UKRAINE ON THE WAY TO THE EU: REALITIES AND PROSPECTS
(PROJECT SUMMARY)

The deliverables of this project implemented by Razumkov Centre with support from Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Ukraine include a policy paper, a national-wide and an expert polls, a series of interviews (a remote Round-table) with representatives of the authorities and independent experts, as well as a number or articles on different aspects of the Ukraine-EU relations.

The materials of this survey are briefly presented below.

1. UKRAINE ON THE WAY TO THE EU: REALITIES AND PROSPECTS

The Ukrainian experience of European integration in the conditions of war is unique. The country resisting the large-scale armed Russian aggression, suffering huge human, financial and economic losses, acquired the status of a candidate for accession to the EU, continues European integration, deepens partnership with the EU in different sectors, implements recommendations of the European Commission and introduces provisions of the Agreement of Association into practice. The beginning of negotiations on accession to the EU, further implementation of pro-European reforms in different areas, adaptation to the European Union acquis, etc. are to follow.

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1 The Policy Paper collaborative writing team:
1.1. Experience and specificity of European integration in wartime

The factors influencing the pace and specificity of Ukraine’s movement to the EU include:

- Dangerous permanent turbulence of geopolitical and geoeconomic processes, on the one hand, conditioned by the acute confrontation between the West and Russia caused by the Kremlin aggression in Ukraine, on the other — by a more global confrontation between the democratic civilised world and authoritarian regimes. Ukraine appeared in the focus of confrontation of global powers on the European continent.

- During the war Ukraine sustained unprecedented human, financial and economic losses. The aggressor country is pursuing a policy of the total genocide and physical extermination of the Ukrainian nation. Kyiv has to concentrate enormous resources to counter the Kremlin aggression, which cannot but influence its movement to the EU.

- The Russo-Ukrainian war: a) proved the readiness of the Ukrainians to defend independence of their country, the European path of its development; b) united the Ukrainian nation, enhanced public support for the movement to the EU and pro-European self-identification of citizens; c) intensified bilateral processes of European integration and changed the quality of the Brussels’ policy in relations with Ukraine.

- Unfavourable factors include complication of the internal socio-economic situation in Europe, including due to the Russian energy and nuclear blackmail. The migration load is

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2 Almost 7 thousand civilians have died since the beginning of the war in Ukraine — UN. Ukrayinska Pravda, December 28, 2022, https://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2022/12/28/7382634/ (in Ukrainian)

3 The United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights more than once stressed that the real figures of killed civilians are much higher, since information from the places of intense hostilities comes late, and many reports of deaths are still being verified.


6 It should be added that during the previous six years of the war 13 thousand people died in Donbas, over 30 thousand were injured.


9 See more details about the Ukrainian ecosystem losses in the second part of this paper.

10 Before the year end, losses caused by the war to the Ukrainian economy will double to hit $700 billion — Shmyhal. Interfax Ukraine, 13 December 2022 - https://interfax.com.ua/news/economic/878120.html (in Ukrainian)
growing, social stratification persists, complex inter-ethnic problems require solution, first of all, on the Balkans. Meanwhile, the Russian hybrid expansion to the EU prompts activation of extreme right and populist movements, growth of European scepticism and pursues the ultimate goal of destabilisation and collapse of the European Union. The war also actualised a chronic problem of the EU — the existing consensus mechanism, which hinders adoption of important decisions, including in foreign policy.

✓ The war somewhat cast aside a number of problematic for Ukraine internal issues, such as the improvement of the efficiency of the state authorities, protection of human rights and freedoms, the slow pace of reforms in separate sectors, problems of the judicial reform and fighting corruption, etc. These problems remain on the agenda and will actualise with transition to the new stage of the European integration.

✓ The stable high support for the movement to the EU in Ukrainian society gives the authorities a free hand for active and maybe not always popular actions and initiatives in the European domain. This situation, in particular, the enthusiasm in society caused by the candidate status, should be used with utmost effectiveness for optimisation of the European integration processes in Ukraine.

