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## **The Threats and Opportunities of Crisis on Ukraine's Accession to the EU**

The paper aims at analyzing not only the positive aspects of Ukraine's accession to the European Union, but also highlights the threats and opportunities of the crisis in different areas of the state because of deficiencies that exist in this integration association. We characterize the possible challenges that will face the Ukrainian government in the further integration of the EU.

It was found a list of obstacles to Ukraine's European integration, namely the adaptation of Ukrainian legislation to EU standards, electoral, judicial and economic reforms, the introduction of the euro, the access of Ukrainian exporters in the EU market, problems in education, the problem of borders with the Russian Federation and the annexation of Crimea, the problem of the population of our country at the level of the size of the territory and GDP, etc. Also it's highlighted the number of not less important factors of Ukraine's protracted joining the European Union: the high level of corruption, "no identity" of the Ukrainian people, harmonization of foreign and defense policy and a common security policy, economic disparity, but rather backwardness from the "union of elite nations", specializing mainly in the production of intermediate industrial products, etc.

**Key words:** threats, crisis of entry, problems, Ukraine, EU, corruption, backwardness, integration, reforms, integration association.

**The formulation of scientific problem and its purpose.** Being objective, we should take into account not only the positive aspects of Ukraine's accession to the European Union, but also to analyze the threats and opportunities of the crisis because of deficiencies that exist in this integration association. Defining the concept of foreign policy, the Ukrainian government should focus not only on the benefits of EU integration, but also to develop a line of future behavior, given the possible threats.

With all the expressions of support and solidarity from European politicians, there are many obstacles to Ukraine's European integration, let alone full-fledged membership in the EU. The lion's share of problems refers to the ability and desire of Ukraine to carry out the difficult electoral, judicial and economic reforms. It should not only bring its legislation into line with EU norms, but also demonstrate the ability to translate it into reality. The biggest obstacle – is the tension prevailing in the EU, and a widespread feeling of "enlargement fatigue".

**Thema in material and justification of the study.** The first threat is likely to face Ukraine is the fact that the EU – a "union of elite nations" and adapt Ukraine to them and be at the same level for our country will be extremely difficult. It may also be an issue of monetary system: the transition to the euro will complicate Ukraine intrastate market economy and may cause dissatisfaction of the people of "displacement of the currency" process.

Among other problems should be allocated the opportunity of Ukraine encumbrance by crisis which is taking place in the EU. At this stage, the EU is experiencing an economic and political crisis that has arose since 2008 against the backdrop of global crisis processes. During the introduction of the euro in the euro zone there were states with different types of economies [4]. At that time, member states were not prepared for the creation of supranational institutions of economic management. Institutional incomplete common economic space created disparity in the economic development of European countries. Thus, to the difficult economic situation in Ukraine can become critical and cast doubt on the question of the possibility of entering the country from the crisis.

Among the current trends of easier access of Ukrainian exporters to EU markets should be the expansion of Ukraine to the EU Generalized System of Preferences and reduce the use of it all sorts of restrictive procedures - quotas, licensing, anti-dumping investigations [1].

In this regard, we have to emphasize on the need for substantial progress in Ukraine's access to the European market of high-tech products. A typical example of the lack of progress in this area was the refusal of some leading EU member states from Ukrainian cargo aircraft AN-70 [2], despite the obvious advantages over its European counterparts as the technical level and price.

The Constitution of Ukraine recognizes adaptation of Ukraine's legislation to EU that makes accession difficult (Ukrainian legislation and compliance is not identified with the EU legislation); the problem of

“Copenhagen criteria” compliance in Ukraine; the principle of “rule of law” cannot adapt to our country, because it is recognized as a social, that paradoxical and impossible; the EU probability of using Ukraine as a puppet in the relationship.

Problems with the educational system, which has retained the Soviet hue and implement the reform will be difficult; lack of consensus on the European choice among the population, and the level of public institutions; the problem of the border with Russia, which has historical aspects; the problem of non-aligned state policy [5].

After the entry of Ukraine into the European Union might appear a problem with export goods to EU countries. The reason for this is the high competition in the European market of food and industrial goods. Ukraine could remain without removing the chance of their products on the European market due to outdated technologies and equipment in enterprises. In addition, the Ukrainian products can never enter the European markets due to high product requirements put forward by the EU. The EU is not very interested in the end product made in Ukraine. Instead, the Ukrainians will get only expensive European products.

Ukraine needs the EU as a source of cheap raw materials, labor and market products with low quality. Ukrainian products are uncompetitive, so we can only offer semi commodities or goods of low value-added manufacturing industries, but not machines and equipment that can make a worthy competition to European production.

