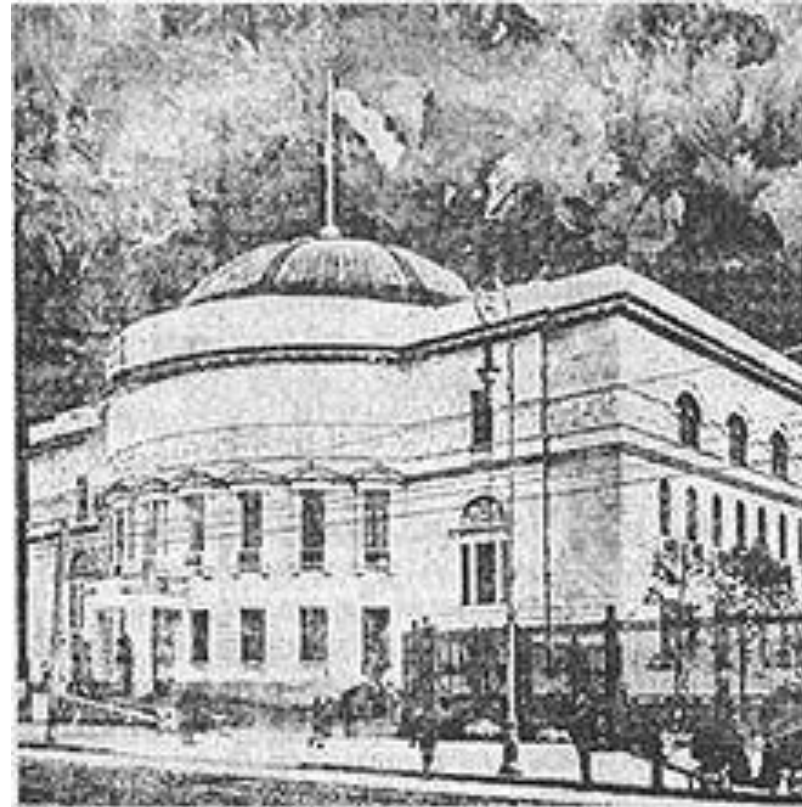
AN IMPERIAL STRIDE!