United Europe demonstrated steadfast support for Ukraine fighting the aggressor. With time, a new quality of the Ukraine-EU strategic partnership emerged, its main element being joint countering the Russian armed intervention. The EU provides political and diplomatic support, military-technological, financial, economic, humanitarian assistance to Ukraine. Representatives of the EU countries support and second pro-Ukrainian resolutions and decisions at the UN General Assembly, in PACE, OSCE, IAEA, G7, G20, BSEC, work for political isolation of Moscow, propagate international recognition of Russia as a sponsor of terrorism. The EU sanctions policy with respect to Russia is maintained and strengthened.

Branch cooperation is a productive way to ensure internal stability in the conditions of an all-out war and a versatile tool of access to the EU internal market. Some basic sectors should become the «engines» of domestic reforms and produce rapid results.

✓ **Energy sector.** Against the backdrop of missile attacks of the aggressor country that ruined nearly 40% of the Ukrainian energy system, assistance and deepening of partnership with the EU in the energy sector acquires particular importance. Participation of European partners in restoration and modernisation of its energy system on the basis of advanced technologies, further integration in the European networks are also important for Ukraine. According to governmental assessments, Ukraine needs nearly $1 billion for prompt restoration of critical infrastructure, provision of electricity and heat supply for consumers.
The EU proved its ability to withstand the Russian gas blackmail and worked out a coordination mechanism to support Ukraine with repair and restoration of its energy facilities. Meanwhile, in wartime, issues of growth of energy efficiency, revival of the sector of renewable energy sources, creation of the hydrogen industry, countering climate change, reduction of greenhouse gas emission, etc. came to the forefront in the Ukraine-EU relations. The priorities here include participation in the implementation of the European Green Deal.

✓ **Transport.** During the war, this sector also sustained huge losses. Hostilities and occupation of some regions of the country complicate operation of the transportation system: transportation of both passengers and cargoes declined. The war has ruined the plans to increase road construction volumes. Ukrainian seaports, used to export the bulk of the Ukrainian food products, stayed blockaded for a long time.

✓ This sector is of key importance for restoration of Ukraine’s economic potential, its further movement to the EU. The transport sector faces the task of restoration of the ruined infrastructure and integration of the Ukrainian transportation system with the European.

✓ **Digitalisation.** Successful digitalisation of Ukraine opens up European strategic prospects. Ukraine achieved noticeable progress in large-scale digitalisation of the system of services and governance at the national and local levels. The system of e-governance was expanded. Diya portal gained popularity, providing a tool for citizens’ communication with the government – the number of its visitors increased from 2.5 million in 2020 to over 12 million in 2021.

✓ Progress of online access to public information and open data deserves mention. Rapid development of digital technologies in Ukraine streamlined access of businesses to foreign markets, helped modernise equipment, optimise management processes. Digitalisation has become an important factor of economic development.

✓ Ukraine implemented a number of important steps: a) it achieved progress in harmonisation of the legislation with the European norms of state regulation of electronic communications; b) steps were made for mutual recognition of electronic thrust services with the EU; c) within the framework of the EU4DigitalUA project, development of the Unified State Electronic System of Document Licensing e-Permit was started, to digitise licensing and permitting procedures.

✓ The EU promotes digitalisation in Ukraine, in particular, through the EU technical assistance project «Support to Ukraine’s Digital Policy» and within the framework of the Digital Europe programme, being an element of «digital visa-free procedures» with the EU. Brussels helps to ensure stability and development of the Ukrainian Internet sector in wartime through the deepening of partnership in the field of digitalisation and by promoting cooperation in the field of security –target actions and measures aimed at enhancement of Ukraine’s cyber defence.

✓ **Environmental protection.** Environmental protection is a priority of Ukraine’s European integration and a strategic task of its post-war recovery. The Russian aggression inflicted huge damage and losses to the Ukrainian ecosystem. The war slowed down implementation of Kyiv’s obligations in the field of environmental protection but has not changed its green European course and recovery of the national economy in line with the principles of sustainable development.

✓ Ukraine’s «environmental gains» include a number of important legislative acts, measures and specific initiatives. In particular: a) the Strategy of Environmental Safety and adaptation to climate change through 2030 entered into effect; b) a package of environmental laws was adopted; c) the Marine Nature Conservation Strategy through 2034 was approved; d) the forestry reform was launched; e) digitalisation of the environmental sector was started, with the launch of the EcoSystem web portal; f) development of the Strategy of Low-Carbon Development of Ukraine through 2050 goes on.

