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**EUROPEAN INTEGRATION  
OF UKRAINE: POLITICAL  
AND SECURITY PRACTICES**



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# INTRODUCTION

After gaining independence in 1991, Ukraine gravitated towards the European way of governance and values in its vision of prospects. Europeanness as a civilizational marker is characteristic of Ukraine historically, geographically, and increasingly mentally – to the extent that Ukrainians defended the western vector of the country's development during the Revolution of Dignity, and then on the eastern fronts, repelling Russian military aggression. To harmonize spatial European belonging with the experience of democratic construction, to form an open competitive economy and parity relations with equal political partners – the content of the Europeanization of Ukraine's aspirations to find its place in the international arena.

Despite external resistance and internal speculations, Ukraine has consistently demonstrated its intentions to become part of a united Europe. The policy of European integration as a generalized factor of modernization of socio-political and economic relations in the state is gradually embodied in systemic reforms, adopted strategies, signed bilateral agreements, etc. At the same time, European integration changes require the specification of contents, clear contours of actions, the sequence of which over time results in Ukraine's acquisition of membership in the European Union.

This research is an attempt to outline the concept of "European integration practices" as a functional component of the comprehensive policy of European integration. Practices are specific actions and decisions that are carried out in institutional, diplomatic and extra-institutional directions. According to these criteria, in real time, Ukraine fulfills the terms of the Association Agreement, improves national legislation, harmonizes the environment of relations with neighboring EU member countries, gains experience in democratization and constructive response to today's challenges and risks. Also, Ukraine did not deviate from the fulfillment of its own European obligations in accordance with the chosen course and in the conditions of a full-scale

invasion of Russia, which is the largest war on the European continent since the Second World War.

The purpose of this scientific research is a political analysis of the content, prospects and hypothetical consequences of the implementation of European integration practices in modern Ukraine. The following research tasks are subordinated to the achievement of the indicated goals:

- to find out the theoretical justification of the goals and directions of European integration policy and the corresponding context in Ukrainian political science;
- to investigate the regulatory and legal foundations of the integration process;
- characterize the institutional dimension of European integration policy;
- identify the peculiarities of the policy of EU states regarding the integration course of Ukraine;
- determine the impact of European integration practices on the activities of political parties and the process of building civil society;
- give an assessment of European integration as a factor in the socio-economic development of Ukraine;
- track the specifics of the information and security components of European integration practices in Ukraine.

The scientific hypothesis that determined the logic and structure of the study is based on the factors of interdependence of the European integration of Ukraine and its influence on systemic changes in the institutional superstructure of the state, the development of civil society, and general socio-political stability.

The subject of research is quite broad, because European integration covers all areas of state policy and the extra-institutional dimension of social life. The process of European integration has a systemic nature and consists of elements that are connected by relations of internal determination and consistent dependence. Therefore, it is advisable to use the synergistic method. The systematicity of European integration is evidenced by the differentiated scales and levels of its implementation in the monograph.

The strategic importance of the monograph is due to the Russia's war against Ukraine. The Russian threat is not only a Ukrainian

problem, but also a security challenge for the whole of Europe, therefore consolidation of efforts for joint resistance is an urgent need for EU partners. These arguments actualize the problems of the research, and also emphasize the important directions of modern statehood in Ukraine.



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## **PART 1. THE GENESIS OF THE THEORETICAL SUBSTANTIATION OF THE GOALS AND DIRECTIONS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION POLICY**

European integration, European integration course, European integration reforms, requirements, criteria – all this is a part of modern Ukrainian national policy and a long path that 28 European countries have already passed at one time. The last fact determines the development of a whole layer of theoretical approaches to categorization, definition of goals and directions of European integration policy. Different experiences of both the path and the goals of European integration determined the development and further evolution of European integration theories. Their verification depends on many factors, which are historically dynamic and subject to internal and external conditions.

The research task related to the topic of this chapter of monograph forms a whole series of interconnected theses with corresponding questions: what content is included in the definition of “European integration policy” and is it variable? How are the concepts of “European integration policy”, “European integration course” and “European integration practices” correlated? What theoretical constructs are the object of determining the genesis of the goals and directions of European integration, and is it possible to trace the process embedded in such changes – transformation, development, evolution? What factors determined the specified genesis?

Although the concept of “European integration” appears in various interdisciplinary studies, in the field of international politics, international economic relations, geopolitics and other scientific areas, we focus on its following definitions: European integration is the reaction of European countries to two world wars with the aim of preventing such crises in the future; European integration is a process of ensuring and a system of guarantees of the economic, social and territorial

integrity of the interested participating countries; the process of political, legal, economic, cultural integration of European states within the framework of the European Union, as well as the Council of Europe, which does not exclude fluctuations in the level of interdependence of these states; European integration is a programmatic vision of systemic reforms at the level of the state, which seeks to achieve the level of compliance with the requirements for joining the EU; and finally, European integration is the search for markers of supranational unity and common goals of EU member states.

The American sociologist A. Etzioni considered the concepts of “community” and “integration” in the relations of subject and predicate, where the community is a system with its inherent integration mechanisms, and integration is the ability of the system to restore itself as a result of the influence of internal and external factors.<sup>1</sup> According to A. Etzioni, integration is constructed by such characteristics as “effective control over the use of coercive measures of influence, a single center responsible for making and implementing decisions, a dominant center of unity of the politically active part of the population”.<sup>2</sup>

It is important to see the difference between the evolution of the idea and the history of the unification of Europe. It can be assumed that during the period of the Roman conquests, this is the stage of the emergence of European integration projects. However, knowing the current state of affairs, orientations, principles and positions of the modern European Union, we insist that all acts of conquest up to the era of feudalism were far from the true content of political and economic integration. Religious projects regarding unification, produced mainly by the Catholic Church, can be perceived a little bit differently – in contrast to the territorial and resource motivation of conquests, the theological paradigm always included the factor of common identity.

Approximately from the XIV century. begins the history of the formation of European projects, which, among other things, focused on the strengthening of national statehood, the resolution of the dispute

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<sup>1</sup> Etzioni A. Political unification: a comparative study of leaders and forces. New York: Rinehart. 1965. 346 p., p. 231–341.

<sup>2</sup> Etzioni A. Political unification: a comparative study of leaders and forces. New York: Rinehart. 1965. 346 p., p. 329.

between secular and spiritual authorities, the search for allies and like-minded people in the still rather closed space of interstate relations. We will briefly describe the concepts that were gradually expressed and substantiated by philosophers and statesmen of those times.

The project of the French jurist Pierre Dubois (beginning of the 14th century) consisted in the formation of a “council” with the participation of secular nobility and Catholic princes to prevent conflict situations and joint arbitration – to resolve existing disputes. The purpose of uniting the French feudal lords is contained in the title of the treatise Pierre Dubois “Cessation of wars and disputes in the kingdom of France”.<sup>3</sup> As for Europe’s external contacts, here priority was given to trade with the countries of the East in order to improve the financial situation of European states.

The search for peace formed the basis of the theses of the Italian thinker D. Alighieri, who saw the creation of a universal state – a union of different countries – headed by the Roman emperor, who granted participants a certain level of autonomy, as a guarantee of this peace. The author described the corresponding ideas in the treatise “Monarchy”, where the necessity of the existence of empires as almost the only guarantor of human happiness is substantiated.<sup>4</sup>

The Roman thinker E. Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II) and the Czech governor-reformer J. Podebrad in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century had similar motives for the unification of European states. This was the motive of the common enemy, the Turks, who needed the unity of Europe to oppose them. It is assumed that the unifying element for the Pope was Catholicism, and the so-called “European world” included even Byzantium.<sup>5</sup> After being elected Pope, Piccolomini tried to convene a congress of all European rulers, however, according to researchers, the authority of Pius II was not enough to create a new pan-European institution. J. Podebrad expressed his vision of the conditions for the unification of European states in the work

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<sup>3</sup> Dubois, P. *De la reconquête de la Terre sainte; De l’abrègement des guerres et procès du royaume des Francs* éd. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2019. 189 – 202 p.

<sup>4</sup> Dante Alighieri, *Monarchia.*, ed., Prue Shaw. (Le Opere di Dante Alighieri, 5.) Florence: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 2009. Paper. Pp. xxi, 437

<sup>5</sup> Ле Гофф, Ж. *Рождение Европы.* СПб., 2008. с. 182

“Treatise on the Establishment of Peace in the Christian World”.<sup>6</sup> Like P. Dubois, the treatise structured and described the entire plan for the unification of Europe, and even more so – the charter of the organization of European states, which in the future could transform into a worldwide union.

The concept of „happy France“, which can become such only under the conditions of the unification of Europe, belongs to the authorship of the Minister of Finance under King Henry IV, Duke M. Sully. His “Great Project”, dating from the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, envisaged the creation of a European confederation consisting of 15 equal states, which would be governed by six regional councils with centers in the largest cities of the «union territories». Hierarchically above the councils was the “All-Christian Council” with 40 representatives from each participating state.<sup>7</sup> Although M. Sully’s idea has been subjected to a lot of criticism, it is worth emphasizing because it described for the first time the mechanism of a supranational governing body, the system of which currently balances and organizes the functioning of the European Union.

The Age of Enlightenment was marked by the treatise of the French philosopher and diplomat S. Saint-Pierre “Plan for Perpetual Peace». In search of the origins of European unity, Saint-Pierre finds a number of convincing arguments in favor of a federal system for the countries of Europe. The diplomat considers the continent itself the most successful for establishing and maintaining peace, because the local countries are similar, and therefore can establish a balance and balance of forces in the region.<sup>8</sup> Contemporaries called Saint-Pierre’s idea utopian and far from reality, but now we can say that modern relations between European countries, primarily EU members, are a canonical example of peaceful coexistence. With the same idea of peace, but with a more complex approach to the organizational structure of the union of European states, the English statesman W. Penn described his own vision. He proposed a fully institutionalized system of relations with a voting

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<sup>6</sup> Подебрад, І. Трактат про встановлення миру у світі християнському. Чернігів: Десна Поліграф. 2016. с. 28

<sup>7</sup> Cartou, L. *Communautés européennes*. Paris: Dalloz. 1992. 542 p.

<sup>8</sup> Saint-Pierre, *Projet pour rendre la paix perpetuelle en Europe*, p. 166.

procedure, established quotas, implemented internal mechanisms for overcoming disputes within a united Europe.<sup>9</sup>

Later, already in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. German philosopher Immanuel Kant became an active participant in the discussion about a united Europe, or rather, about the unification of nations. In the paper «To Eternal Peace», the author expressed an opinion about the need to create an institute of citizenship of the united states in the format of a federation. Kant believed that such a configuration of interstate relations would avoid armed conflicts. Hence, the conclusion is to see the united countries as a peace-making goal. The philosopher wrote: “if more or less close communication between the peoples of the Earth has developed everywhere to such an extent that the violation of rights in one place is felt in all others, the idea of the right of universal citizenship is not a fantasy or a bad idea of law, but a necessary addition to the unwritten code of state and international law to public law in general, and therefore to “eternal peace”.<sup>10</sup>

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century federalist sentiments regarding the future of Europe were complemented by the economic context, which had previously been in the shadow of the great project of unification for the sake of peace. We are talking about the idea of the French socialist-utopian Henri de Saint-Simon, where the political basis of federalism is supplemented by the dimension of industrial development in Europe. In the paper “Letters from an Inhabitant of Geneva to His Contemporaries”, H. de Saint-Simon called for the reorganization of the European community in the format of a pan-European meeting called the “Council of Newton”, the councils of the «four sides of humanity» were supposed to act separately: English, French, German and Italian.<sup>11</sup> According to the philosopher, as soon as the elections to the specified councils are held, wars on the territory of Europe will stop.

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<sup>9</sup> Penn, William, *An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe by the Establishment of an European Dyet, Parliament or Estates*, Hildesheim, Georg Olms Verlag, 1983.

<sup>10</sup> Кант, И. *Сочинения на немецком и русском языках*. М.: Ками. 1994. Т. 1. 586 с.

<sup>11</sup> Сен-Симон, А. де. *Избранные сочинения*. Москва-Ленинград: Изд-во АН СССР. 1948. Т. 1. С. 5–85.