In addition, the industry in Ukraine is doomed to failure. Outdated production structure does not meet European. In the past, our country specialized mainly in the production of intermediate industrial products, while the production of final goods were outside the country. This fact influenced the fact that the share of finished products that Ukraine exports is extremely low.

Ukraine’s foreign trade with the EU is not yet decisive for European integration, and its effectiveness – rather low and unbalanced. The inadequacy of the Agreement on free trade between the EU and Ukraine can lead to further imbalance in foreign trade and growing negative balance for Ukraine. The introduction of the Customs Union increased import duties for Ukraine is not offset by the partial liberalization of trade with the EU, which could increase the total loss of Ukraine in foreign trade.

There are some obstacles to EU enlargement, generated by consensus in decision making. One of the problems for future membership in the EU is to reduce support for the future expansion of the existing EU member states. European citizens, especially from countries that joined the EU earlier, increasingly wary of the costs and risks incurred further expansion. Opinion polls since 2009 show that most consistently oppose further EU enlargement. Accordingly, against expansion acts the majority in some key EU countries: 76 % – in Austria, 70 % – in France, 69 % – in Germany, 65 % – in Finland, 64 % – in the Netherlands and Luxembourg [10]. Similar and survey results indicate national sociological services in Austria, France, Germany and the UK, with most respondents reject not only against the idea of expansion in general, but against the Ukraine and the EU in particular (This is confirmed by a referendum in the Netherlands).

Although many countries that recently joined the EU, the vast majority in favor of further enlargement, the prospect that dissatisfaction within the EU as a whole – a serious problem for Ukraine. Admission of new members is impossible without the unanimous approval by all current members of the Union. It is difficult to imagine that the political elite of the country where the majority of the population opposes (and which contribute to the EU budget than getting out of it), act for the adoption of the new state.

Considering how uncertain is the prospect of EU membership of has already endorsed candidates of the small Balkan countries (Montenegro, Macedonia), the potential EU membership of a large, poor country like Ukraine, which has not even candidate status is almost unreal. Public opinion indicates that Europeans are more inclined to support small and wealthy member states such as Iceland than accept poor countries (Iceland per capita GDP exceeds the same indicator of the EU).

European Union since the early 1990 sheld a rather passive policy regarding Kyiv focused on the “first wave” of enlargement (Poland, Hungary, Slovenia, Czech Republic, Estonia), and then – in the Balkan crisis. Europe supposedly trying to show their interest in Ukraine actually kept it at a distance, avoiding further convergence. The approach of the EU to our country was in the actual refusal latter not only in legitimate but even associate membership. Ukraine, in fact, was pushed for joining the zone of Moscow influence. The arguments regarding the revival of Eurasian political power are not kept on any European officials impression. Even more, that trend intensified after the EU enlargement in 2004, when Brussels began to be considered changes in Central Europe as final [3].

Heightened relation to price of expansion against the background of recent financial injections for the withdrawal the EU countries from the crisis is of particular importance for Ukraine. It is much poorer and far more than any candidate country (except Turkey). The cumulative EU population is slightly more than 500 million, while Ukraine's population exceeds 45 million. Croatia, the last country to join the EU (2013), has a population of slightly more than 4 million. Macedonia and Montenegro, the current candidate countries, has along with a little over 2,5 million inhabitants. One of the countries that joined the EU recently, comparable in size to the Ukraine – is Poland, whose population is 38 million inhabitants. The only candidate country whose population exceeds the population of Ukraine is Turkey (71 m.), but, as in Poland, its GDP per capita is more than two times higher than Ukraine. In any case, the long path traveled by Turkey towards candidate status in the EU is unlikely to Ukrainian desire to repeat it.

Of course, the integration of Ukraine into the EU can be costly for the latter due to the economy of our country. Ukraine is much poorer than Bulgaria, the poorest EU member. According to the World Bank in 2013 (before the crisis), Ukraine's GDP per capita was US \$ 3,900, slightly more than half (53 %) of the Bulgarian index (7340 US dollars). Ukraine's GDP per capita is slightly above one-tenth (11 %) of European average (34,240 US dollars). For comparison – Croatia's GDP per capita is almost equal to the Polish index (13520 US dollars) and more than in Turkey – the largest candidate country (10,945 US dollars) [6].