Development of partnership with the EU, involvement in the relevant nature conservation programmes present efficient means for overcoming the effects of the Russian aggression and recovery of the damaged natural ecosystems.
1.3. A new stage of the movement to the EU: the candidate status and prospects of European integration

The status of a candidate for accession to the EU marks the completion of the long period of uncertainty in the relations of Kyiv and Brussels, starts a qualitatively new stage of European integration, opens up real European integration prospects for Ukraine. This status will facilitate: a) access to the EU internal market; b) loans and grants for reforms via special instruments; c) access to other special EU funds and programmes; d) growth of investment attractiveness.

On the one hand, the candidate status is an act of strategic solidarity of the EU with our country and a unifying factor for the European Union, on the other — a weighty moral and psychological incentive for Ukrainians, fighting for their European choice.

Ukraine continues to implement the Agreement of Association and achieved noticeable progress in a number of areas. Progress in the field of public procurements, access to the European market and minimisation of technical barriers in trade deserves mention. There are gains in the customs sector — Ukraine joined the EU Convention on Common Transit and the Convention on the simplification of formalities in trade in goods. Signing of the Ukraine–EU agreement of mutual recognition of the status of an authorised economic operator is to follow. Meanwhile, the war complicated the introduction of «visa-free industry». By and large, according to assessments made by governmental representatives, Ukraine met its obligations under the Agreement of Association by almost 70%.

The current priorities of the European integration include the start of a new stage of movement to the EU — negotiations on accession, related with the fulfilment of the relevant recommendations the European Commission. Some results of implementation of these recommendations are briefly presented in the Table below.

Therefore, Ukraine’s progress in the areas determined by the European Commission deserves attention and appraisal. Further tasks include the Commission’s assessment and creation of political, institutional, organisational conditions for the beginning of the negotiations on accession.

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<th>SOME MEASURES AT FULFILMENT OF RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION (as of December 2022)</th>
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Assessing the nearest prospects, one should note the Ukrainian authorities’ disposition to soonest completion of formal procedures and beginning of negotiations on accession. It may be suggested that official Kyiv hopes for a breakthrough in the European integration at the Ukraine-EU summit planned for the 3rd of February, 2023.

The EU leadership currently plans to officially assess Ukraine’s performance of its «homework» in the fall of 2023. Meanwhile, given the current internal and external circumstances, it will be uneasy for the EU leaders to arrive at a consensus on the beginning of negotiations on accession with Ukraine.

So, according to an optimistic scenario, negotiations on accession to the EU may (but not definitely will) start in 2023. Another term is the beginning of 2024. Apparently, this subject will be in the focus of the dialogue between Kyiv and Brussels in 2023.

The experience of the European integration proves that the success of movement to the EU in the first place will be determined by the efficient pro-European reforms in different domains and full-scale adaptation to the European Union acquis.

1.4. Proposals and recommendations

The paper describes measures and initiatives aimed at intensification of cooperation between Ukraine and the EU in different sectors and further movement of Ukraine to the European community.

Security. Recommendations in this area focus on: a) strengthening military-technological cooperation with the EU countries to ensure prompt and regular supply of arms to Ukraine; b) better coordination and planning of further actions of the EU, Ukraine and other international partners in the field of security at the bilateral and multilateral level; c) development of partnership in the defence industry to accelerate the transition of Ukraine’s security system to the NATO standards.

Political and legal sector. Emphasis is made on furtherance of domestic reforms outlined in the European Commission recommendations and creation of conditions for the beginning of negotiations about the accession to the EU. In particular, it goes about the completion of selection of the Constitutional Court judges, efficient work of the judicial bodies (the High Council of Justice and the High Qualification Commission of Judges) and the system of anti-corruption institutions. Also, a number of legislative changes is proposed for improvement of the governmental policy of European integration, its openness and transparency.

Economy. Emphasis is made on priority measures at the Ukrainian business integration in the EU internal market (e.g., Ukraine’s accession to the European roaming). Implementation of the Agreement of Association, including active introduction of European standards in the Ukrainian economy, is to follow. The key lines here include the recovery of the Ukrainian economy, further institutional deepening and development of Ukraine’s integration in the key areas of interaction with the EU, such as energy, industry, aviation, digitalisation, agriculture, transportation, migration. Meanwhile, there is an urgent need to ensure sufficient regular financial support for Ukraine from the EU and its member states in the form of grants and loans.