Further studies substantiated the expediency of a parliamentary structure in Europe with an elected office of the king and a parliament based on the British model<sup>12</sup>. The king, elected by the deputies of the pan-European parliament, received the function of regulatory authority on the continent.<sup>13</sup> Such a structure did not deny the existence of national parliaments, but the new European Parliament remained the leading institutional link, which also embodied the role of judge in all disputes between national parliaments and governments.

Forecasting the crisis of national states, according to the French researcher Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Europe must enter the era of federalism. Reflecting on “The Principle of Federation”, Proudhon proposed to transform the Europe of individual autonomies into an internal federation, and later into a “federation of federations”.<sup>14</sup> The scientist did not specify the mechanisms of such transformations, the federalization of countries of different cultures and levels of development, the terms of contractual relations, etc., however, as the economic basis of the union, he proposed a common market with free movement of goods, a single currency and a compensatory principle of harmonizing relations between strong and weak members of federations.<sup>15</sup>

The definition «United States of Europe» often mentioned in various concepts also originates from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, although this formulation was sometimes used before, without explaining it. It sounded in the speech of the French writer V. Hugo during the International Peace Congress (Paris 1849): «The United States of Europe and the United States of America will cooperate by shaking hands across the ocean».<sup>16</sup> The characteristics of this entity would be: an imperial or republican form of government, no internal borders and free move-

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<sup>12</sup> Cartou, L. *Communautés européennes*. Paris: Dalloz. 1992. 542 p.

<sup>13</sup> Кучеренко, Г. Сен-Симон и Тьерри: в поисках концепции мирной ассоциации народов. *Новая и новейшая история*. 1974. № 2. С. 42–54.

<sup>14</sup> Шпэт, Л. *Мечта о Европе*. М.: Междунар. отношения, 1993. – С.51.

<sup>15</sup> Пульс Угоди – моніторинг реалізації плану заходів з виконання Угоди про асоціацію. *Євроінтеграційний портал*. URL: <https://pulse.kmu.gov.ua/>– С.45.

<sup>16</sup> Геффернен, М. *Значення Європи. Географія та геополітика*. Київ: Дух і літера. 2011. 464 с. – С. 58–59

ment of residents within them, a common budget, freedom of speech and religion.<sup>17</sup>

Direct steps towards the unification of Europe into a certain political and economic community are observed in the middle of the 20th century after the Second World War. This motivation is based on the thesis of a common European identity and a significant economic potential for the integration of European states. Along with the motivation for association, it is important to understand its purpose – that is, the balance between the questions „why?“ and „for what purpose?“ Among the analyzed assumptions, some of which were either institutionalized or embodied in specific policies, we will highlight the following:

- overcoming the politics of power, which is opposed to trade relations and diplomacy;
- „forging a common destiny“ by forming an „exceptional space of human hope“ in Europe.<sup>18</sup> This wording is contained in the preamble of the European Constitution and represents the non-political superstructure of the mission of finding a common goal for internal and external European integration. European culture, identity, values, heritage, experience may not be of primary importance in the continental discourse, but they are always prioritized in public discussions as an argument in favor of the unquestionable unity of Europe;
- the third statement is indisputable – it is the economy and trade within the open market. In whatever circumstances the formation of a supranational community takes place, at the top of the agenda would be the issue of organizing the conditions and opportunities for a free market – either to optimize production and financial flows, or for advantages in competition with other geopolitical players.

Robert Schumann, one of the ideologists of united Europe, wrote about the pan-European mental changes that took place after the Second World War. «The happy or unhappy fate of one nation cannot leave all other nations indifferent. The thinking European is already deprived of Machiavellian joy at the misfortunes of his neighbor: we share

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<sup>17</sup> Гаджиев, К. *Введение в геополитику*. М.: Логос, 2004. 335 с.

<sup>18</sup> Договір про запровадження Конституції для Європи: Проект. *Законодавство України*. URL: [https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/994\\_647#Text](https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/994_647#Text)

a common fate, so the fortunes and misfortunes of our neighbors now concern everyone... Every European country must instinctively feel its inclusion in common ties and dependencies, because only in this way can Europe defend its interests against hostile coalitions that threaten the entire civilization», wrote R. Shumann.<sup>19</sup> The author also argued for the priority of unifying Europe by disbelief in the effectiveness of the United Nations in confronting global threats.

According to some researchers, it is expedient to talk about European integration through the prism of European identity – its perception, interpretation and existence in general. The French philosopher Rémi Brague called the search for true Europeanness a feature of the entire modern world. The author wrote, “what is unique to Europe should separate it from everything else and unite everything that creates it, concentrating on those elements that were part of the original formula”.<sup>20</sup> There is also an appeal to the leading principle of European civilization, the reproduction of one’s own values in new territories and «self-renewal through the perception of new cultural layers» and «the ability to organically absorb foreign cultural experience without dissolving in it». <sup>21</sup> Researchers of this issue turn to the experience of the Club of Rome in the context of its arbitration role in the confrontation between ancient and Jewish, that is, polytheism and Christianity in the history of European civilization. It is believed that Roman Europe is a relevant alternative to ancient or Jewish Europe. Similarly, according to Karl Jaspers, the socio-cultural principles of the “Roman Peace” (Pax Romana) with their inter-civilization penetration into the conflict between the division into Western and Eastern Christianity contributed to the deepening of the permanent polarity between East and West, as a result of which a unique civilizational phenomenon of European self-identification was formed.<sup>22</sup> The reminiscence of the Roman path

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<sup>19</sup> Schuman, R. *Pour l'Europe*. 5 e éd. Genève: Les Editions Nagel S.A. 2010. 165 p. – S. 64–65

<sup>20</sup> Браг, Р. Европа, римский путь. *Вестник Европы*. 2003. №10. URL: <https://magazines.gorky.media/vestnik/2003/10/evropa-rimskij-put.html>

<sup>21</sup> Синеекая, Ю. Проблема объединения Европы в контексте философии Ницше. *Философские науки*. 2008. № 10. С. 21–36.

<sup>22</sup> Ясперс, К. *Смысл и назначение истории*. М.: Политиздат, 1991. 530 с. – С. 89.



within European integration theories can also be traced in the oft-repeated thesis about unification around Rome or the Catholic faith concentrated in the same Rome. II We assume that it is from such beliefs that the model of “Romanism” originates, based first on the values of order, patriarchy, homeland, and later on courage and conquests. In essence, Rome is an experience of space and its variability, culture, its scale and evolutionary potential, the personification of feats and triggers of global change. Of course, Rome is not equal to Europe, instead, as a local model of greatness and its integration into the world order, the Roman experience became an important factor in the construction of modern political Europe.

All the assumptions, forecasts and assessments of prospects for several centuries before the actual creation of the EU were actually realized through successive institutional acts of formatting interstate relations on the European continent: from the creation of the European Coal and Steel Association (1951), the foundation of the European Defense Community (1952), the European Economic Community (1957) and the European Atomic Energy Community (1957) until the appearance of the denomination “European Union” during the Paris Conference in 1972 and the signing of the Treaty on the Establishment of the European Union (1992). These and other processes were focused on economic relations, supported by political and legal guarantees, so we believe that the general goal here was quite pragmatic – joint benefit from the neighborhood and avoidance of any force majeure (from monopolies to wars).

We suggest focusing attention on aspects of goal setting in the context of European integration (integration) theories and concepts, emphasizing that their sources are valuable, but fundamentally different. Theories are a set of reasonable conclusions based on the analysis of connections and relationships between the phenomena of reality, and concepts are a system of views on understanding phenomena and processes.

Theories of European integration in today’s conditions can already be called classic, they have been tested, they have passed the stage of modernization, forming neo-theories. It is about federalism and neo-federalism, functionalism and neo-functionalism, communicativism, institutionalism, intergovernmentalism, liberal-intergovernmental theory, etc.

Federalism and neo-federalism (P. Duclos, D. Elazar, A. Etzioni, J. Monnet, C. Pentland, D. Sijanski, A. Spinelli, E. Wistrich, C. Friedrich). This theory most often found feedback from researchers and developers of European integration ideas. Although officially the European Union was not and is not a federation, the community adheres to the key principles of federalism: the duality of sovereignty, the autonomy of member states and their participation in making common decisions. A number of other principles were established by the Maastricht Treaty, in particular, regarding the absence of internal borders, the circulation of a common currency, the principle of subsidiarity, etc.<sup>23</sup> The essence of federalism as a trend determines the idea of its purpose in the context of European integration, namely the formation of a stable structure and system of interactions between states on the basis of mutual benefit and responsibility, taking into account a certain autonomy of the members of the organization. According to federalists J. Monnet and P. Duclos, the goal of integration is to create a union of people within the same political plane. Instead, D. Elezer, A. Spinelli, and C. Friedrich assumed the development of the national state to the scale of supranational.<sup>24, 25, 26</sup> The American political scientist Ch. Pentland calls the ultimate goal of federalists to create a supranational subject of international relations based on the principles of centralization and transfer of political powers to the highest level. At the same time, the scientist reveals meaningful markers of the federalist approach: sociological, determined by the social activity of people, and constitutional as a means of mitigating the centralized actions of the state.<sup>27</sup> We consider the main drawback of federalism to be the antagonistic

<sup>23</sup> Treaty of Lisbon Amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty Establishing the European Community. *Official Journal of the European Union*. 2007. URL: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex%3A12007L%2FTXT>

<sup>24</sup> Monnet J. *A grand design for Europe*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities. 1988. 57 p. URL: <http://aei.pitt.edu/4561/1/4561.pdf>

<sup>25</sup> Spinelli, A. *The Eurocrats*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1966. 229 p.

<sup>26</sup> Elazar, D.-J. *Federalism and Political Integration*. W.: Turtledove Pub. 1979. 233 p.

<sup>27</sup> Pentland, Ch. *International Theory and European Integration*. London: Faber and Faber. 1973. 283 p.

perception of the fact of constructing a federation or confederation of European states, which is simultaneously declared to be the goal and condition of European integration.

Functionalism and neofunctionalism (R. Wolf, R. Keohane, L. Lindberg, D. Mitrani,<sup>28</sup> J. Nye, P. Taylor, E. Haas,<sup>29</sup> F. Schmitter<sup>30</sup>) The theory interprets international integration as a process of gradual transition from a traditional interstate system of relations to a functional community with a redistribution of power, their delegation from the state to a supranational depoliticized structure with a high level of functional efficiency.<sup>31</sup> Such a global vision of integration processes, on the one hand, corresponds to the modern conditions of interstate relations and the requirements of technical progress, however, in our opinion, excludes the depoliticization of interactions and cannot be limited to the cooperation of only experts without politicians. D. Mitrani proved the inexpediency of a federal system or continental management, considering the federation to be a static artificial and territorially limited entity, instead he emphasized the currently relevant influence of international organizations, whose networks nowadays carry out a dynamic transformation of international relations.<sup>32</sup>

International organizations instead of political supranational institutions are not a way out of the defects of federalism, but a perspective for deepening branch integration, an additional toolkit for responding to crisis phenomena, and most importantly, an effective safeguard against the emergence of military conflicts. There is also a well-founded opinion that international organizations contribute to material well-being,

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<sup>28</sup> Marchuk, V., Pavlova, L., Ahafonova, H., Vonsovykh, S., Simonian, A. Communication Opportunities of Civil Society Institutions in Countering the Challenges of Post-Pandemic Postmodernity. *Postmodern Openings*. 2021. № 12 (1Sup1). P. 335–345.

<sup>29</sup> Haas, E. *The Uniting Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950–1957*. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1968. 2-nd Ed. P. 62–74

<sup>30</sup> Шмиттер, Ф. Зачем конституционализировать Европейский Союз? Прогнозис. 2007. № 2 (10). С. 5.

<sup>31</sup> Mitrany, D. *Working Peace System: An Argument for the Functional Development of International Organization*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1966. 221 p.

<sup>32</sup> Mitrany, D. *Working Peace System: An Argument for the Functional Development of International Organization*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1966. 221 p.

and therefore to the strengthening of legality, overcoming ideological opposition up to the establishment of powerful international organizations, which in their long-term evolution reach international governance.<sup>33</sup> To the question of whether it is possible to consider that European integration according to the functionalist theory is integration for the sake of integration, we will answer that it is rather the embodiment of the mechanism of formation of general management outside the exclusively political context, where priority is given to technocracy in the implementation of international organizations.