Ukrainian Rada (declaration of sovereignty) and nation-building in 1917



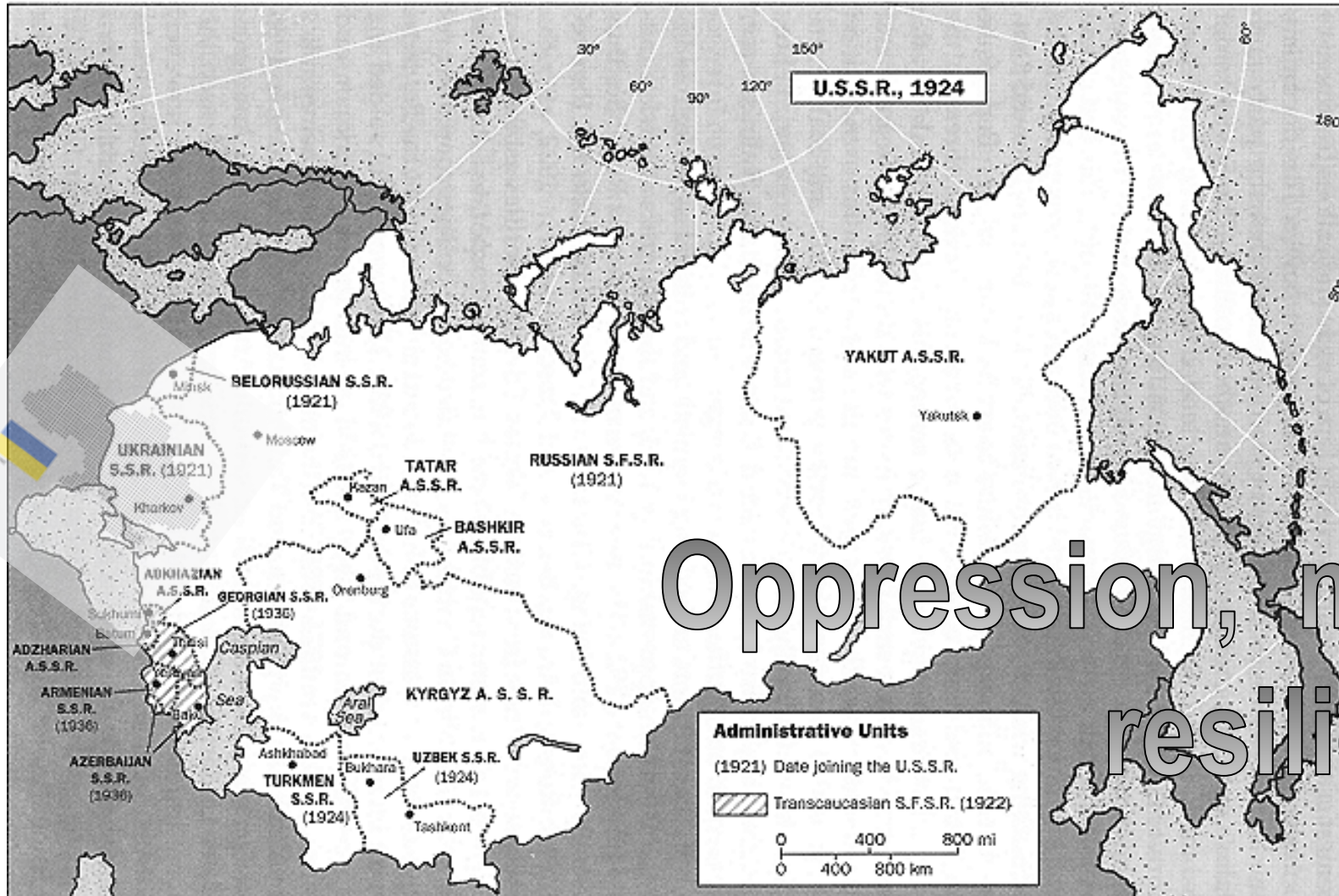
Nationalist Demonstration, 1917



Rada, 1917

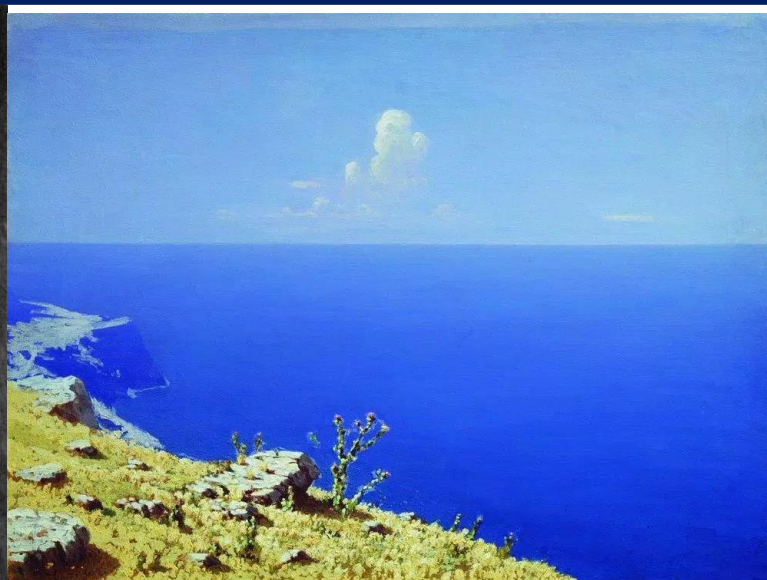
German invasion, 1917

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic created in 1924



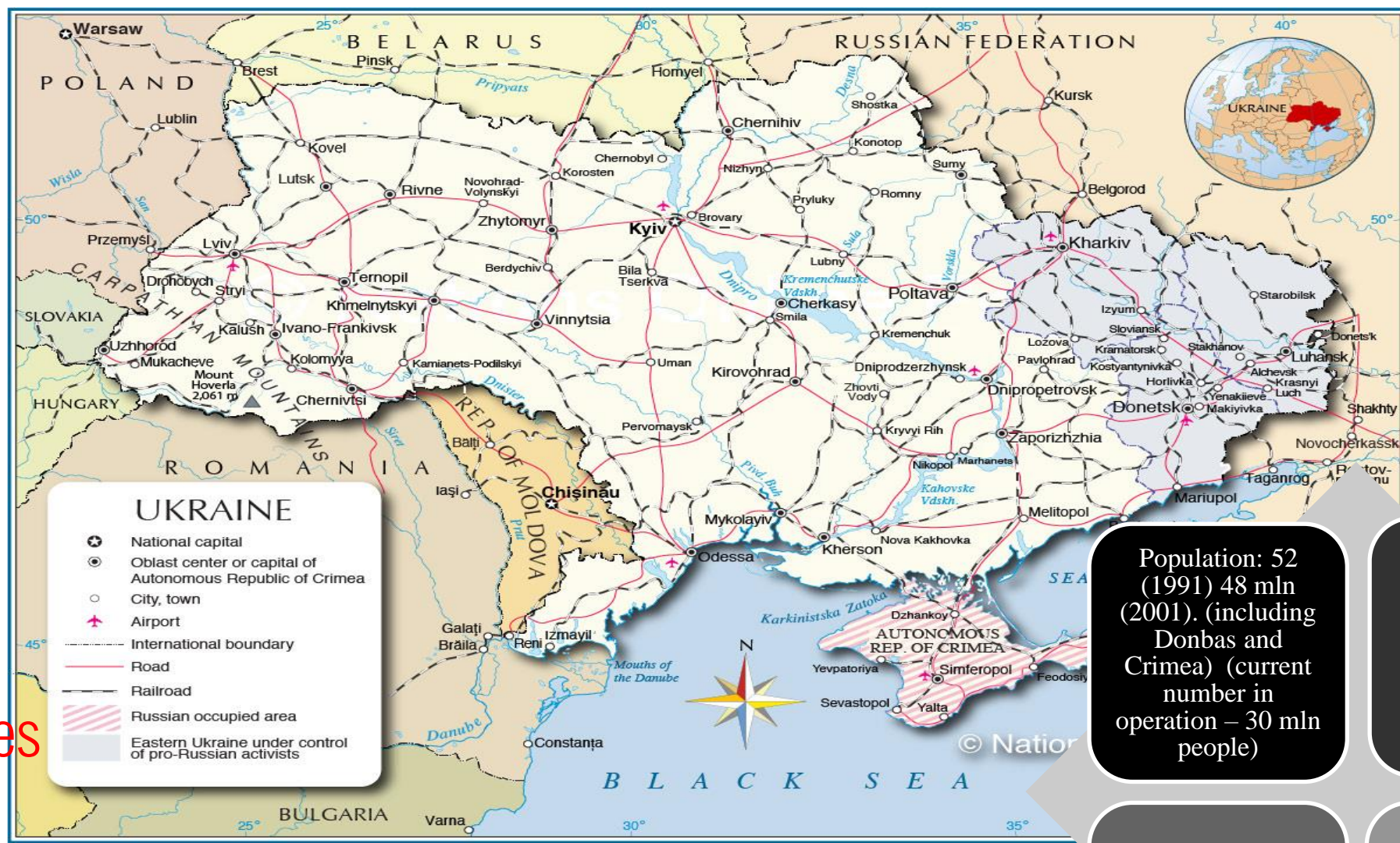
Oppression, modernization,
resilience

The Gift of Crimea 1954? Rationales and symbolism



Celebration of 300 Years
Reunion of Ukraine with
Russia





Part 2.
What are
the main
challenges
Ukraine
faced
during the
transition?

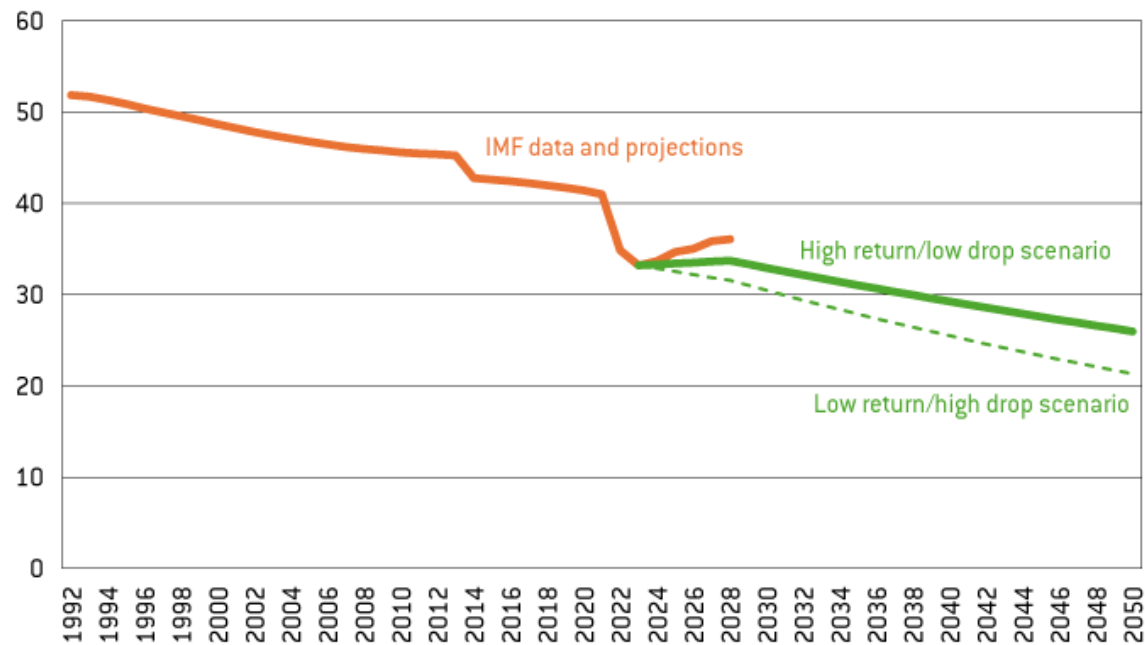
Population: 52
(1991) 48 mln
(2001). (including
Donbas and
Crimea) (current
number in
operation – 30 mln
people)