It is worth noting the growth of “low tide” of Ukrainian scientists and qualified professionals of the most promising areas of science and technology to the Member States. And it happens without affordable access of leading Ukrainian scientific organizations to relevant scientific and technical programs of the EU. Of course, this asymmetry in the relationship cannot satisfy Ukraine.

The true test of a strategic partnership proclaimed by Ukraine and the EU will be the further EU policy in development of the European gas transmission network.

The stereotypes of the Ukrainians may be the cause of discrimination against them; problem is the threat of “no identity” Ukrainian people; outdated technology can deprive Ukraine the chance to sell different products; problem of decision making is not in Kyiv but in Brussels that can cause resentment of Ukrainian people; the problem of worsening relations with our largest goods consumer – Russia [4].

Prospects for European integration of Ukraine also associated with serious legal and political problems. The EU regularly expresses its concern about the high level of Ukrainian corruption and pushing for reform of judicial and electoral systems. Political and economic corruption remains the biggest challenge for EU officials, mindful of the expansion in 2007, when the EU adopted Bulgaria and Romania.

In the EU countries is a growing sense that EU leaders hastened with the Romania and Bulgaria adoption – countries which even after accession continue suffering from high levels of corruption. As the former European Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighborhood Policy Stefan Fule, “Acceptance of Romania and Bulgaria spawned many questions about the reliability of the whole process of enlargement. For the first time the EU decided to establish a special mechanism for cooperation and verification of the current Member States. The biggest challenge is to restore confidence in the enlargement process. This matter forces us to increase and enhance the conditions of admission” [7].

If this view does not change and accession of Bulgaria and Romania will continue to be perceived as hasty and problematic step, the idea of the adoption of Ukraine will be perceived skeptical. Although these figures are difficult to calculate, by estimated that corruption in Ukraine is much higher than in Bulgaria and Romania. For example, according to the report “Transparency International” for 2015 index “Perception of Corruption” Ukraine is on the 130<sup>th</sup> place with 167 countries included in the list, while Romania and Bulgaria occupy respectively 58<sup>th</sup> and 69<sup>th</sup> (Ukraine was even lower than Russia which occupies the 119<sup>th</sup> place).

A major obstacle to Ukraine's joining the EU is the issue of territorial integrity. Ukraine must comply with common EU legislation relating to foreign and defense policy and security policy. To fulfill this requirement Ukraine should harmonize their policies in these areas according to political declarations and agreements of the EU. In particular, a Member State “should be able to hold a dialogue within the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) for taking steps in accordance with the Community to participate in the actions of the EU and coordinated application of sanctions and restrictive measures” [8].

For Ukraine, this is a particular problem, and it is not easy to assume the obligations under the provisions of the security and defense against the backdrop of the Russian occupation of Crimea. Similarly, a condition for future EU membership is to solve border disputes. It is unclear when the border Ukraine will

be fully controlled by our state as separatist tendencies in eastern Ukraine are left active, and uncertainty about the status of Crimea remains. If Ukraine not abandon from Crimea to Russia or Russia will not remove its claims to the peninsula and go with it, Ukraine will not be able to fulfill one of the main conditions for the commencement of direct negotiations on EU membership.

**Conclusions.** Thus, given the population of Ukraine, the quality of management system, the state of the rule of law, the problem of corruption, the level of economic development as well as problems with territorial integrity, it is unlikely that the EU will cut a path that Ukraine will have to go for joining the organization. Even in the absence of current problems Ukraine faces would be on the way of significant obstacles, given that that Member States further enlargement enthusiasm does not cause, and through procedural and structural barriers that exist at European level.

Summing up all the above, we can say that at this stage the development of Ukrainian society and determine of foreign policy objectives define the laws of the modern world system development, including globalization. Therefore, in extraordinary growth of external influences of European Union in economic, social, cultural and political life of Ukrainian society, it is important to analyze all aspects of the issue, both positive and negative, to avoid crises in the future and the development of behavioral strategies in accordance with the paradoxes and challenges globalization.

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**Гич Іван, Вознюк Євгенія.** **Загрози й можливості кризи від вступу України до ЄС.** Проаналізовано не лише позитивні сторони вступу України до Європейського Союзу, а й висвітлено загрози та можливості кризи в різних сферах діяльності держави через недоліки, які існують у цьому інтеграційному об'єднанні. Схарактеризовано можливі виклики, що постануть перед українським урядом під час подальшої інтеграції до ЄС. З'ясовано перелік перешкод на шляху євроінтеграції України, а саме: адаптація українського законодавства до норм ЄС, виборчі, судові й економічні реформи, запровадження євро, доступ українських експортерів на ринки ЄС, проблеми в освітній сфері, проблема кордону з Російською Федерацією й анексією Криму, проблема кількості населення нашої держави на рівні з розмірами території та ВВП тощо. Виділено низку не менш важливих чинників затяжного вступу України до Європейського Союзу: високий рівень корупції, «неідентичність» українського народу, гармонізація зовнішньої, оборонної політики та спільної політики безпеки, економічна невідповідність, а радше відсталість від «союзу елітних держав», спеціалізація переважно на випуску проміжної промислової продукції тощо.