- Neofunctionalism as a response to the gaps in the classic federalist concept and claims to the functionalist one involves a number of conceptual changes:
- instead of making assumptions about the interests of states, the theory conceptualizes the state as an arena in which social actors act to realize their interests;
- instead of explaining international politics as a game between states, neofunctionalists consider international relations as the interaction of social actors;
- instead of the assumption that international relations are guided by the desire for state survival or economic benefit, the emergence of regional integration is considered as a consequence of the perspective of supranational institutions against national ones.

E. Haas called specialists, interest groups, supranational institutions and experts who acted mainly within the framework of national policy requests as key actors of European integration processes.<sup>34</sup>

Integration cannot be considered an internal process between EU member states. J. Nye and F. Schmitter insisted on this issue. Regional integration is promoted, among other things, by external factors, which can equally have both an effective and a destructive effect. According to F. Schmitter, states outside the integration process may perceive it negatively, which, in turn, will force the regional community to move

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<sup>33</sup> Dinan, D. *Encyclopedia of the European Union*. Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner. 2000. 565 p. – C. 245.

<sup>34</sup> Haas, E. *The Uniting Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1968. 2-nd Ed. P. 62–74; P. 169–199.

to new, more complex forms of cooperation. As a result, a common foreign policy is being formed, which did not exist before.<sup>35</sup> The conducted analysis allows us to conclude that the goal of European integration in the context of the theory of neofunctionalism is to create such a system of interactions and connections between the subjects of European integration, which will contribute to the expansion of its borders, the deepening of sectoral cooperation and the inclusion of new elites in the process, giving them responsibility for the consequences and efficiency of integration progress.

Intergovernmental theory (A. Milward, S. Hoffman). Intergovernmentalists emphasized the integration role of the nation state and argued that it does not lose its relevance due to European integration. The British historian A. Milward stressed that it was the national states that were the leading actors of European integration, and the delegation of part of the sovereignty did not weaken them in any way. Moreover, according to the scientist, in some areas of policy, EU member states are interested in unifying their sovereignties.<sup>36</sup>

The intergovernmental approach provides a logical and simple explanation for the periods of radical changes in the EU: the coincidence of interests of the governments of the member countries determines progress, the conflict of these interests slows down the integration processes. Therefore, intergovernmental communication, negotiations and institutional interactions improve the development of the entire community.<sup>37</sup>

The intergovernmental approach brings us to an important goal-setting marker of European integration processes – the desire to consolidate the goals of community members. And here you can even put an equal sign: the goal of European integration = consolidation of the goals of all

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<sup>35</sup> Шмиттер, Ф. Зачем конституционализировать Европейский Союз? Прогнозис. 2007. № 2 (10). С. 5.

<sup>36</sup> Hatton, L. *Theories of European Integration*. Civitas: Institute for the Study of Civil Society. URL: <https://www.civitas.org.uk/content/files/OS.16-Theories.pdf>

<sup>37</sup> Hoffmann, S. *Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation State and the Case of Western Europe*. Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration. London: Macmillan Press LTD. 1998. P. 157–172.

its participants. As a result, greater stability of the organization, lower risks of conflict, progress in the implementation of joint policies.

A. Moravcsik's theory of liberal intergovernmental approach.<sup>38</sup> This theory defines the process of European integration as a «two-level game» and makes a conclusion about the political and economic convergence of three powerful and influential EU member states: Germany, France and Great Britain. The realization of the interests of these states is a key factor in European integration.<sup>39</sup> The author also determined the priority in the formation of the common interests of the EU member states by internal political processes, and not by supranational institutions.<sup>40</sup> At the same time, such a general dialectic necessitated the search for a consolidating center that, at a minimum, would unify various goals, interests, and aspirations within the association.

Institutionalism and neo-institutionalism (K. Armstrong, S. Bulmer, R. Cohen, P. Pierson<sup>41</sup>) emphasizes the importance of the role of institutions in the implementation of European integration policy. According to the proponents of this theory, institutional choices made in the past can persist or be blocked, determining the behavior of actors in the future. Institutions, in turn, are capable of resisting change.<sup>42</sup> This phenomenon is caused by such factors as the partial autonomy of supranational institutions, the limited time horizon of political leaders, and also the effect of «unforeseen consequences» of integration decisions as a result of complex interactions within the EU.<sup>43</sup> P. Pier-

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<sup>38</sup> Moravcsik, A. *A Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. London: UCL Press. 1998. 514 p.

<sup>39</sup> Moravcsik, A. Preferences and Power in the European Community. A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach. *Journal of Common Market Studies*. 1993. № 31/4. P. 482–498.

<sup>40</sup> Moravcsik, A. *A Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. London: UCL Press. 1998. 514 p.

<sup>41</sup> Pierson, P. The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis. *Comparative Political Studies*. 1996. № 29. P. 123–163.

<sup>42</sup> Pollack, M. The New Institutionalisms and European Integration. *Webpapers on Constitutionalism & Governance beyond the State*. 2008. № 1. URL: <https://www.wiso.uni-hamburg.de/fileadmin/sowi/politik/governance/.pdf>

<sup>43</sup> Pierson, P. The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis. *Comparative Political Studies*. 1996. № 29. P. 123–163.

son emphasizes that these factors contribute to the situation when the established institutions are only partially subordinated to the national elite of the EU member states, and their development often depends on interactions within the supranational bureaucracy. S. Bulmer noted that the EU has only two prospects. First, the creation of a zone of liberal order, under which European institutions will be forced to support common values. Secondly, the actual formation in the European Union of a unified management core with elements of federalism, the structure of which will still have to be constructed.<sup>44</sup>

New institutionalism currently uses three theoretical directions. Rational institutionalism explains how the preferences of European integration subjects change in the course of changes in institutional rules, such as legislative norms. Sociological institutionalism emphasizes broader norms and general rules and how they shape the identity and priorities of participants in the integration process. It is, in particular, about the culture of institutions, socialization of their actors, communication models involved in integration practices. Historical institutionalism focuses on the influence of institutions over time and how institutions can continue to constrain the actions of the actors who created them.

Karl Deutsch's theory of communication and transnationalism.<sup>45</sup> Its importance is determined by the communicative interactions that take place in all processes laid down in the theoretical approaches described above. Communicativism is not a purely European integration paradigm, but describes the means of ensuring peace and stability in the European community. The key tool is integration itself as a way of communication and a sense of togetherness as opposed to physical struggle between states. According to K. Deutsch, the success of integration depends on external conditions and factors, in particular: mutual relations of states, compatibility of their values, ability and de-

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<sup>44</sup> Bulmer, S. *New Institutionalism, The Single Market and EU Governance*. European Union Studies Association. 2007. URL: [http://aei.pitt.edu/2542/1/002862\\_1.PDF](http://aei.pitt.edu/2542/1/002862_1.PDF)

<sup>45</sup> Дойч, К. *Национальная интеграция: обзор некоторых концепций и исследовательских подходов*. Этнос и политика. Хрестоматия. М.: Прогресс. 2000. 288 с.

sire to bear joint responsibility, level of common identity, interest in ensuring security between the states of the region.

Researchers of European integration processes emphasize that two groups of supporters are clearly visible in theoretical discussions. Supporters of “minimalist” views with a tendency to create a federalist system (like the United States of Europe) and “maximalist” views with a priority of cooperation between European states in the form of an economic union.<sup>46</sup>

Development of concepts is a permanent process. The changes taking place in the political landscape of Europe and the world lead to the emergence of new conceptual directions and expand the boundaries of interests and organizational interactions of existing ones. Among the concepts of constructing interstate relations within the framework of European unification, we can single out the concept of «flexible European integration» and its derivatives (W. Brant, R. Dahrendorf, J. Meijer, L. Tindemans), “Europe of concentric circles” and “variable geometry” (E. Balladur,<sup>47</sup> J. Delors,<sup>48</sup> A. Juppe, J. Chirac), «Great Europe» (M. Emerson<sup>49</sup>), «European confederation» (F. Mitterrand) and others. Let’s consider those of them that allow to single out a meaningful interpretation of European integration goals.

The theory of “flexible European integration” embodied the theory of «Multi-speed Europe» and «Europe a` la carte». Flexible integration is based on nuances – internal and external, which are quite dynamic, they correlate aspects of law, freedom, will, choice, capacity and opportunity.

Multi-speed integration originates from the report „Europe: Your choice“ of Belgian Prime Minister L. Tindemans in 1975.<sup>50</sup> The idea

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<sup>46</sup> Staab, A. *The European Union explained: institutions, actors, global impact*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011. 211 p.

<sup>47</sup> Balladur, E. *L'Europe autrement*. Paris: FAYARD. 2006. 162 p.

<sup>48</sup> Delors, J. Discours en college de Bruges (17 octobre 1989). *Europe: Documents. Luxembourg-Bruxelles*. 1989. № 1576. P. 1–6.

<sup>49</sup> Эмерсон, М. Формирование политических рамок Большой Европы. *Современная Европа*. 2004. № 3. С. 90–95.

<sup>50</sup> Tindemans, M. Leo. L'Union européenne. *Bulletin des Communautés Européennes*. 1975. № 1/76. URL: <https://club.bruxelles2.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/rapporttindemans-1975.pdf>



was that European integration should take into account the fact that not all member states are able or willing to integrate at the same pace in certain areas of interstate and supranational relations. Despite the fact that the provisions of the «Tindemans report» were rejected, in the future their essence received attention and was updated by the European community.<sup>51</sup> In 1992, a similar situation arose with the approval of the Maastricht Treaty, which was aimed at promoting the socio-economic development of EU member states by creating a borderless space, forming economic and monetary unions, introducing a common currency, etc.<sup>52</sup> Then Great Britain refused to transfer national powers for the implementation of social policy, and together with Denmark – from participation in the economic and monetary union, several other countries did not meet the criteria approved by the Treaty. Improvement of existing mechanisms and optimization of existing powers instead of expanding the influence of European Union institutions emphasized multi-speed integration as the leading method of cooperation in the EU within the framework of the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997). In this way, attention was diverted from the principles of centralization, which prevailed and were articulated before that.

The concept of “Multi-speed Europe” gave rise to the modern scenario of European integration – “EU consolidation“, which also provides for the optimization of existing processes and powers, in particular, in the direction of overcoming crises and preventing their possible emergence. This concept was also criticized, in particular, in 2017, the President of Poland A. Duda stated that “Brexit is an extremely unpleasant event, but it does not threaten the unity of the EU. However, the initiative regarding Multi-speed Europe undermines the foundations of the European Union – a community of equal countries”. The politician did not insist on federalism, but emphasized the value of the idea of the Union, which is “equality of countries, equality of opportunities for their citizens, while the idea of Multi-speed Europe

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<sup>51</sup> *Єдиний європейський акт*. Угода від 17.02.1986 р. Законодавство України. URL: [https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/994\\_028#Text](https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/994_028#Text)

<sup>52</sup> *Договір про Європейський Союз*. Маастрихт, 7 лютого 1992 р. *Законодавство України*. URL: [https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/994\\_029#Text](https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/994_029#Text)

undermines this principle, therefore it is a threat to the very existence of the EU».<sup>53</sup>

Taking into account all the points of view and narratives related to flexible European integration, we nevertheless state that it is taking place despite different positions and assessments. The last decades, which catalyzed and revealed the weak points of a united Europe, proved that the different speeds are not only about the new EU members that have just met the accession criteria, but also about the “old” Europe that needs modernization and rethinking goals of the EU and its place in the European Union.

Another “flexible” concept is “Europe a la carte”, a set of development strategies of European countries when they decide whether to participate in a specific integration initiative. Appeals to such a right usually come from the spheres of social, monetary and defense policies. Those who believe that such positions are destroying the European Union insist on the priority of developing common goals for the organization, the process of achieving which would not contradict any national policy.

Another direction is the “Europe of variable geometry” and the concept proposed at the end of the 80’s of the 20th century by the French politician and head of the European Commission J. Delors, developed by the French Prime Minister E. Balladur, and later supported by the 22<sup>nd</sup> French president J. Chirac and diplomat A. Juppe.