Life expectancy
before full scale
invasion: : 74.3
(W) / 62.8 (M)

Population growth
rate (average
annual %) -0,6%

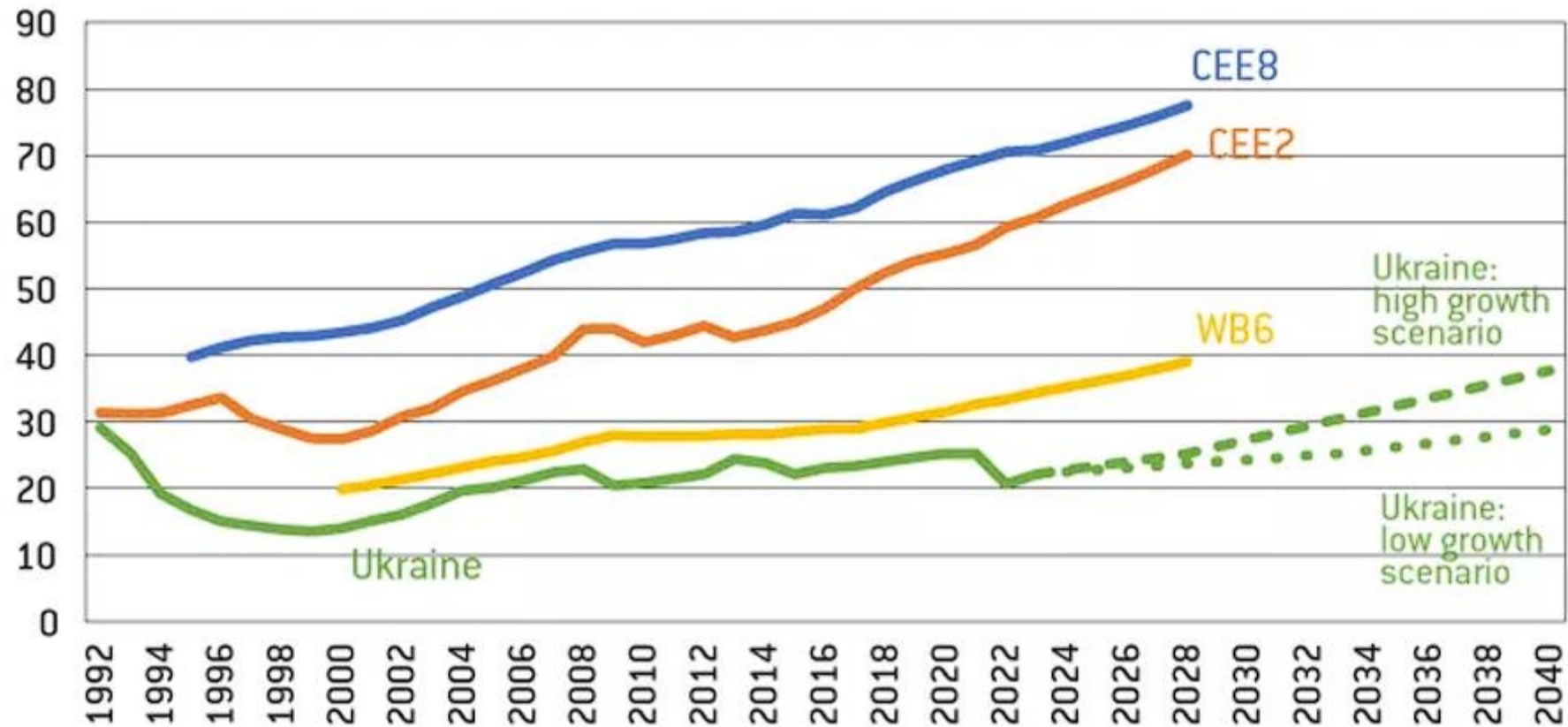
Intentional
homicides (females
and males, per 100
000) 2.9/10.1

Illustrative population scenarios for Ukraine, million people, 1992-2050



Source: Brugel
<https://www.bruegel.org/policy-brief/ukraines-path-european-union-membership-and-its-long-term-implications>

GDP per capita at purchasing power parity compared to the average of eight advanced EU countries, percent, 1992-2040



Independent Ukraine's Ethnic Balance

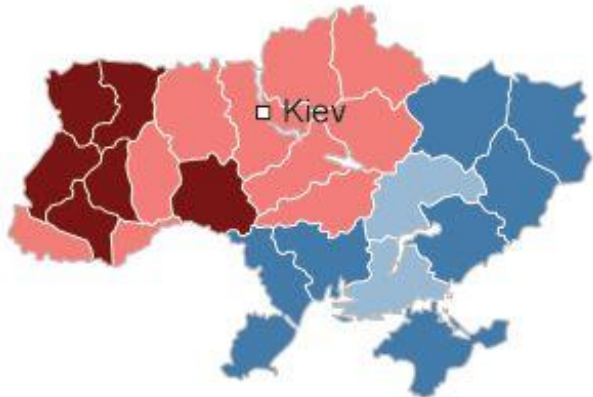
*all those who lived in the Ukrainian SSR (which becomes independent) offered citizenship. Initial enthusiasm, and belief that Ukraine, with a large western diaspora and strong agricultural and industrial economies, could outperform Russia. But.....