Energy sector. The priorities include implementation, jointly with European partners, of the REPowerUkraine initiative to ensure power supply and recovery of the Ukrainian energy sector. It is important to launch a European target assistance programme to promote the energy system integration with ENTSO-E and ENTSO-G, increase investments in gas extraction and underground storages, energy efficiency, support creation of supply chains and construction of new generating capacities. This will make it possible to reformat Ukraine’s energy sector within the framework of the European Green Deal.
**Transport.** This sector faces two urgent tasks. The first one is to build up internal and external resources for restoration of the damaged/ruined transport infrastructure on the basis of advanced European and world technologies and practices. The second is one-time integration of the Ukrainian transportation system in the European, presuming compatibility of the transportation systems of Ukraine and the EU through implementation of directives and technical regulations of the European Union, removal of administrative and technical obstacles, modernisation of technical equipment, integration of the infrastructure of all modes of transport, expansion of cooperation with European transport agencies.

**Digitalisation.** It makes sense to concentrate efforts on the following: a) to speed up creation of the national system of calculations and further digitalisation of economic processes involving the government, business and the public; b) to ensure further adaptation of the legislation on digitalisation to the norms and requirements of the European digital market, first of all, regarding electronic identification and transactions, payment systems and electronic payments, protection of intellectual property rights, cyber security, etc; c) to continue introduction of the system of e-governance and improve its functioning with account of the best European practices; d) to ensure technical feasibility and compatibility of the national systems of electronic signature identification with the European; e) to promote growth of investments in the sector of information and communication technologies through optimisation of the system of state funding and encouragement of business to build up investments.

**Environmental protection.** The following lines of activity in this sector are singled out: a) to provide for the development and adoption of urgent regulatory-legal acts, in particular, the Law «On the Strategy of Low-Carbon Development of Ukraine through 2050», a package of branch laws on chemical safety, waste management, obligation of enterprises to observe environmental norms in business, etc.; b) to encourage domestic industrial enterprises whose activity in wartime aims to enhance the environmental friendliness of production; c) to implement processes of digitalisation in the field of environmental protection; d) to step up cooperation between the EU and Ukraine in the field of scientific research and exchange of information about green technologies and innovations.

The mentioned measures and initiatives relate to critical lines of Ukraine’s European integration, important for internal stability and development of the country in wartime.

2. **PUBLIC OPINION POLL RESULTS**

As part of the project, Razumkov Centre supported by Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Ukraine conducted national-wide and expert polls. The summary results of the project are presented below.

**People’s thoughts and assessments of the state and prospects of European integration**

- In the previous years, sceptical assessments of the Ukraine–EU relations steadily prevailed — people mainly termed them as unstable. However, in September 2022, the majority (54%) called the relations of Kyiv and Brussels «good», a third (33%) — «unstable». 2% of those polled described them as «bad».
- Citizens generally positively assess the European integration policy of the Ukrainian authorities («positively» — 22%, «rather, positively» — 42%). Negative assessments in total make 16%.
- Those polled noted the following benefits of the candidate status: prospects of

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11 The national-wide public opinion poll was held by the Razumkov Centre Sociological Service held on September 22 — October 1, 2022, in all the regions of Ukraine, except the Crimea and the occupied territories of Donetsk, Luhansk, Kherson regions (in Zaporizhia, Mykolaiv, Kharkiv regions — only in the territories controlled by the Ukrainian government and free of hostilities). 2 021 respondents aged above 18 years were polled. The sample theoretical error does not exceed 2.3%. Meanwhile, additional systemic deviations of the sample may be caused by the effects of the Russian aggression, including forced evacuation of millions of citizens.

The expert poll was held on October 14 — November 1, 2022. 112 experts representing the concerned ministries and agencies, regional authorities, governmental and non-governmental think tanks, higher educational establishments, independent experts, public figures, scholars were polled in different regions of Ukraine and the city of Kyiv.
accession to the EU (51%), the possibility of using special EU financial programmes (35%). This status also gives a moral incentive (32%) and contributes to acceleration of pro-European reforms in Ukraine (26%). In turn, 66% of citizens are sure that a new stage of European integration in the candidate status will in one or another way contribute to more efficient solution of domestic problems.