J. Delors reflecting on the institutional structure of the European Union, called on its members for ever closer political cooperation, which should strengthen the autonomy of the EU on the world stage, and to strengthen the federal principles of the community.<sup>54</sup>

A slightly modified vision of EU federalization is presented in the concept of «stepwise integration» by E. Balladur. European integration consolidation is taking place around the center, and accession to the EU is seen as a reward for successful systemic reforms in candidate

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<sup>53</sup> Європа різних швидкостей є більшою загрозою ЄС, ніж Brexit – Дуда. *Європейська правда*. 2017. URL: <https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/news/2017/09/5/7070546/>

<sup>54</sup> Delors J. L’imperatif de l’urgens de l’Europe communautaire. *Europe: Documents. Luxembourg-Bruxelles*. 1989. № 1374. P. 1–5.

countries. The countries of the European Economic Area form the second circle. The third circle is represented by candidate countries for joining the European Union. The fourth circle without a clear fixation of the affiliation of the countries, but with the planned participation of the Baltic countries, the CIS and other European countries.<sup>55</sup>

E. Balladur insisted on the formation of various cooperation zones around the consolidated «core» of the European Union, the depth of which integration is successively decreasing.<sup>56</sup> The politician came to the conclusion that the main task of modern Europe is to distance itself from expansion, focusing on qualitative changes in its institutions, principles and goals of interstate cooperation.

Another concept – „Greater Europe“ – departs from administrative and institutional criteria, instead actualizing the issue of European identity, a common cultural space, which will be expanded through the so-called „Europeanization“ and will not be identified purely with the European continent. It is Europeanization that is a kind of alternative to European integration: the goal of the first is the process of political, economic and social transformations, the second is to join the EU. The concept of “Greater Europe” in the 21<sup>st</sup> century was proposed by the English scientist M. Emerson, including all the countries of Europe and Asia within the Eurasian supercontinent, convincing them of the commonality of issues of strategic security, political ideologies, socio-economic problems and cultural values.<sup>57</sup>

The former head of the European Parliament, K. Hansch, articulated three concepts regarding the further development of the EU: strengthening interstate cooperation in the decision-making process; creation of a federal union based on a constitution or a corresponding treaty; preserving and strengthening the balance between the Council of the EU, the European Parliament and the European Commission.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Balladur E. *L'Europe autrement*. Paris: FAYARD. 2006. 162 p. P. 52–54.

<sup>56</sup> Balladur, E. *L'Europe autrement*. Paris: FAYARD. 2006. 162 p. P. 40–45.

<sup>57</sup> Emerson, M. Towards a Greater Eurasia: Who, Why, What, and How? *Global Journal of Emerging Market Economies*. 2014. № 6. URL: <https://www.ceps.eu/ceps-publications/towards-greater-eurasia-who-why-what-and-how/>

<sup>58</sup> *Європейська інтеграція України: Політико-правові проблеми*. К.: ТОВ «Вид-во «Юридика думка», 2005. 332 с. – С. 455.

It is obvious that, along with the legal basis, such concepts provide for the development of a structural and organizational strategy for the EU.

Whatever ideas and assumptions about the future of the European Union the authors of the concepts consider, however, the goals and directions of European integration, in our opinion, are reduced to three important indicators:

- firstly, regarding the possibility and expediency of centralizing or decentralizing the EU. It is about the clear structuring of the European Union with the selection of the so-called “core”, or “center”, which would be recognized by all members of the community, have the appropriate management potential, high development indicators and prospects for stable functioning;
- secondly, regarding the implementation of the system of interstate relations, deep integration of political and economic management in order to increase the level of autonomy of the EU on the world stage. And here autonomy is connected precisely with the federalization of the community, the formation of a single organism-participant in geopolitical and trade-economic processes;
- thirdly, regarding the European, in particular, cultural and civilizational identity, the search and common recognition of which is the key to the unification of Europe. The success of the organizational structure, compromise in the ratio of national and supranational was determined precisely by culture, and therefore by the historical tradition of institutional management.

Theoretical and methodological generalizations regarding transformational processes in the European Community combine both classical theories of international relations and purely integration concepts. In general, the possible scenarios are reduced to the following:

- leave the supranational structure unchanged;
- to concentrate on the economic superstructure, namely on the single market for member countries;
- always relevant Multi-speed;
- to optimize the existing mechanisms, taking into account their current efficiency;
- to refine and fill with viable content the idea of the “United States of Europe”, which preliminarily means increasing joint efforts for consolidated goals.

We consider several important conclusions that conceptualize the goals and directions of European integration. The key element and meaningful value of the concept of «European integration» is precisely the integration component, it embodies both the process and the format of relations. The Europeanness of integration means territorial boundaries and a final goal tied to a specific supranational entity. At the same time, it should be taken into account that the analyzed theories can be applied for incorporation into other interstate associations, industry unions, etc.

On the basis of the analyzed facts and the theoretical basis, a conclusion is made about the catch-all nature of the conceptualization of European integration processes. Despite the fact that the scientific justification of European integration is based on the theory of international relations and integration, conceptual scenarios and approaches to determining the state and prospects of the development of the EU come from the practice of the development of a supranational community, relations between member countries, and the request of non-residents regarding the expansion of the borders of the European Union.

## PART 2. EUROPEAN INTEGRATION OF UKRAINE AS A SUBJECT OF POLITICAL RESEARCH

European integration, as a process that meaningfully embodies the foreign policy course of the state, institutionally found its place in key political processes in Ukraine. The European integration vector determined the further course of systemic reforms, was specified by the provisions of the Agreement on the Association of Ukraine and the European Union (2014).<sup>59</sup> In 2019, it was constitutionally enshrined in the relevant amendments to the Constitution of Ukraine. The scientific discourse contained the research of Ukrainian scientists who form a new outlook and perspectives and clarify the risks of implementing the European integration course as a civilizational alternative to the long Soviet and post-Soviet periods. The need to systematize the key aspects of the European integration discourse of political science research in Ukraine and to identify those that need to be specified with further integration into state policy is justified.

Since the first years of independence, various aspects of Ukraine's European choice have acquired scientific, primarily political significance. Among the scientists who focused specifically on political historiography and the contextual study of the European integration direction of political science intelligence, we name L. Hrytsaenko, G. Kalinicheva, O. Sokur, I. Tarnavska,<sup>60</sup> S. Cherevaty, and others. There is a need to systematize political science research on the process of European integration of Ukraine, to clarify the institutional factors in-

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<sup>59</sup> Association Agreement between the European Union and its Member States, of the one part, and Ukraine, of the other part. Official Journal of the European Union, L 161, 29 May 2014 <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=OJ:L:2014:161:TOC>

<sup>60</sup> Тарнавська, І. Специфіка висвітлення євроінтеграційних процесів в Україні. *Communications and Communicative Technologies*. 2019. № 19. С. 70–75.

fluencing scientific research, to update the non-institutional component in the content of relevant qualification theses. The systematization of theoretical material and factual data involves the substantiation of the phasing of the European integration discourse of Ukrainian political science research, as well as the determination of those directions that will allow to increase the effectiveness of the state policy of promoting the European integration of Ukraine.

For a long time, the subject of political science studies of European integration processes was not directly related to Ukraine or its pro-European choice, until 2010 there was no legally defined position on this issue at the state level. Rather, it was about studying the system of European governance, the political system of the EU member states, the political historiography of the relationship between Ukraine and the European Union, and the possibilities of borrowing European experience in various fields, etc.

One of the first scientific works that comprehensively compared the origins of Ukrainian statehood, national interests and geopolitical aspirations of the state is the book by V. Vrublevsky and V. Khoroshkovsky «The Ukrainian Way. Sketches: the geopolitical situation of Ukraine and its national interests» (1997).<sup>61</sup> The authors analyze the parallels of interstate friendship and commonwealth, national ideas, interests, needs, and possible options for partnership and good neighborliness.

In 2000, the work of S. Vasylenko «Geopolitical dimensions of Ukraine in the pan-European process» was published, where the author analyzed the sources and current state of Ukrainian geopolitics, pointing out the priority of Ukraine's inclusion in the pan-European political process, the dominance of its European choice while maintaining a multi-vector geopolitical course.<sup>62</sup>

Both in previous studies and in the collective monograph under the general editorship of F. Rudych «Ukraine in the modern geopolitical space: theoretical and applied aspects» (2002), the role and influence of the Russian Federation on the geopolitical choice of Ukraine is em-

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<sup>61</sup> Врублевський, В., Хорошковський, В. *Український шлях*. Начерки: геополітичне становище України та її національні інтереси. Київ, 1997. 426 с.

<sup>62</sup> Василенко, С. *Україна: Геополітичні виміри в загальноєвропейському процесі*. О.: ОДМА, 2000. 206 с.

phasized. On the one hand, there is the recognition of its inseparable part of the European space, the presence of the will to move towards Europe and its supranational structures, on the other hand, there is constant pressure and dependence (primarily in energy) from the eastern neighbor. The research predicts that “in 10 – 15 years, Ukraine in its development should meet the criteria by which the readiness of candidate countries for EU membership is determined”.<sup>63</sup>

A more active specification of the topic of European integration and, in general, attention to the Western community has been manifested in Ukrainian political science since the beginning of the 2000's. The research interest covered the issue of: political analysis of the problems of the implementation of the European policy of Ukraine and the formation of factors, prerequisites and perspectives that determine its rapprochement with the EU (T. Andrushchenko, F. Baranovskyi,<sup>64</sup> V. Vakulych, S. Vasylenko,<sup>65</sup> O. Kovalova,<sup>66</sup> A. Kostenko,<sup>67</sup> O. Lysenko, O. Sheretyuk, D. Shpak, L. Yarova); aspects of Russian influence on the European vector of Ukraine (N. Gordiyuk, A. Lutsenko, R. Filonenko); the institutional structure of the political system of the EU and its member countries (P. Baikovsky, N. Vinnykova,<sup>68</sup> O. Vra-

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<sup>63</sup> Рудич, Ф. (за заг. ред.). *Україна в сучасному геополітичному просторі: теоретичний і прикладний аспекти*. Київ: МАУП, 2002. 488 с.- С. 55.

<sup>64</sup> Барановський, Ф. Вплив громадянського суспільства на процес європейської та євроатлантичної інтеграції: український контекст. *Наукові записки*. 2018. № 3 (89). С. 198–218.

<sup>65</sup> Василенко, С. *Україна: Геополітичні виміри в загальноєвропейському процесі*. О.: ОДМА, 2000. 206 с.

<sup>66</sup> Ковальова, О. *Стратегії євроінтеграції: як реалізувати європейський вибір України: монографія*. К.: Ін-т держави і права ім. В. М. Корецького НАН України, 2003. 340 с.

<sup>67</sup> Костенко, А. *Вплив інститутів громадянського суспільства на євроінтеграційні процеси України: монографія*. Суми: Сумський державний університет, 2018. 411 с.

<sup>68</sup> Вінникова, Н. До питання «дефіциту демократії» в Європі: практики громадянської партисипації і політичної репрезентації в ЄС. *Сучасне суспільство: політичні науки, соціологічні науки, культурологічні науки: Збірник наукових праць*. Харківський національний педагогічний університет імені Г. С. Сковороди. 2016. 2(12). С. 32–44.



dii, L. Hrytsaenko, V. Kopyyka<sup>69</sup>); comparison of Ukrainian and European political experience (M. Basarab,<sup>70</sup> K. Berezhna,<sup>71</sup> I. Hrytsyak, O. Mrinska, O. Chumakova); European integration of individual states (V. Bolotnik, N. Burenko, I. Hrytsunyk, V. Zavadskyi, L. Kitsyla, S. Kondratyuk, V. Krushinskyi, I. Pohorska, L. Khaletska, O. Shapovalova), etc. Since 2007, Zakarpattia State University, and later Uzhhorod National University, has been publishing a collection of scientific papers the “European integration: Ukrainian dimension” that already includes about 30 issues.

Investigating in his doctoral dissertation the national and regional dimensions of the European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine in 1991 – 2004, I. Todorov concluded that Ukraine considered European integration as an opportunity to create a free market economy, to build a democratic, legal, social state built on the foundations of common European and Euro-Atlantic values. The scientist states that in the specified period, integration into the EU was not an end in itself, but a means of comprehensive modernization and the construction of a democratic and legal society.<sup>72</sup>

Summarizing, we suggest characterizing the first decade of independence as a descriptive and informative stage in political studies of Ukraine’s European integration. Note that along with scientific interest, this period was marked by the adoption of several important documents. At that time, the EU Strategy for Ukraine (1994), the EU’s Common Position for Ukraine (1994), the Strategy for Ukraine’s Integration into

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<sup>69</sup> Копійка, В. *Розширення Європейського Союзу. Теорія і практика інтеграційного процесу*. К.: КНУ ім. Т. Шевченка, 2002. 253 с.