Values and geopolitical orientation. Ukraine between East and West: challenges of transition (data 2010-13)

Ukraine's divide

2010 election results



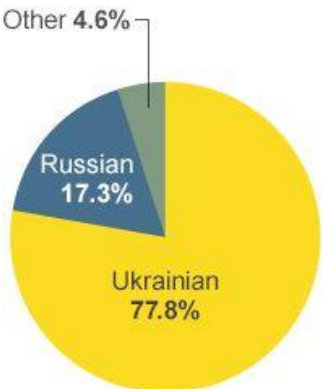
Russian as native language



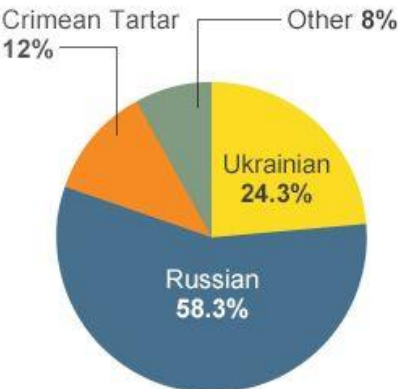
Tymoshenko 70%+ 50-69%
Yanukovich 70%+ 50-69%

Less than 20% 20-50% 50%+

Ukraine by ethnic identity



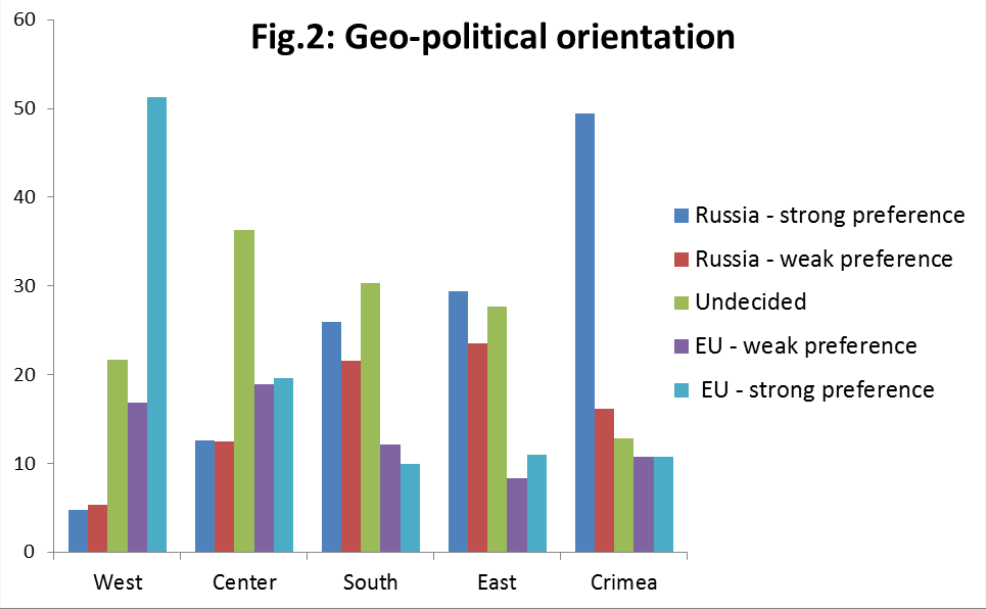
Crimea by ethnic identity



census

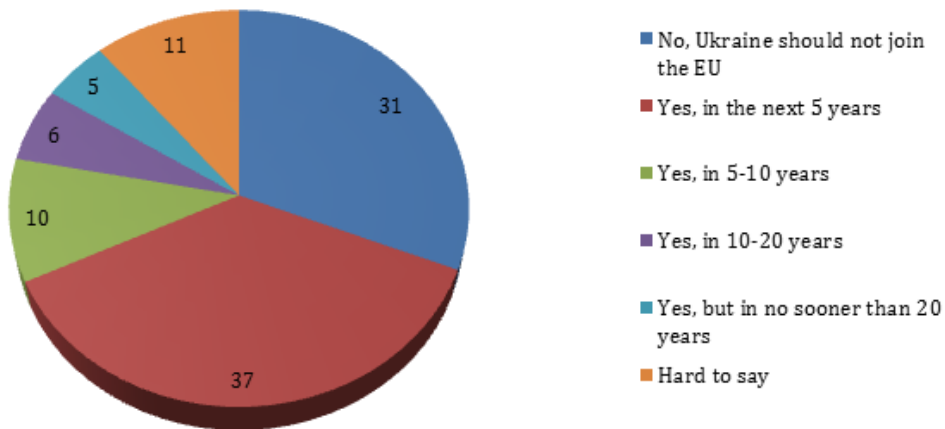
Note: Some totals may not add up due to rounding

Fig.2: Geo-political orientation



Should Ukraine join the EU?