**Ключові слова:** загрози, криза вступу, проблеми, Україна, ЄС, корупція, відсталість, інтеграція, реформи, інтеграційне об'єднання.

**Гыч Иван, Вознюк Евгения.** **Угрозы и возможности кризиса от вступления Украины в ЕС.** Проанализированы не только положительные стороны вступления Украины в Европейский Союз, но и освещены угрозы и возможности кризиса в различных сферах деятельности государства из-за недостатков, которые су-

ществуют в данном интеграционном объединении. Охарактеризованы возможные вызовы, которые встанут перед украинским правительством в ходе дальнейшей интеграции в ЕС. Выяснено перечень препятствий на пути евроинтеграции Украины, а именно: адаптация украинского законодательства к нормам ЕС, избирательные, судебные и экономические реформы, введение евро, доступ украинских экспортеров на рынки ЕС, проблемы в образовательной сфере, проблема границы с Российской Федерацией и аннексией Крыма, проблема количества населения Украины на уровне с размерами территории и ВВП и др. Выделен ряд не менее важных факторов затяжного вступления Украины в Европейский Союз: высокий уровень коррупции, «неидентичность» украинского народа, гармонизация внешней, оборонной политики и общей политики безопасности, экономическое несоответствие, а скорее отсталость от «союза элитных государств», специализация в основном на выпуске промежуточной промышленной продукции и др.

**Ключевые слова:** угрозы, кризис вступления, проблемы, Украина, ЕС, коррупция, отсталость, интеграция, реформы, интеграционное объединение.

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**Кан Ден Сик**

### **Наступит ли смена лидера мирового порядка?**

В статье идет речь о создании нового мирового порядка, лидерами которого являются США и Китай. Изложен авторский взгляд на ослабление позиции нынешнего лидера США и усиление позиций Китая, анализируются причины данного явления. Подробно описывается история становления США как лидера мирового порядка, негативные результаты доктрины Буша и начала падения рейтинга США на мировой арене. Также описываются причины роста антиамериканских настроений во многих странах мира, подход Китая к лидерским позициям и обострение конкуренции за лидерские позиции между США и Китаем, вероятность удержания США позиции единоличного лидера, наступления эры тандемного правления США – Китай или же становления Китая как единоличного лидера в ближайшее время. Как бы ни было, а лидер будет, и в этой ситуации подходящую стратегию должна выбрать Южная Корея, чтобы благополучно решить проблему объединения Кореи.

**Ключевые слова:** мировой порядок, террористические события, Иракская война, внешнеполитический курс США, антиамериканские настроения, мировой валютный кризис.

**Постановка научной проблемы и её значение.** То, что сегодня мир лихорадит и он находится в состоянии неопределенности, ни у кого не вызывает сомнений. Ускоренными темпами идет системная трансформация мирового порядка. Нарушились все представления о безопасности, установленные после биполярного и монополярного периодов. Многие ученые даже говорят о реальной угрозе одной из самых значащих тенденций современного мира – глобализации. На Давосском форуме 2017 г. эта тема была одной из доминирующих. Однако многие ученые считают, что глобализационный процесс находится в состоянии кризиса. Об этом говорят такие факты, как Brexit, выход США из соглашения о Транстихоокеанском партнерстве, усиление имущественной дифференциации и т. д. Приход к власти Дуарте на Филиппинах, Трампа в США – яркое свидетельство того, что мир непредсказуем, и поэтому многие страны с опаской и любопытством следят за действием новой администрации США. Да и Европа в 2017 г. готовится к многочисленным выборам. И неизвестно, какие силы придут к власти и, соответственно, в какую сторону повернется стратегический курс Европейского сообщества. Также неизвестно, кто может сегодня умерить геополитическую булимия России.

**Анализ исследований этой проблемы.** Многих аналитиков беспокоит вопрос: останется ли США мировым лидером, хватит ли сил и средств, чтобы по-прежнему выполнять функции мирового полицейского? А может, наступит эра правления тандема США–Китай, а может, Китай уже готов выступить единоличным лидером?