<sup>70</sup> Басараб, М. *Досвід європейської інтеграції Польщі: перспективи для України*: автореф. дис. ... канд. політ. наук : 21.01.01. Нац. ін-т стратег. дослідж., Нац. ін-т пробл. міжнар. безпеки. Київ. 2004. 15 с.

<sup>71</sup> Бережна, К. *Принципи організації та функціонування інститутів влади в Європейському Союзі та Україні: порівняльно-правовий аналіз монографія*. Запоріжжя : Гельветика, 2017. 407 с.

<sup>72</sup> Тодоров, І. *Європейська і євроатлантична інтеграція України: загальнонаціональний та регіональний виміри (1991 – 2004 рр.)*. Автореф. дис... д-ра іст. наук. Донецьк: Донецький національний ун-т, 2007. 39 с.

the EU (1998)<sup>73</sup>, the EU's Joint Strategy for Ukraine (1999)<sup>74</sup> and others were approved.

In 2010, the Law of Ukraine "On the Basics of Internal and Foreign Policy" was adopted, which established the task of "ensuring Ukraine's integration into the European political, economic, and legal space with the aim of gaining membership in the European Union".<sup>75</sup>

This document was supposed to be an impetus for the political discourse on the process of European integration of Ukraine, but the process itself, as we know, had a rather unexpected and dramatic ending at the end of 2013. In the period 2011 – 2014, studies of European integration practices included the issue of the security component of Ukraine's integration into the EU (V. Manzhola<sup>76</sup>), the impact of European integration on the state sovereignty of member countries (M. Baimuratov,<sup>77</sup> I. Solonenko<sup>78</sup>), general contours of European integration policy (V. Bondarenko, F. Vashchuk,<sup>79</sup> V. Reshota,<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> *Про затвердження Стратегії інтеграції України до Європейського Союзу*. Указ президента України від 11.06.1998 р. № 615/98. Законодавство України. URL: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/615/98#Text>

<sup>74</sup> *Спільна стратегія Європейського Союзу щодо України, схвалена Європейською Радою 11 грудня 1999 р.* Законодавство України. URL: [https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/994\\_492#Text](https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/994_492#Text)

<sup>75</sup> *Про засади внутрішньої і зовнішньої політики*. Закон України № 2411-VI від 01.07.2010 р. Верховна Рада України: Офіційний вебсайт. URL: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2411-17#Text>

<sup>76</sup> Манжол, В., Муравйов, В., Філіпенко, А., Сапсай, А., Копійка, В. *Інтеграція України в європейські правові, політичні та економічні системи: монографія*. К.: КНУ ім. Т. Шевченка, 2007. 320 с.

<sup>77</sup> Баймуратов, М., Хоббі, Ю. *Модифікації державного суверенітету в умовах європейської інтеграції в контексті взаємовідносин Європейського Союзу з державами-членами: монографія*. Суми: Унів. кн., 2013. 298 с.

<sup>78</sup> Солоненко, І. *Вплив Європейського Союзу на трансформаційні процеси в країнах Центрально-Східної Європи та Україні*. Автореф. дис. ... канд. наук з держ. упр. Нац. акад. держ. упр. при Президентіві України. К., 2013. 20 с.

<sup>79</sup> Васьук, Ф. (за ред.). *Концептуальні і правові основи формування європейського освітнього простору: навч. посіб.* Ужгород: ЗакДУ, 2011. 568 с.

<sup>80</sup> Решота, В. *Європейський Союз: історичні, правові та інституційні основи: навч. посіб.* Л.: ЛРІДУ НАДУ, 2012. 170 с.

V. Shamrayeva<sup>81</sup>), institutional determinants of the European integration of Ukraine (B. Kopyl, Ya. Chernopyschuk), etc. In the collective monograph “The European Project and Ukraine” it is said that the European aspirations of Ukraine have not found a clear articulation in the perspective of the further development of the state, because “European perspective”, according to the authors’ definition, is a concept that means the recognition of the country’s right to future membership in the EU. Instead, Ukraine continued to demonstrate “civilizational uncertainty, which hides alternatives related to different geopolitical orientations, different options for solving the question of the country’s place and role in the system of international relations and, naturally, with different foreign policy priorities”.<sup>82</sup>

Since the beginning of the 2000s, state programs for informing the population about the European integration of the country have been operating in Ukraine, in particular, in the period 2004 – 2007 (State program for informing the public on European integration of Ukraine<sup>83</sup>), 2008 – 2011 (State targeted public awareness program on European integration of Ukraine<sup>84</sup>), 2013 – 2017 (Concept of implementation of state policy in the field of informing and establishing communication with the public on topical issues of European integration of Ukraine<sup>85</sup>).

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<sup>81</sup> Шамрасва, В. *Політика європейської інтеграції: підручник*. Х.: Магістр, 2012. 223 с.

<sup>82</sup> Єрмолаєв, В. (за заг. ред.). *Європейський проект та Україна: монографія*. К.: НІСД, 2012. 192 с.- С.79.

<sup>83</sup> *Про державні програми з питань європейської та євроатлантичної інтеграції України на 2004-2007 роки*. Указ президента України від 13.12.2003 р. № 1433/2003. URL: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1433/2003#Text>

<sup>84</sup> *Про затвердження Державної цільової програми інформування громадськості з питань європейської інтеграції України на 2008-2011 роки*. Постанова Кабінету міністрів України від 2.07.2008 р. № 594. Законодавство України. URL: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/594-2008-%D0%BF#Text>

<sup>85</sup> Концепція реалізації державної політики у сфері інформування та налагодження комунікації з громадськістю з актуальних питань європейської інтеграції України на період до 2017 року. *Законодавство України*. URL: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/168-2013-%D1%80#Text>

In our opinion, the communication component worked – society received information from state institutions about the goal of European integration and its importance for the country's development. According to Ilko Kucheriv's „Democratic Initiatives“ Foundation, if a referendum on Ukraine's accession to the EU were held at the end of 2013, „the majority of the population would vote for accession (48 %, against accession – 36 %, 7 % undecided and 9 % would did not vote in the referendum).<sup>86</sup>

Since 2014, political science studies related to the European integration of Ukraine have acquired an imperative character. It was no longer about a possible option or scenario for the country's choice of foreign policy partnership, but about the challenges and tasks of implementing the European integration course. This is evidenced by M. Nazarenko's dissertation studies “A comprehensive mechanism for the implementation of the European integration policy of Ukraine” (2014),<sup>87</sup> V. Filipchuk “European integration as a means of state formation in Ukraine” (2014),<sup>88</sup> Yu. Palahnyuk “Mechanisms of formation and implementation of the state European integration policy of Ukraine” (2015),<sup>89</sup> O. Byedova “Organizational support for adaptation of Ukrainian legislation to EU ACQUIS” (2019)<sup>90</sup>, V. Buslenko “The relationship between the government and the opposition in the context of the democratization of political systems” (2020),<sup>91</sup> V. Gaponenko “Conceptual model of institutional prereq-

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<sup>86</sup> Громадська думка: підсумки 2013 року. Фонд «Демократичні ініціативи» імені Ілька Кучеріва. URL: <https://dif.org.ua/article/gromadska-dumka-pidsumki-2013-roku>

<sup>87</sup> Назаренко, М. *Комплексний механізм реалізації євроінтеграційної політики України*. Автореф. дис. ... канд. наук з держ. упр. Одеса, 2014. 20 с.

<sup>88</sup> Філіпчук, В. *Європейська інтеграція як засіб державотворення в Україні*. Автореф. дис. ... канд. наук з держ. упр. Київ, 2014. 20 с.

<sup>89</sup> Палагнюк, Ю. *Механізми формування та реалізації державної євроінтеграційної політики України*. Автореф. дис. ... д-ра наук з держ. упр. Миколаїв, 2015. 36 с.

<sup>90</sup> Бедова, О. *Організаційне забезпечення адаптації законодавства України до acquis ЄС*. Автореф. дис. ... канд. наук з держ. упр. Київ, 2019. 20 с.

<sup>91</sup> Бусленко, В. *Взаємовідносини влади та опозиції в контексті демократизації політичних систем*. Автореф. дис. ... д-ра політ. наук. Вінниця, 2020. 36 с.

uisites for the democratization of the political system of Ukraine” (2020)<sup>92</sup> and others.

The topic of European integration has become a separate area of research, which led to the formation of peculiar scientific clubs and analytical centers – both at the initiative of state institutions and on the basis of public associations. The Ukrainian Association of Teachers and Researchers of European Integration has been active since 2015, and since 2017 it has been publishing the „Yearbook of European Integration Studies“.<sup>93</sup> Analytical reports, memos, expert opinions and various monitoring on the mentioned topics are also regularly published in Ukraine, in particular, in cooperation with European institutions.

We can trace the correlation of current scientific research with reforms implemented in Ukraine, such as decentralization or public administration. Analyzing the relevant experience, examples of neighboring countries that have passed the adaptive post-Soviet period and the path of European integration are highlighted. For example, as a result of the political-institutional analysis of the conditions of functioning of local self-government in the countries of the Visegrad Group, V. Gladyy found out that the subordination of reform processes to the general European integration trend made it possible to form efficient and stably functioning models of local self-government in these countries. Whereas in Ukraine, this process requires overcoming institutional barriers and legislative contradictions.<sup>94</sup> A similar point of view is held by a group of authors, in particular Professor V. Marchuk, who traced the common feature of the European integration direction in the implementation of systemic reforms in all the countries of the Visegrad Group. The studied researches deny the existence of a universal model of transformation of

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<sup>92</sup> Гапоненко, В. *Концептуальна модель інституційних передумов демократизації політичної системи України*. Автореф. дис. ... д-ра політ. наук. Київ, 2020. 34 с.

<sup>93</sup> *Український щорічник з європейських інтеграційних студій*: Офіційна інтернет-сторінка видання. URL: <https://aprei.com.ua/ukrainian-yearlybook-of-european-integration-studies/>

<sup>94</sup> Гладій, В. *Місцеве самоврядування як ресурс політики євроінтеграції: досвід Вишеградської групи та перспективи для України*. Автореф. дис. к.політ.н. Львів: Львівський національний університет імені Івана Франка, 2016. 23 с.

the local self-government system, however, certain practices in the EU member states are acceptable for approval in Ukraine.<sup>95</sup>

The policy of European integration also updated the study of cross-border cooperation of Ukraine. Scientific studies of I. Artyomov, O. Bilak, O. Kornelyuk, O. Kushnirenko, Yu. Lemko, V. Markovych, O. Motsyk, L. Payanova, M. Polovyi,<sup>96</sup> V. Reznikov,<sup>97</sup> O. Tsukan, M. Yankiv<sup>98</sup> and others are devoted to this direction. Among the topics are both specific vectors of cooperation (most often Poland, less often the Czech Republic, Germany, France, Great Britain, etc.), and the general paradigm of cross-border neighborliness.

The geography of Ukraine has always contributed to the development of scientific research into aspects of border/cross-border interactions. Research is conducted at the local subregional level (within several oblasts (regions) of countries). Another aspect is the global level of interstate relations (the countries of the Visegrad Group, the Mediterranean Union, the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization, the Lublin Triangle, the Organization for Democracy and Economic Development GUAM, the Black Sea Naval Group, the Council of the Baltic Sea States, etc.). Moreover, scientific interest in such organizations was not determined by the factor of Ukraine's membership in it – it was important to study the mechanisms of interaction and the potential for increasing and deepening joint integration processes between states.

In the monograph “Cross-border cooperation of Ukraine: state, problems, prospects” (2012), edited by I. Artyomov, is emphasized that

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<sup>95</sup> Dudkevych, V., Marchuk, V., Hladiy, V., Holubiak, N., Melnychuk, V. The Development of a System of Local Self-Government in the Countries of the Visegrad Group in the Conditions of Postmodern Society. *Postmodern Openings*. 2021. № 12(2). P. 243.

<sup>96</sup> Польовий, М. Актуальні проблеми Функціонування політичних інститутів. *Актуальні проблеми політики*. 2015. № 54. С. 212–220.

<sup>97</sup> Резніков, В. Концептуальні засади стратегії формування та реалізації державної політики у сфері європейської інтеграції України. *Державне управління та місцеве самоврядування*. 2020. № 1 (44). С. 66–72.

<sup>98</sup> Янків, М. *Організаційно-економічне забезпечення розвитку українсько-польського транскордонного регіону*. Львів: НАН України, Ін-т регіональних досліджень імені м. І. Долішнього, 2021. 249 с.