IFAKUkraine for DW-Trend, November 2013

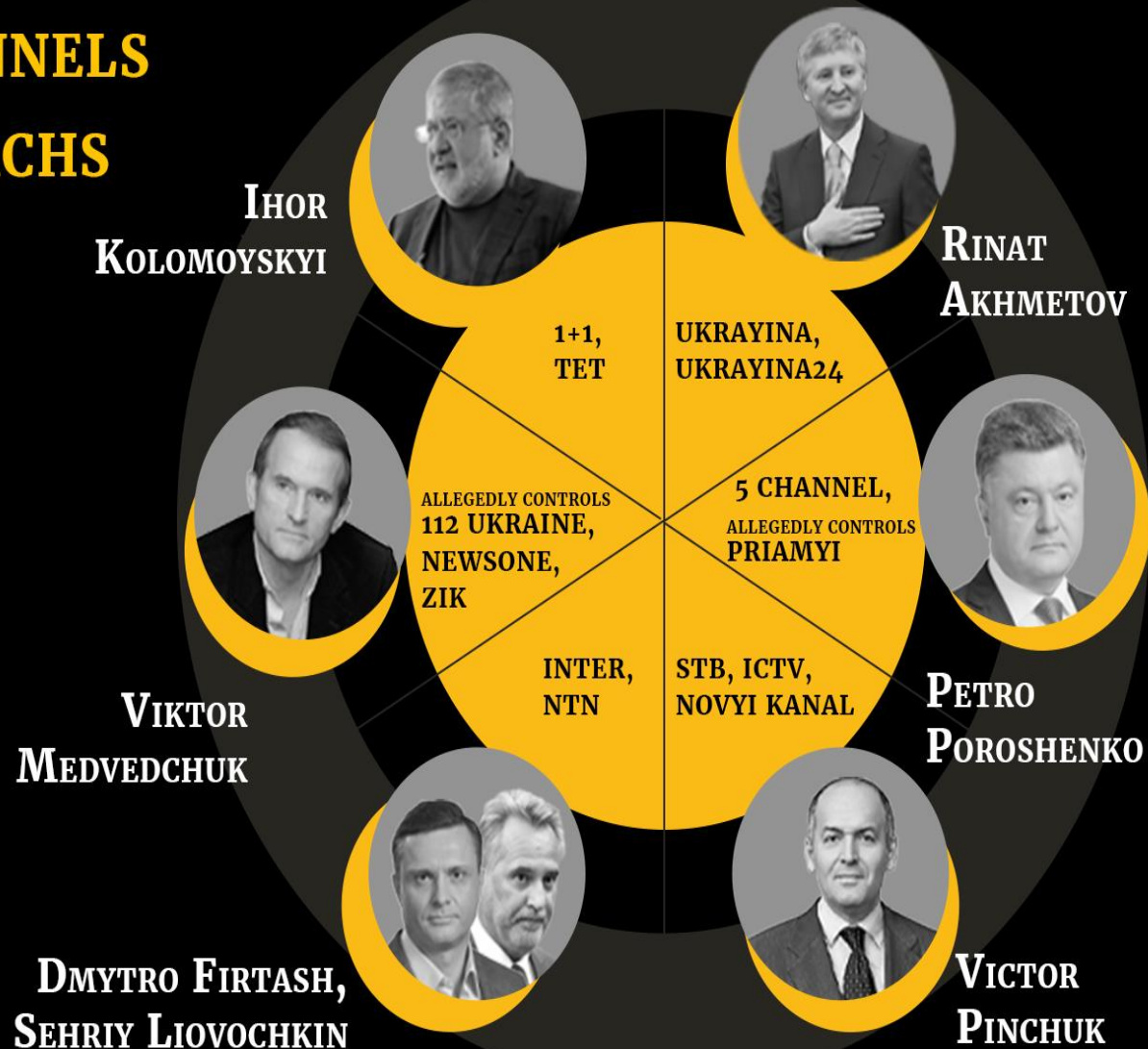




Economic division: role of OLIGARCHY

- In 2008, the combined wealth of Ukraine's **50 richest oligarchs was equal to 85% of Ukraine's GDP**. In November 2013 this number was 45% (of GDP). By 2015, due to the Ukrainian crisis and the following annexation of Crimea by Russia and the war in Donbass, the total net worth of the five richest and most influential Ukrainians at that time (Akhmetov, Pinchuk, Kolomoyskyi etc) had dropped from \$21.6 billion in 2014 to \$11.85 billion in June 2015

ALL TOP TV CHANNELS BELONG TO OLIGARCHS



Political changes: Road to Euromaidan: Orange Revolution 2004-05



Viktor Yushchenko, before and after (dioxin poisoning?)

*Protests and international pressure force rerun of second round of elections in December 2004, bring pro-western Yushchenko to power over Viktor Yanukovych



2009-13 President Viktor Yanukovich between East and West



Yanukovich wins 2009 election as a pragmatist, who can do business with west and Russia

*turns to Europe in 2013– negotiations for a “Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement”

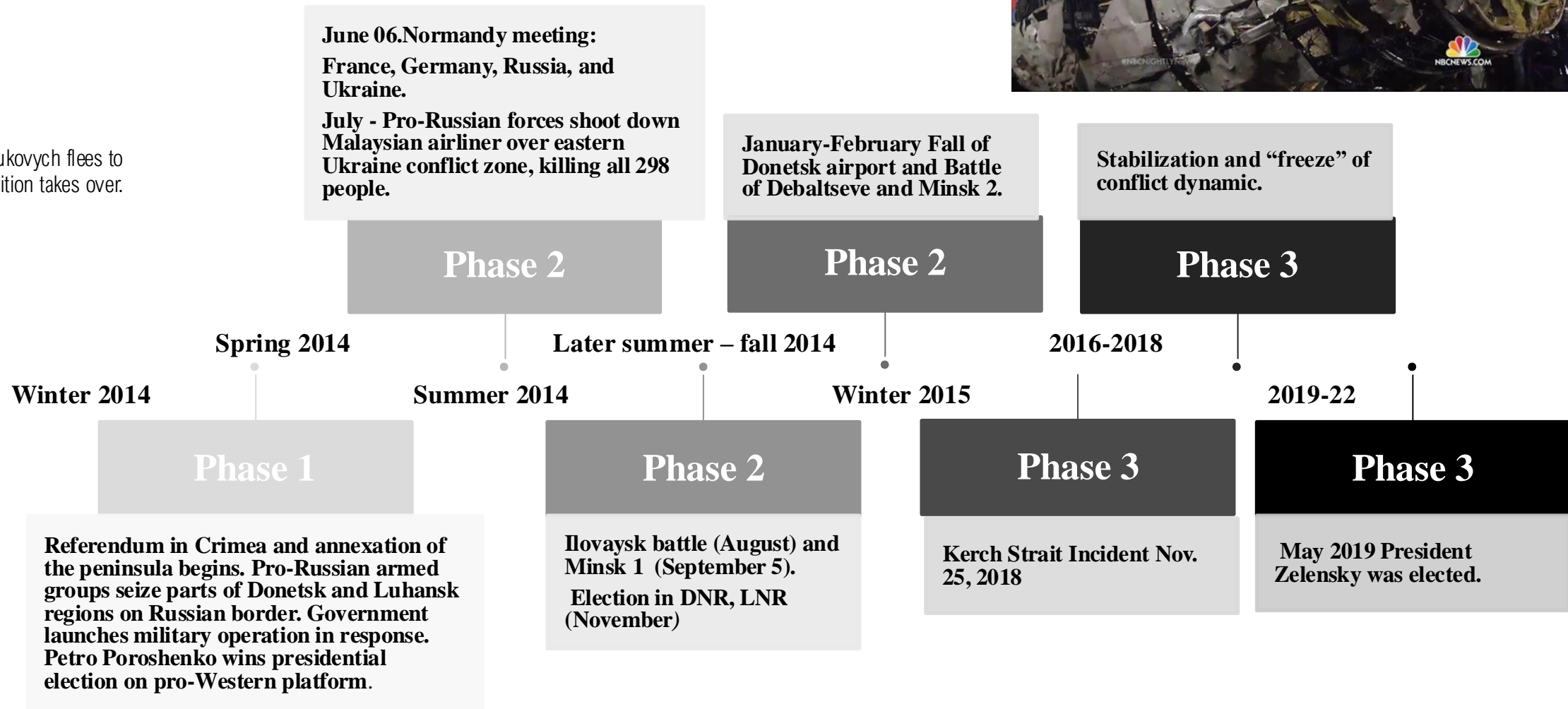
*support for EU membership-- ~40%, vs. 30% for Customs Union, 30% for nothing (pro-Russia)



War in Ukraine Timeline (2014-2022)



President Yanukovich flees to Russia, opposition takes over.



How is grey zone conflict unwrapped in a full-scale war?

Donbas Conflict (localized), 2014-2022



2014 Donetsk



Ukrainian troops, VSU



2014-2019: Hybrid war and Gray Zone Conflict?