✓ According to those polled, the European integration is most of all hindered by: the all-out Russian aggression (67%), Ukrainian domestic problems (61%), poor socio-economic development of Ukraine (46%), unpreparedness of the EU for further integration of Ukraine (24%).

✓ Pro-European sentiments in Ukrainian society have grown substantially. Support for integration in the EU increased. While in March, 2021, 59% of citizens believed that Ukraine should join the EU, in September 2022 this opinion was shared by as many as 78%. In the previous period (2005-2021), citizens were more doubtful about their European identity. However, in September 2022, as many as 63% reported feeling like Europeans, while 27% did not.

✓ Ukrainian citizens generally positively assess the EU assistance to Ukraine in countering the Russian aggression. By and large, those polled assessed the efficiency of such support at 3.5 points (in that, 17% considers such support to be very efficient, 3% — entirely inefficient).12

✓ According to respondents, the key lines of the partnership between Kyiv and Brussels should be: security and defence (80%), cooperation in the field of industry and enterprise (54%), energy (49%), and agriculture (45%)13.

✓ By and large, Ukrainians optimistically view the prospects of relations with the EU in the coming years. 57% of those polled is sure that these relations will further improve. They are similarly optimistic about the accession to the EU. 23% of those polled believes that Ukraine will be a member of the EU in 1-3 years, a 28% is sure that it will happen in 3-5 years. 18% expect it to happen in a more distant future, 5-10 years. The share of European sceptics confident that Ukraine will never join the EU makes 5%.

**Expert opinions**

✓ 36% of experts termed the pace of integration in the EU as high, 48% — medium. Only 13% of respondents called the speed of the country movement to the European Union low.

✓ Experts agree with the rest of citizens, seeing the real prospect of accession to the EU as the main gain of the candidate status (56%). However, experts further noted moral incentives (53%), acceleration of pro-European reforms (52%) and the possibility of using special EU financial programmes (48%).

✓ 76% of experts see the main obstacle on the road to the EU in Ukraine’s internal problems, 64% noted the Russian aggression, 50% — unpreparedness of the EU for further integration of Ukraine.

✓ 57% of experts to a lesser or greater extent agree that complication of the socio-economic situation in the EU because of the Russian pressure and blackmail by and large will not slow down the European integration of Ukraine or limit Brussels’ assistance to Kyiv. In their turn, 72% of experts are sure that despite the difficult situation, the EU will not ease sanctions against the aggressor country. Meanwhile, 64% of those polled admit that deterioration of the socio-economic situation in Europe may aggravate contradictions among the EU countries regarding further actions with respect to Ukraine.

✓ Experts assess the EU assistance to Ukrainian refugees at 4.6 points,14 financial, economic, humanitarian assistance — at 4 points, the EU support for reforms in Ukraine — at 3.5 points, the efficiency of sanctions against the aggressor country — 3.3 points, military assistance — 3.3 points.

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12 On a five-point scale from 1 to 5, where «1» means very inefficient support, «5» — very efficient.
13 The poll was held before Russia began its missile strikes at the Ukrainian energy system.
14 On a five-point scale from 1 to 5, where «1» means very inefficient support, «5» — very efficient.
According to experts, among international organisations, the most efficient assistance to Ukraine in its fight with the Russian aggression is provided by the EU — 3.8 points, NATO — 3.5, IAEA — 2.6, UN — 2.4, OSCE — 2.1 points.

86% of experts believe that whereas Ukraine at a huge cost defends its European choice and protects the EU and its future from the Russian aggression, Ukraine’s accession to the EU should be an exceptional priority for Brussels and should take place beyond a «package approach» or the principle of «one basket».

In their turn, 93% of experts are sure that during the future negotiations on Ukraine’s accession to the EU Brussels should use special negotiation procedures, adapt its requirements and recommendations for Ukraine to war and post-war conditions, its needs to resist the aggressor country and restore the ruined infrastructure.

Experts rather optimistically assess the prospects of Ukraine’s accession to the EU. 20% believes that Ukraine will join the EU within 1-3 years. 31% of those polled expect this to happen within 3-5 years, while 37% of respondents are sure that Ukraine needs 5-10 years for accession.

15 On the same assessment scale.