“cross-border cooperation of countries significantly intensifies financial, material and human flows, weakens the barrier function of state borders, which as a result contributes to the formation of networks of formal and informal interaction between subjects of neighboring border regions”.<sup>99</sup>

Ukrainian experts emphasize the role of cross-border cooperation as an «amplifier» of positive changes due to the expansion of the powers of territorial communities regarding resource management.<sup>100</sup>

In the joint study «European integration of Ukraine in the system of international economic integration», scientists described the goals of the new European instrument of neighborhood and cross-border cooperation. The European Neighborhood Instrument aims to: promote human rights and fundamental freedoms, the rule of law, equality, sustainable democracy, and the development of civil society; gradually integrate into the EU internal market with further expansion of cooperation; create conditions for controlled mobility of citizens and stimulation of contacts between people; support development on the way to reducing the scale of poverty, promote internal economic, social and territorial cohesion, develop rural areas; to promote the activation of subregional and regional cooperation and cooperation between all the countries of the Neighborhood, etc.<sup>101</sup>

Support through the European Neighborhood Instrument is provided through: bilateral programs involving the support of one partner country; multinational programs that solve problems common to all or several partner countries, as well as through regional and subregional cooperation between two or more partner countries; cross-border cooperation programs between EU member states and partner countries implemented along common external borders.

<sup>99</sup> Артёмов, І. (за заг. ред.). *Транскордонне співробітництво України: стан, проблеми, перспективи: монографія*. Ужгород: МПП «Гражда». 2012. 520 с. С. 56.

<sup>100</sup> Химинець, В., Головка, А., Мірус, О. *Транскордонне співробітництво як інструмент місцевого та регіонального розвитку: аналіт. доп.* Київ: НІСД. 2021. 47 с. URL: [https://niss.gov.ua/sites/default/files/2021-05/block\\_transkordon.pdf](https://niss.gov.ua/sites/default/files/2021-05/block_transkordon.pdf)

<sup>101</sup> Матюшенко, І., С. Беренда, В. Резніков. *Євроінтеграція України в системі міжнародної економічної інтеграції: навчальний посібник*. Х.: ХНУ імені В. Н. Каразіна. 2015. 504 с.

Cross-border cooperation of Ukraine is an important direction of state policy and scientific research. Currently, Ukrainian political science has focused on the actual study of current agreements and projects, primarily with the participation of the regions of Ukraine and EU countries or European institutions.

Starting from 2014, the problems of European integration were supplemented by an extra-institutional context, namely the search for an information and communication basis for the implementation of reforms (O. Bodnarchuk,<sup>102</sup> I. Tarnavska,<sup>103</sup> V. Shynkaruk). Part of modern research substantiates the subjectivity of media in the process of European integration.

According to Professor V. Shynkaruk, Ukrainian media's coverage of European integration forms and, at the same time, reproduces a mythologized view of the goals and means of European integration. The scientist calls media "a means of politicizing the European integration concept and shaping it as a means of internal political confrontation".<sup>104</sup>

The social dimension of the importance of strengthening the information and communication support of European integration was argued by O. Bodnarchuk in his dissertation study. He draws attention to the fact that the movement towards a united Europe can become a significant and relevant factor in the consolidation of the Ukrainian nation under the condition of a balanced construction of positive public opinion, which, in turn, will become possible thanks to the formation of a "pro-European information environment in Ukraine".<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Боднарчук, О. *Політичні комунікації в контексті євроінтеграційного курсу України*. Автореф. дис. к.політ.н. Чернівці: Чернівецький національний університет імені Юрія Федьковича, 2015. 24 с.

<sup>103</sup> Тарнавська, І. Специфіка висвітлення євроінтеграційних процесів в Україні. *Communications and Communicative Technologies*. 2019. № 19. С. 70–75.

<sup>104</sup> Шинкарук, В. Інформаційна політика євроінтеграційного курсу України. *Вісник Прикарпатського університету. Політологія*. 2015. № 9. С. 105–108.

<sup>105</sup> Боднарчук, О. *Політичні комунікації в контексті євроінтеграційного курсу України*. Автореф. дис. к.політ.н. Чернівці: Чернівецький національний університет імені Юрія Федьковича, 2015. 24 с. С. 12.



We should also note the interest of political science in the role of civil society in promoting European integration (F. Baranovskyi,<sup>106</sup> A. Kostenko,<sup>107</sup> S. Leskiv,<sup>108</sup> I. Tkachenko<sup>109</sup>). In A. Kostenko's monograph "The influence of civil society institutions on the European integration processes of Ukraine" (2018), the partnership between the government and civil society institutions regarding the implementation of European reforms, forms of public control, and public diplomacy are named as mechanisms of such influence. In addition, returning to the importance of the communication component, let's point out the author's appeal to informational and advisory tools of interaction in the context of European integration, namely information, consultation and dialogue with the public.<sup>110</sup>

Conceptualization of European practices as tools for qualitative transformations of domestic policy is also urgent. In the monograph "Research of State Policies: Methodology, Procedures and European Practices" (2018), edited by L. Honyukova and V. Kozakov, the institutional relationships of the subjects and the political-management principles of the development and implementation of state policy are defined as such. Authors also include European research practices in the spheres of state policies, European experience of public involvement in management decision-making, communication policy of the European Union and strategic vision of sustainable development as factors. The provisions substantiated by the authors of the work also

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<sup>106</sup> Барановський, Ф. Вплив громадянського суспільства на процес європейської та євроатлантичної інтеграції: український контекст. *Наукові записки*. 2018. № 3 (89). С. 198–218.

<sup>107</sup> Костенко, А. *Вплив інститутів громадянського суспільства на євроінтеграційні процеси України: монографія*. Суми: Сумський державний університет, 2018. 411 с.

<sup>108</sup> Машгалір, Х., Леськів, С. Інтеграція України до європейського союзу як основа для розбудови громадянського суспільства. *Підприємництво, господарство і право*. 2017. № 6. С. 163–166.

<sup>109</sup> Ткаченко, І. Громадянське суспільство і Європейський Союз: функціонування й співпраця. *Віче*. 2015. № 2. С. 15–19.

<sup>110</sup> Костенко, А. *Вплив інститутів громадянського суспільства на євроінтеграційні процеси України: монографія*. Суми: Сумський державний університет, 2018. 411 с.

prove the value of information and public relations in increasing the effectiveness of state policy.<sup>111</sup>

The integration of Ukraine into the EU attracts not only political attention, but also represents scientific interest in the European Union itself, especially for researchers from the countries of the post-socialist camp, who have already completed their path of European integration and are building bilateral relations with our state as members of a supranational entity. The key areas included in the European research on Ukraine are: the study of the historical prerequisites for the formation of the external vector of state policy in Ukraine; analysis of the fulfillment of the terms of the Association Agreement; study of the civilizational dimension of national politics and factors of the European identity of Ukraine; search of external and internal factors influencing Ukraine's European choice, etc.

Polish researcher W. Stankiewicz points out that Ukraine is a hostage of the confrontation between European and post-Soviet culture and represents a kind of boundary between them. Such a situation and permanent crises do not contribute to the progressive development of state. However, gradual European integration can help solve these problems. On the one hand, it is access to tools for optimization and restarting the economy. On the other hand, immersion in the positive experience of those EU member states that have already overcome the transition period after the collapse of the USSR.<sup>112</sup>

Professor of Wrocław University D. Butyter emphasizes that Ukraine's success in building friendly and constructive relations with the EU states is much greater than in relations with the European Union itself. In anticipation of systemic reforms, the EU has become Ukraine's main financial donor, but changes in the country are taking place extremely slowly compared to neighboring Western countries.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Гонюкова, Л., Козаков В. (за заг. ред.). *Дослідження державних політик: методологія, процедури та європейські практики: монографія*. Київ: НАДУ, 2018. 400 с.

<sup>112</sup> Stankiewicz, W. Proces integracji Ukrainy z Unią Europejską. *Nowa Polityka Wschodnia*. 2013. № 2 (5). S. 30–53.

<sup>113</sup> Butyter, D. Perspektywy współpracy Unii Europejskiej z Ukrainą. *Rodzina Europa. Europejska myśl polityczno – prawna u progu XXI wieku*. 2015.

The political scientist M. Labuda names the main reasons for the slow European integration of Ukraine: the lack of a stable hereditary position of the authorities regarding the need to implement the European integration course, the inconsistency of the process of institutional development, namely the limited powers of the authorities, which are created directly to implement the reforms foreseen by the European integration.<sup>114</sup>

A somewhat different point of view is held by the Slovak scientist A. Duleba, who believes that the further development of the European Union itself depends on whether it will include countries such as Ukraine. Due to a long period of stability, the EU has lost the ability to respond to challenges and threats from the outside, rather monotonously correcting economic failures. Instead, since 2014, Ukraine has been a challenge for the European community: an internal systemic crisis, a split in society, external military aggression, and unstable work of political institutions have become integral characteristics of the state. And the country is trying to fight with this set of problems, while at the same time striving to join the EU, which causes an additional burden on all areas of social and political life. A. Duleba notes that letting Ukraine in means an opportunity for the European Union to gain enormous experience, otherwise it will have to limit itself to the constant “creation of a backup copy of the old system”.<sup>115</sup> We agree with the statements of A. Duleba, because after the full-scale invasion of Russia from February 24, 2022, Ukraine showed the EU a new level in confronting external threats and the ability to consolidate society. It was the Russian threat that became the catalyst for Ukraine’s European integration and gave impetus to Ukraine’s long-awaited application to the EU. We consider it necessary to pay attention to the fact that Ukraine’s acquisition of

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S. 425–453. URL: [http://www.repozytorium.uni.wroc.pl/Content/66145/28\\_Daniel\\_Butyter.pdf](http://www.repozytorium.uni.wroc.pl/Content/66145/28_Daniel_Butyter.pdf)

<sup>114</sup> Labuda, M. Proces integracji Ukrainy z Unią Europejską. Aspekty instytucjonalne. *Instytucjonalizacja procesów integracji europejskiej: wybrane zagadnienia teoretyczne i funkcjonalne*. Warszawa: Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, 2019. S. 126–137.

<sup>115</sup> Duleba, A. O povahe tzv. Ukrajinskej krízy. *Annales Scientia Politica*. 2014. № 2. S. 48–53.

the status of a candidate for EU membership is not an accident due to the war. Ukraine has come a long way in promoting the European idea and implementing European standards. Rather, the war served as an impetus for the EU, for which it is sometimes difficult to understand the internal political processes of Ukraine.

Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine and the brutal war since the beginning of 2022 made it possible to openly talk about Russian influence on the process of European integration of Ukraine. Before that, researchers made assumptions that were difficult to confirm with actual data. And the conclusions of scientists on Russian influence were often called an exaggeration in Western academic circles.

Western researchers usually associate Ukraine's desire to get closer to the EU with the search for ways to overcome Russian influences, which rarely correspond to the national interests of the Ukrainian state. The French analyst F. Gouyon wrote back in 2005 that Ukraine's course towards Europe is a way to find new security, first of all, from Russia and its pressure. In order to carry out successful transformations in Ukraine, they must be united by a common goal, such as, for example, rapprochement with the EU. Its members are also interested in such changes, and the reason is the same – the creation of additional protection from the Russian Federation. F. Gouyon adds that this motivation is primarily characteristic of Poland, which, on the one hand, still remembers the controversial Soviet past, and on the other hand, objectively assesses Russia's "appetites" for neighboring territories.<sup>116</sup> Therefore, it is better to have a pro-European, not a Russian Ukraine as a neighbor.

Having familiarized ourselves with the European vision of Ukraine's ability to become part of a united Europe, several trends can be emphasized:

- Ukraine has always been identified as a European state that, for some reason, has been determined for a long time with its priorities and implements them;
- Until 2014, Ukraine was inextricably linked with the Russian Fed-

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<sup>116</sup> Gouyon, F. L'Ukraine aux limites de l'Europe? *Hérodote. Revue de géographie et de géopolitique*. 2005. № 3. URL: <https://www.cairn.info/revue-herodote-2005-3-page-147.htm>

eration, which affects the level of freedom in Ukraine's formulation of the same state priorities;

- the feeling of the Russian threat forces European countries to look at Ukraine's desire to get closer to the EU in a different way – as if this rapprochement strengthens the community's own security;
- the described obstacles in Ukrainian-European relations are mainly reduced to the institutional inability to improve indicators of general well-being and the lack of political will. However, these shortcomings are not perceived as a critical safeguard of European integration, but only as a challenge to which Ukraine must respond.