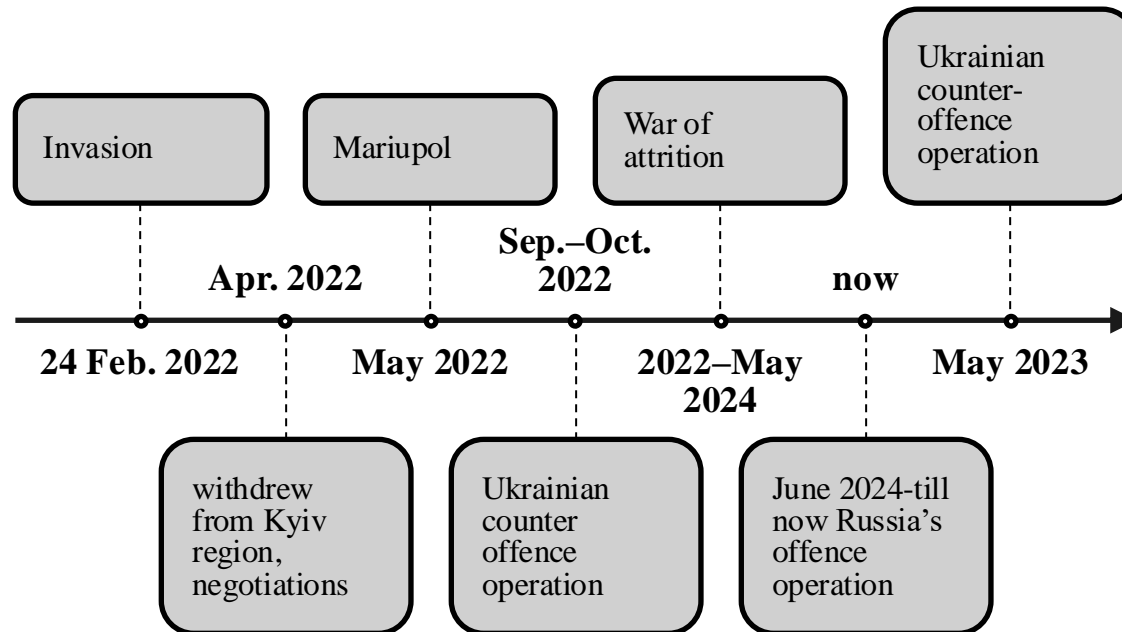
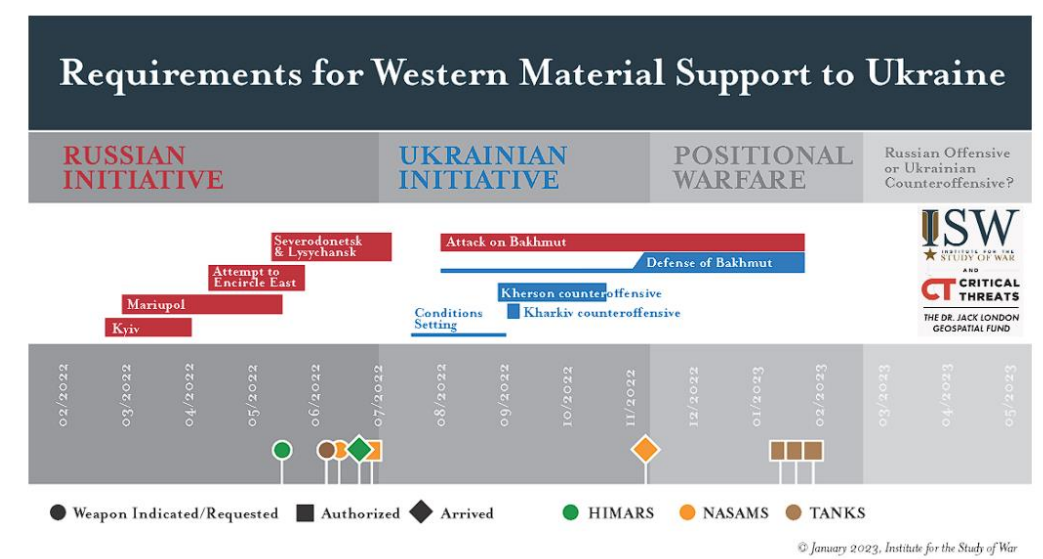
- Objective: revise the order of alliances and norms of international conduct.
- States ***rely primarily on covert operations*** which never pass the threshold of war.
 - Political/Information; Economic pressures; Sub-state actors support; Hybrid tactics (ie cyber space); Gradualism with occasional punctuations (crises).
 - Traditionally only used as auxiliary; the backbone of gray zone.
- Conflict onset and termination are ***ambiguous***.
 - No declaration of either war or peace.
- Long-term point of victory is ***ambiguous***.
 - Only short-term objectives may be overt.
- Gray zone conflicts are exceptionally ***resistant to resolution***.

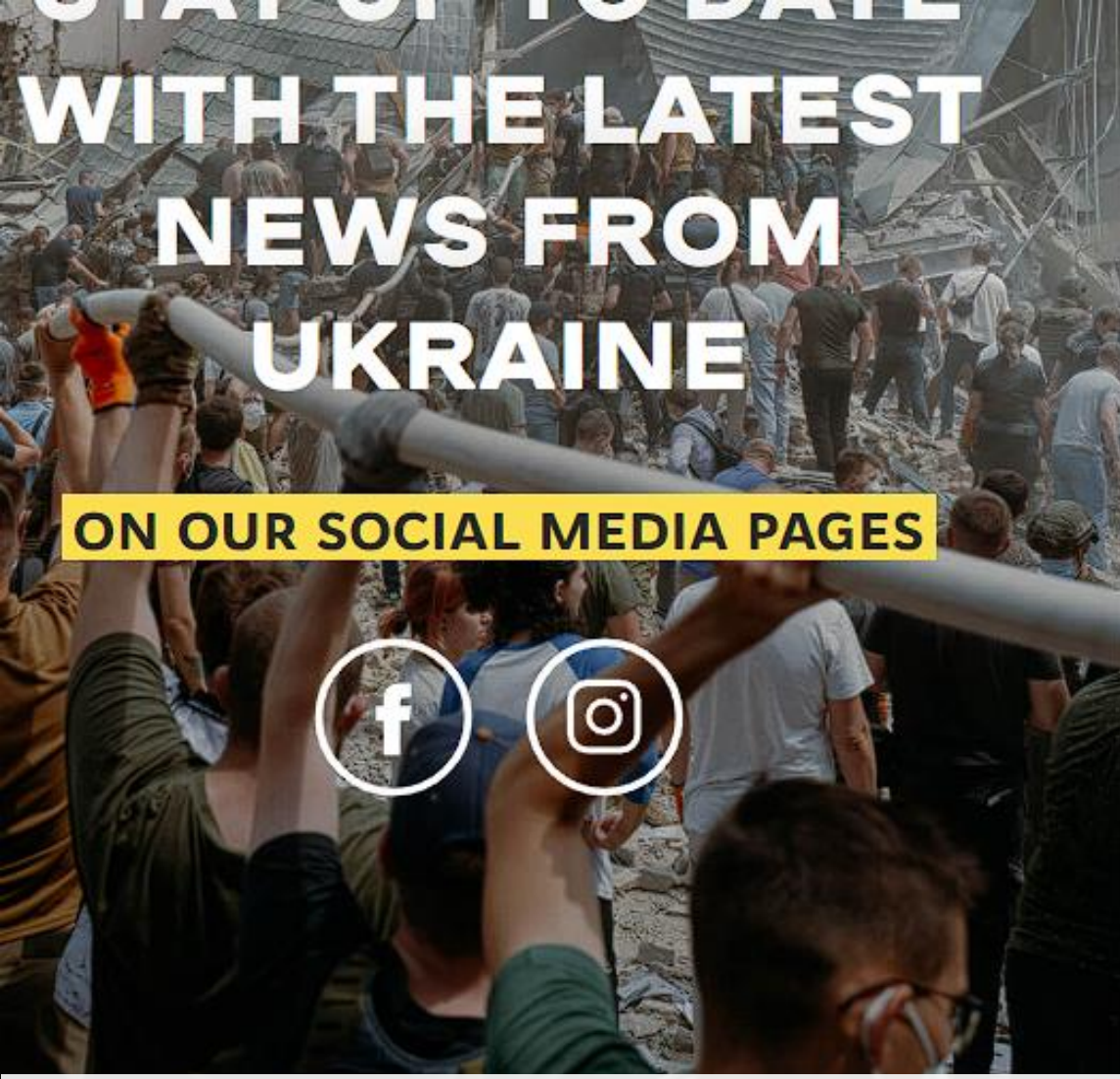


Scenarios for Ukraine (2021):

- **‘Quasi-statehood’**. – This scenario could be realized if the Minsk agreements would still not be implemented in full. Here, besides the cease fire and the withdrawal of heavy armaments, nothing else would be done towards the integration of Donbas into Ukraine. Moscow would then develop ‘quasi-statehood’ in separatist regions while not annexing them to Russia. The de-facto entry of separatist regions into the ruble zone and the lack of any noticeable progress in the talks on implementing the other points of the Minsk agreements are, in my opinion, first signs of the realization of this very scenario.
- **‘Neither War, nor Peace’**. – This scenario of the de-facto ‘freezing the conflict’ supposes that there is no coming back to the active phase of the conflict. Ukraine cannot control the separatist regions, and Russia does not recognize the so called ‘republics’. However, under those conditions the situation in the region would be highly instable, and realization of another scenario would eventually be required.
- **‘The Minsk Peace’**. – This scenario would include gradual restitution of Ukraine’s control of the so called ‘republics’. But there would be a problem in deriving consensus between Ukraine and the separatists over the amount of authority for Donbas. For now, it is difficult for me to imagine what that compromise would be in order for it to be accepted and ultimately implemented by the two sides. This is especially true in light of the demands by the separatists.
- **‘The Big War’**. – This scenario supposes the recommencement of the full-scale combat operations so that Russia could no longer avoid open participation of its armed forces. It is not possible to predict the consequences of full-scale war.

RF full-scale invasion of Ukraine





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How did the Revolution of Dignity (2014)
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<https://war.ukraine.ua>

GLOBAL SECURITY



Key Milestones

- 
- June 2024** First intergovernmental conference marking the formal start of accession negotiations followed up by first bilateral screening meetings
 - December 2023** European Council decides to open accession negotiations
 - November 2023** Commission recommends opening accession negotiations
Ukraine included in the Enlargement Package reports for the first time
 - June 2023** Commission oral update to the Council on the progress in the 7 steps
 - February 2023** Commission's analytical report on country's alignment with EU acquis
 - June 2022** Commission recommends and European Council grants Ukraine candidate status
 - February 2022** Shortly after the beginning of Russia's war of aggression, Ukraine applies for EU Membership
 - September 2017** Association Agreement and Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA) enter into force

EU - Ukraine cooperation during the war

Source: https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/european-neighbourhood-policy/countries-region/ukraine_en



Ukrainian EU initiatives during the war

Official website

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28 February 2022, Ukraine applied for EU membership.

17 June 2022, the European Commission presented its Opinions on the applications submitted by Ukraine, Georgia and the Republic of Moldova.

Based on the Commission's Opinion, Ukraine was given a European perspective on 23 June 2022 unanimous agreement between the leaders of all 27 EU Member States.

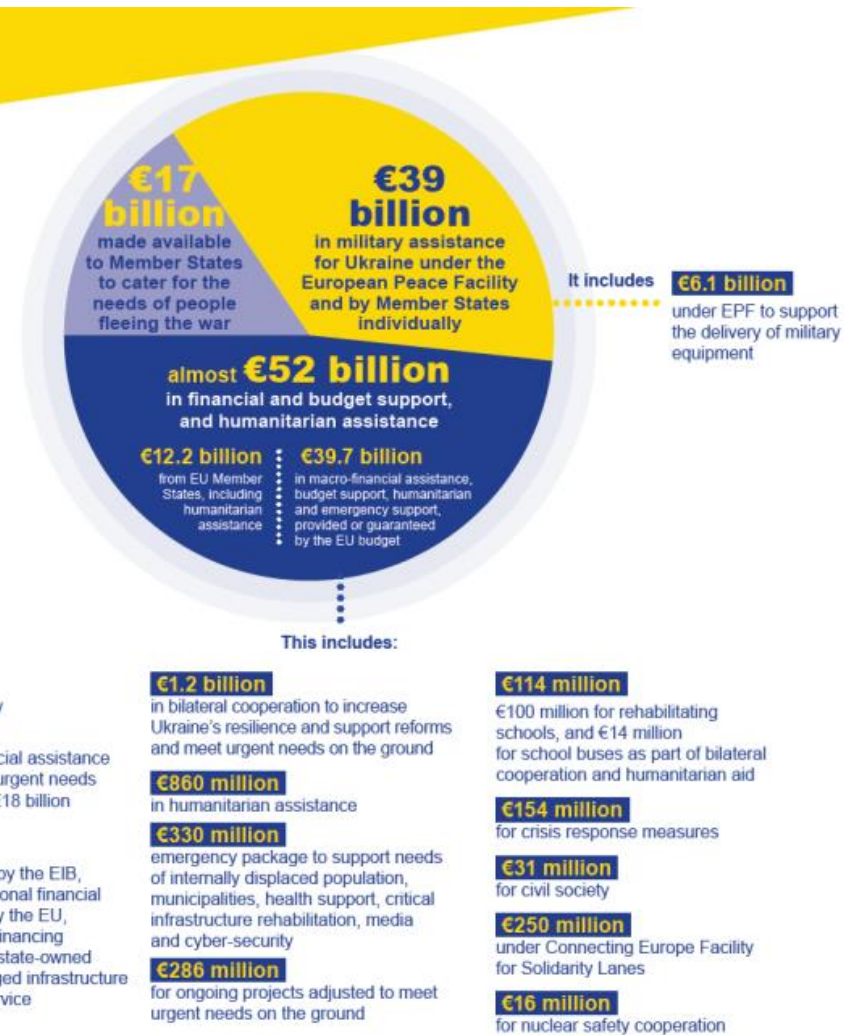
- The Commission's Opinion outlined seven steps which Ukraine needed to address in order to progress on the path to the EU. It was complemented by 2 February 2023. Commission's analytical report on country's alignment with EU acquis of. A more detailed review was part of the 2023 Enlargement Package reports, presented on 08 November 2023, where Ukraine was included for the first time. The Commission also recommended opening accession negotiations with Ukraine. On 14 December 2023, European Council decided to open accession negotiations with the country.