For more than two dozen years, the topic of European integration was focused on institutions and institutions, the functioning of which was determined by politics. After 2014, the extra-institutional dimension of the European integration course, which concerns the optimization of the communication component of the process, began to be investigated. It is about the fact that the key values of integration and consolidation, the perception of the goal of joining the EU by the majority of Ukrainian citizens depend both on the level of awareness and on the possibilities of implementing a national dialogue regarding further state building. The experience of the countries of stable democracies proves that membership in the European Union is a position of citizens shaped by a political decision, and not the other way around.

## PART 3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND TERMINOLOGY

European integration covers all areas of state policy, as well as the development of civil society. The economy and education, health care and the defense sector can overlap within one reform. The European integration course affects the foreign policy of states and the international policy of continents, determines both socio-political dialogues and crises. The categorical apparatus and methodology of such diverse and motley problems also combines interdisciplinary approaches, scientific and normative definitions, generates a significant amount of data. We believe that the current state of European integration policy in Ukraine should be studied with the involvement of the methodology of system analysis with the dominance of the principles of synergy in combination with comparativism. Regulatory and institutional approaches, document analysis, historical retrospective method, structural-functional method, etc. are important.

In our opinion, the process of European integration has a systemic nature and consists of elements (practices, stages, etc.) that are interconnected by relations of internal determination and consistent dependence. Taking into account the important act of signing the Association Agreement – the political part on March 21, 2014 and the economic part on June 27, 2014,<sup>117</sup> it should be noted that from the point of view of synergy, within the analyzed system, a process of normalization and development is taking place as a sequential change in the qualitative states of the process. The path of partnership and cooperation to the political association and economic integration of Ukraine and the EU, as a result of which there is a transition to a new stable state of bilateral

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<sup>117</sup> *Угода про асоціацію між Україною, з однієї сторони, та Європейським Союзом, Європейським співтовариством з атомної енергії і їхніми державами-членами, з іншої сторони.* Верховна Рада України: Офіційний вебсайт. 2014. URL: [https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/984\\_011#Text](https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/984_011#Text)

relations and systemic changes in the state. We also pay attention to clearly defined bifurcation points. First, the simultaneous ratification of the Agreement by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and the European Parliament and its signing by the President (September 16, 2014). Secondly, the introduction of amendments to the Constitution, which established the irreversibility of Ukraine's European and Euro-Atlantic course (February 7, 2019).

The systematicity of European integration is also evidenced by the scales and levels of its implementation differentiated in the monograph. It is about concepts:

- «European integration policy» is the process and format of relations that have territorial boundaries and a final goal tied to a specific supranational entity, as well as the practical implementation of the «European choice». I. Rafalsky defines it as a worldview and strategic component of national self-determination, which is carried out in the conditions of gaining and establishing independence and state sovereignty of Ukraine;<sup>118</sup>
- «European integration course» – the direction of the state's civilizational choice, focused on the development of European principles of governance, the rule of law, the development and implementation of democratic principles of the social and legal state with the priority of the values of pluralism in all spheres of social life;
- «European integration practices» is a functional component of the European integration policy, organized in accordance with the specific work plan of the state authorities regarding the implementation of European standards in all spheres of public life. It is carried out through the process of creating a normative and legal framework for integration, forming appropriate structures for the implementation of political and legal decisions with the aim of acquiring EU membership.

It is this sequence that reveals the logic of perception and functional understanding of systemic changes in the state's policy, which received the content – the European integration policy, the direction – the Euro-

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<sup>118</sup> Рафальський, І. Політика євроінтеграції та її роль в процесі національного самовизначення. *Вісник НТУУ «КПІ». Політологія. Соціологія. Право: збірник наукових праць*. 2011. № 4 (12). С. 67–72.

pean integration course, and the action – European integration practices. And these theses are an argument in favor of recognizing the multilevel nature of complex socio-political systems. We propose to reveal the structure of European integration by specifying the subjects of this process. Recognizing the institutional weight and importance of the collective bodies of the EU (the Council of the EU, the European Parliament), we call the main subjects of European integration the countries – members of the European Union, on whose decision depends the final fate of intentions, applications and the possibility of membership in the European Union of other states, respectively – objects of European integration. Such subject-object relations enable the viability of the process and phenomenon of European integration. EU member states are authorized to ratify the accession agreement, which is preceded by a multi-stage procedure for processing the corresponding application.

It is important to decide on the key principle of systematization of European integration theories and theoretical approaches. Practice shows that chronology, i. e., the sequence of their occurrence, does not reveal either the motives of European integration or the logic of further appeals to the original theories. None of the theories considered in the corresponding subsection is comprehensive and has not exhausted its potential in explaining the processes that accompany the European Community. Therefore, we suggest moving away from the sequence or hierarchy of concepts, leaving the compliance of the request for self-preservation of the system as the leading factor in their evaluation. We believe that the conceptualization of European integration should be based on the symbiosis of two components: the potential to consolidate resources and efforts within a supranational entity and the desire to become part of it, transferring a part of national powers to joint management. Based on the level of capacity of these components, it is possible to assess the viability of the European Union in a specific historical period.

The systematic method also made it possible to organize the factors of the goals and directions of the European integration policy, highlighting the historical factors actualized by the beginning of the idea of unification of Europe, political factors that relate to the principles of internal management and external priorities, and factors-reactions to modern crisis phenomena in the European Union and beyond which



and determine the current goal of European integration. In this context, authors analyzed the essence of leading theories – federalism and neo-federalism, functionalism and neo-functionalism, communicativism, institutionalism, intergovernmentalism, liberal-intergovernmental theory, etc.

According to the researcher E. Kish, methodologically, in the course of scientific analysis of European political integration, it is necessary to proceed from such a position. Political relations form the most important subsystem of the system of international relations with its own structure, functions, and development process. One of the most important functions of this subsystem consists in the synthesis, determination, and reflection of all other types of relations that act as independent subsystems in the system of international relations.<sup>119</sup> Such complexity of the system presupposes the application of a complex approach “to the study of the European integration process, the clarification of the network of interdependent causes of historical changes, which, from the point of view of the research methodology, allows us to understand European integration as an integral process with its own internal logic of development, with the specifics of its qualitative characteristics being highlighted”.<sup>120</sup>

European integration is a dynamic movement based on the development of contents, which is built in stages with the use of historical and retrospective analysis. The research revealed the content of the key periods of scientific and theoretical understanding of the problem (descriptive and branch analysis), analyzed the author’s approaches to the phasing of the direct European integration of Ukraine (K. Kulakovskiy,<sup>121</sup> Yu. Masyk<sup>122</sup>) and military integration within the

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<sup>119</sup> Кіш, Є. Пошуки теоретичних моделей європейської інтеграції. *Політичний менеджмент*. 2004. № 6. С. 107–108.

<sup>120</sup> Кіш, Є. Пошуки теоретичних моделей європейської інтеграції. *Політичний менеджмент*. 2004. № 6. С. 103–114.

<sup>121</sup> Кулаковський, К. Економічна складова євроінтеграційного процесу України: проблеми і перспективи. *Проблемні питання економіки України та її регіонів*. 2016. № 5(27). С. 24–31.

<sup>122</sup> Масик, Ю. Етапи процесу євроінтеграції країн Балтії: досвід для України. *Вісник НТУУ «КПІ». Політологія. Соціологія. Право*. 2020. № 2 (46). С. 22–27.

framework of the European union, and proposed the periodization of the implementation of European integration practices of Ukraine (stage of determining priorities (1991 – 1998), stage of cooperation and partnership (1998 – 2014), stage of association and integration (since 2014)). In accordance with the specified periods, the specificity of the institutional dimension of the implementation of European integration practices is determined.

A significant part of the work in its conclusions was based on normative and institutional approaches, because the Ukrainian version of European integration is a simultaneous study of existing legal bases for integration into the European Community, standardized rules and requirements for candidates, development of joint treaties and agreements, adaptation of existing national legislation to the principles of European governance. The institutional support for cooperation between Ukraine and the EU, the genesis of institutional responsibility for the deepening of bilateral relations – from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the President, the Verkhovna Rada with its committees, and the governmental system of coordination and organization of the implementation of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU in different periods of relations have been studied. The key documents that determine the content of European integration practices of Ukraine are the Constitution of Ukraine, the Association Agreement, the laws of Ukraine «On the Principles of Internal and Foreign Policy», «On the Nationwide Program for the Adaptation of the Legislation of Ukraine to the Legislation of the European Union», industry strategies, resolutions of the Verkhovna Rada, presidential decrees, government resolutions.<sup>123</sup> With the help of the institutional approach, it is determined that the institutionalization of the European aspirations of the state is determined by specific historical factors and represents the result of the interaction of socio-economic, socio-cultural, economic and political factors that are interdependent and under the influence of external influences.

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<sup>123</sup> *Про Загальнодержавну програму адаптації законодавства України до законодавства Європейського Союзу. Закон України від 18.03.2004. Верховна Рада України. Законодавство України. URL: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1629-15#Text>*

The work used a comparative method, which made it possible to find out the degree of similarity of the principles of implementation of one or another policy, for example, in the Cybersecurity Strategy of Ukraine and the Directive on the security of network and information systems of the EU. The goals turned out to be similar: creating conditions for the safe functioning of cyberspace, its use in the interests of the individual, society and the state in Ukraine and achieving a high common level of security of network and information systems within the European Union in order to improve the functioning of the internal market in the EU.<sup>124</sup>

A number of research assumptions were implemented using the modeling method. Different models of implementation of European integration practices are emphasized: granting broad powers in coordinating the European process to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, creating special bodies with the status of individual ministries, creating separate state bodies, creating bodies with a special status in the structure of government secretariats, etc. The models of interaction between Ukraine and the EU were analyzed: the model of cooperation and partnership and the model of association and integration; models of implementation of European integration practices: decentralized, rigidly centralized, centralized-governmental, models of creating a special structure with a special status; models of organizing the concept of “Greater Europe” (M. Emerson<sup>125</sup>): “center-rays”, “webs”, “matrix” and “Rubik’s cube” models; models of the social state and social policy: neoliberal, or Anglo-American, conservative-corporatist, or Franco-German, social-democratic, or Scandinavian (G.Esping-Andersen<sup>126</sup>); Northern European, Anglo-

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<sup>124</sup> Directive (EU) 2016/1148 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 6 July 2016 concerning measures for a high common level of security of network and information systems across the Union. URL: [https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=uriserv:OJ.L\\_.2016.194.01.0001.01.ENG&toc=OJ:L:2016:194:TOC](https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=uriserv:OJ.L_.2016.194.01.0001.01.ENG&toc=OJ:L:2016:194:TOC)

<sup>125</sup> Emerson, M. Towards a Greater Eurasia: Who, Why, What, and How? *Global Journal of Emerging Market Economies*. 2014. № 6. URL: <https://www.ceps.eu/ceps-publications/towards-greater-eurasia-who-why-what-and-how/>

<sup>126</sup> Esping-Andersen, G. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990. 35 p. URL: <http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic1134169>.

Saxon, continental and Mediterranean (A. Shapir,<sup>127</sup> B. Ebbinghaus<sup>128</sup>).

Investigating the influence and correlation of European integration practices and the development of civil society, a three-dimensional model of the analysis of the initial parameters is proposed: at the political-institutional, social-resource level, and the level of individual identification.

Researcher M. Poliovyi applied neural network modeling of the functioning of international regional communities to the system of the European Union. He emphasizes that international regional communities, such as the EU, are approaching the level of the most complex international political entities. The European Union, on the one hand, shows the features of a state (even a superpower), on the other, only a confederation with fairly independent components. However, according to any approach, the European Union can be considered as an entity with a certain political structure, in which certain processes, political in nature, take place.<sup>129</sup>

A number of aspects were investigated using the structural-functional method. This applies both to aspects of the national procedure for implementing the Association Agreement with the European Union, the organizational structure of the community itself, and points of bilateral interaction, for example, in the defense sector. It was found that not only organizational forms have a structure, but also processes related to the European integration of Ukraine. In particular, the implementation of the decision at various stages functions as consultation, approval, adoption, ratification, etc. The division of functions between

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files/Readings%20on%20Social%20Democracy/Esping%20Anders on%20-20The%20Three%20Worlds%20of%20Welfare%20Capitalism.pdf.