The first
intergovernmental
conference marking the
formal launch of the
accession negotiations
25 June 2024

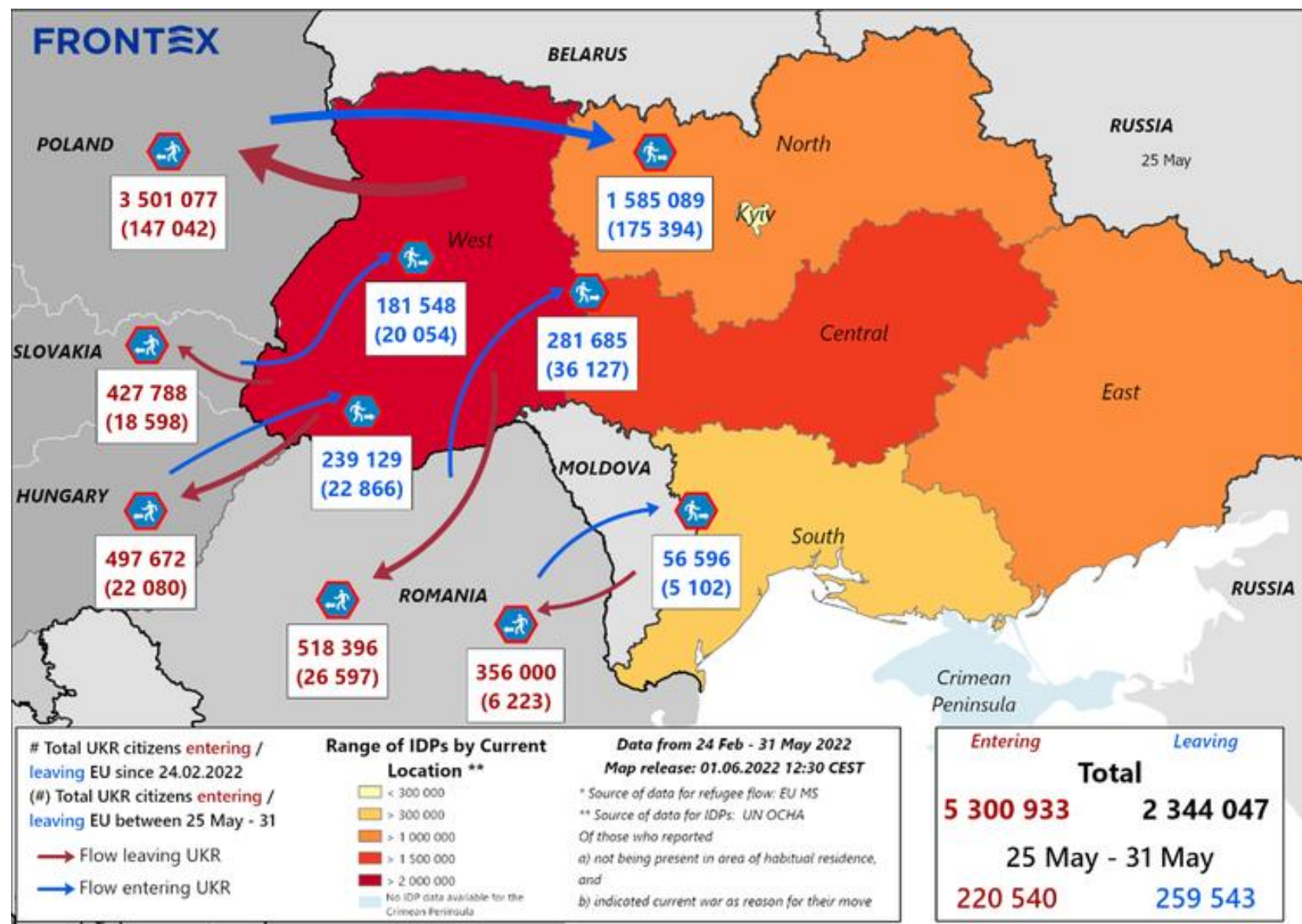
EU aid to Ukraine

Since the start of Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine, the EU has made available close to **€108 billion** in financial, humanitarian, and military assistance to Ukraine and to cater for Ukrainians' needs in the EU.

A breakdown of this support is provided here:



Forced migration to the EU



EU and post-war reconstruction of Ukraine

The Ukrainian Recovery Plan presented in Lugano proposes the reconstruction of Ukraine. Since receiving a candidate status, Ukraine is one step further on its course to membership in the European Union.

- the costs of the possible rebuilding and recovery are estimated to exceed even those of the Marshall Plan: the Ukrainian government recently expected the recovery costs to go up to \$1 trillion. It has been already advised that the Marshall Plan-type assistance to post-war Ukraine should consist mostly of grants and, additionally, favourable loans.
- Two important milestones happened so far. Ukraine received an EU candidacy status in June 2022, while it presented its own proposal for post-war recovery at the Lugano conference in July 2023.
- Ukraine will now have to manage two simultaneous tasks: fulfilling accession criteria and undergoing post-war reconstruction. In Lugano, EU representatives simultaneously committed to organizing the broader international efforts in assisting Ukraine. The EU has thus not only committed to showing solidarity but also positioned itself into bringing the two strategic aims into a mutual complementarity.