<sup>127</sup> The EU policy towards ongoing Russian military aggression on Donbas. *Mission of Ukraine to the European Union*. 2020. URL: <https://ukraine-eu.mfa.gov.ua/en/2633-relations/>

<sup>128</sup> Ebbinghaus, B. *Does a European Social Model exist and can it survive? The Role of Employer Associations and Labour Unions in the EMU: Institutional Requirements for European Economic Policies* (Huemer, G., Mesch, M. and Traxler, F. (eds)). Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999. P. 1–26.

<sup>129</sup> Польовий, М. Актуальні проблеми Функціонування політичних інститутів. *Актуальні проблеми політики*. 2015. № 54. С. 212–220.

institutional and non-systemic actors, such as state institutions and civil society organizations, which are empowered and responsibilities within the framework of the Association Agreement and related strategies, is also provided for. The structure of European integration practices is also differentiated according to directions: regulatory, legal, institutional, socio-economic, public. The actualization of structural functionalism within the framework of the presented work is also justified by the modernization paradigm in modern structural-functional theory (M. Weber, E. Durkheim, R. Merton, V. Pareto, T. Parsons, etc.). It is based on the fact that modernization sets the direction of the evolution of socio-economic and political systems of any state and acts as a basic driver of the development of the country/regions as a result of the synthesis of sociological, economic, managerial, political ideas and methods of their practical implementation in a certain period of time.<sup>130</sup> The scientific discourse of our study proves that the European integration marker can in a certain sense be equated with the modernization marker, because it initiates and catalyzes further positive changes in state building (due to reforms, reorientation of the value locus, transformation of “government – private sector – society“ relations, etc.).

A feature of the methodological component of the research is the inclusion of the integrative property of the method. This unifying component has a wide scope of integrating possibilities for solving cognitive tasks regarding complex external phenomena, socio-political phenomena and processes, their interdisciplinary connections, etc. For example, analyzing the genesis of the theoretical justification of the goals and directions of European integration policy, we integrate key conceptual provisions into the modern world or local Ukrainian context. Studying the fundamental documents of a united Europe, we „try on“ their content to the legislation of Ukraine, requirements to the capacity of domestic political institutions. Determining the positive achievements or regression of the state in the world rankings, we integrate the obtained results into a kind of matrix of the agenda of the continent or the supranational structure. Thus, conclusions were drawn

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<sup>130</sup> Шашина, М. Модернізаційна парадигма в сучасній структурно-функціональній теорії. *Причорноморські економічні студії*. 2018. № 2 (36). URL: [http://bses.in.ua/journals/2018/36\\_2\\_2018/9.pdf](http://bses.in.ua/journals/2018/36_2_2018/9.pdf)

about the positive experience of Ukraine in the security sphere, which is relevant for the present day of the EU and its members. In general, when studying the state of the country's European integration policy at its active stage, it is impossible to neglect the integrative principle of analysis and assessment of the adaptability of any phenomenon or procedure that is a condition for European integration.

Empirical confirmation of the obtained theoretical results made it possible to apply the method of document analysis and content analysis (in particular, to study the provisions of pre-election programs of political parties on the subject of articulating the European integration component), expert assessments of state and independent scientific institutions and public organizations of Ukraine (National Institute of Strategic Studies, Ukrainian Center for Economic and Political Studies, United States Agency for International Development (USAID)), ratings (indices) of international agencies (Doing Business, global competitiveness (GCI WEF), index of human development, economic freedom, index of social development, quality of life, prosperity, rating budget transparency, corruption perception index, GDP per capita, Global Cybersecurity Index (International Telecommunication Union (ITU)), National Cyber Power Index, National Cybersecurity Index; secondary analysis of statistics of sociological services of Ukraine and abroad (Kantar Profiles Division, Pact, Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Razumkov Center, Democratic Initiatives Fund named after Ilko Kucheriv, Gallup Institute, Sociological Group "Rating", Center for Strategic Development territory).

Establishing the institutional-normative characteristics of the integration process, we perceive it as "the process of establishing a new integrity as a result of the arrangement, coordination and unification in space and time of the structures and functions of already existing open systems at each of the levels of their organization".<sup>131</sup> At the same time, it is worth paying attention to the starting point of the research – the

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<sup>131</sup> Кондратюк, В. Інтеграційні процеси: поняття, підходи, закордонний досвід. *Наукові праці Кіровоградського національного технічного університету. Економічні науки: зб. наук. пр.* Кіровоград: КНТУ, 2007. № 12, ч. 2. С.218.

term «integration». The Cambridge Dictionary interprets integration as an action or process aimed at uniting, joining or mixing different elements (people, things, objects, etc.), and the Latin «integratio» means restoration, combination, filling, which summarizes and embodies the understanding of this words.<sup>132</sup> However, in economics and politics, integration processes, due to their ambiguity and instability, are oriented towards an even wider variety of meanings. The French economist M. Pebro defines “integration” as a process of interaction between states, the form of which is subject to the legal component, and the content to the political one.<sup>133</sup> The Dutch economist W. Molle adds the same industry component to the definition, noting that “integration is the gradual leveling of economic barriers between independent states, as a result of which the economies of these countries begin to function as one”.<sup>134</sup>

Those who explain the integration processes as manifestations of globalization associate its development with the motive of the participating countries to get into a better class or jointly form one so as not to belong to one that is defined geographically. Although integration is mainly associated with international relations, it is not limited to the political plane. Even more, it is implemented rather according to economic priority, although it can also be sectoral, ecological, social production, etc. Sustainability of integration processes ensures not only rapprochement in interaction, but also in the search for common goals – they are the guarantor of the further institutional evolution of the integrated participants.

Finding out the characteristics and giving an assessment of the current state and prospects of European integration practices of Ukraine, we appealed to the phenomena and concepts that best define normative and legislative acts from the system of bilateral relations between our state and the European Union. The methodology for determining the

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<sup>132</sup> *Cambridge Dictionary*. Cambridge University Press. URL: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/integration>

<sup>133</sup> Пebro, М. *Международные экономические, валютные и финансовые отношения*. М.: Прогресс, Универс, 1994. 496 с. С. 193.

<sup>134</sup> Molle, W. *The Economics of European Integration*. Theory, Practice, Policy. Aldershot, Ashgate. 2001. 548 p. P. 19.

criteria of the European integration component of state target programs categorizes such relevant concepts as: European integration component (part of a program document or project that belongs to the sphere of European integration issues); European integration measures (actions, the ultimate goal of which is the legal, economic, and institutional rapprochement of Ukraine with the EU); adaptation (convergence) of legislation (the process of bringing the laws of Ukraine and other normative legal acts into compliance with the *acquis communautaire*); *acquis communautaire* (EU legal system); harmonization (bringing national standards into line with European Union standards); implementation (implementation by the state of international legal norms); activities in the field of European integration (a set of actions related to the creation of conditions for the integration of Ukraine into the EU); institutional support (establishment of new or improvement of existing institutions, as well as actions regarding personnel training for the purpose of organizational support for the activities of these institutions and the European integration process as a whole); informational support (a complex of informational and educational activities aimed at mutual penetration into the information space of Ukraine and the EU with the aim of forming a pro-European majority in Ukrainian society, and a pro-Ukrainian majority in European society, as well as aimed at public support for Ukraine's European integration course); Copenhagen criteria (the criteria for the accession of Central and Eastern European countries to the EU, adopted in June 1993 at the meeting of the European Council in Copenhagen and confirmed in December 1995 at the meeting of the European Council in Madrid).<sup>135</sup>

Taking into account the European integration context of socio-economic development, it is worth paying attention to the concept of the Polish economist M. Woźniak, in whose theory «the common good is based on the existential and spiritual well-being of a person and the achievement of full self-realization, which are manifested in the cre-

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<sup>135</sup> *Про затвердження Методики визначення критеріїв євроінтеграційної складової державних цільових програм. Наказ Міністерства економіки та з питань європейської інтеграції України № 62 від 16 березня 2005 р. Законодавство України. URL: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/z0438-05#Text>*



ation of conditions for the harmonization of development goals based on values inherent in all aspects of human life – interrelated values that must be respected because of the consequences that may arise between different spheres”. The scientist, on the one hand, defines integrated development as a harmonized increase in the quality of meaningful life in all eight spheres of human existence (spheres of spirituality, knowledge, technology, consumption, economy, politics, social and nature), stressing that the integration of development processes in the EU is implemented on social and transnational level and is reduced to the social, economic and ecological sphere in the structure of the social market economy. On the other hand, M. Woźniak points out the impossibility of integration or harmonization of socio-economic development, which is based on spontaneous orders, free market mechanisms with minimal state intervention, due to competition and spontaneous destruction and selection.<sup>136</sup> The theses expressed by the scientist are echoed in our work by the denial of the intention to calculate the European experience, norms and principles of the implementation of sectoral policies, instead, the entire integration potential should be used for the use of the most suitable practices, which would be in harmony not only with the institutional or resource capacity of Ukraine, but also with the requests citizens, the cultural and historical tradition of the state.

Another marker that needed to be specified when solving research tasks is the potential of civil society in the implementation of the European integration course. It is defined as the ability and set of opportunities of civil society organizations to participate in the implementation of the country’s European integration course together with state institutions, and as an independent advisory body from among interested CSOs in the priority areas of European integration. It is emphasized that the resource component of civil society is represented by active non-governmental organizations, and they have access to information, dialogue, democratic experience of other countries and the opportunity to broadcast alternative or additional positions regarding the inclusion

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<sup>136</sup> Вожняк, М. Соціально-економічний розвиток України в умовах сучасних глобальних викликів. *Міжнародна економічна політика*. 2016. № 1 (24). С. 7–28.

of socio-economic, cultural and humanitarian issues in the agenda of the European integration process. etc. Note that in the course of the research, we see an appeal to the public sector not only in matters related to the need to build civil society, but also in relation to the establishment of socio-political communication on issues of European integration and even solving problems in the security sector of bilateral relations.

Therefore, the key research principle in the context of the analyzed issue is methodological pluralism, when the tools of approaches complement each other, expanding the possibilities for obtaining new resulting conclusions. Among the multi-scientific set of methods, we emphasize the importance of using synergistic and institutional approaches. With their help, the substantive characteristics of the process and policy of European integration, as well as the political and legal basis for the implementation of European integration practices in Ukraine, were clarified. The relevance of the substantiation of the assumptions and hypotheses expressed in the research was facilitated by the clarification, specification and interpretation of the key concepts used by the author. Some of them are categorized by modern social and behavioral sciences, some have been meaningfully updated within the framework of the rule-making process, some concepts are proposed to be interpreted from the point of view of their application in the political process in Ukraine.

## PART 4. INSTITUTIONAL DIMENSION OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION POLICY

The implementation of European integration practices was carried out within the framework of four models generalized by specialists: decentralized, rigidly centralized, centralized-governmental, model of creation of a special structure with a special status.<sup>137</sup> The beginning of the integration process was characterized by a choice in favor of a decentralized model, where the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was responsible for the implementation of most integration tasks. The establishment of a rigidly centralized model or “presidential” model, in which the role of the decision-making center is played by the division on European integration issues, formed directly in the Presidential Administration, took place in parallel with the strengthening of the powers of the presidential power. However, after the restoration of the parliamentary-presidential form of government, this model lost its validity. It should be noted that the change in the form of government led to a review of powers between state authorities and adjustments to the internal institutional foundations of the European integration of Ukraine.<sup>138</sup>

The last two models were considered the most discussed and adequate for fulfilling the tasks of European integration for Ukraine. For example, during 2007 – 2008, the British government financed the “European Integration Coordination Project (EUCOP)”.<sup>139</sup> As a result,

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<sup>137</sup> Угода про асоціацію – цінність, яку можна втратити: аналітична записка. Київ. Міжнародний фонд «Відродження». 2012. URL: [https://www.irf.ua/perspektivi\\_pidpisannya\\_ugodi\\_pro\\_asotsiatsiyu\\_z\\_es\\_obgovoryat\\_u\\_zaporizhzi/files/ukr/programs/euro/eu\\_forum\\_an.pdf](https://www.irf.ua/perspektivi_pidpisannya_ugodi_pro_asotsiatsiyu_z_es_obgovoryat_u_zaporizhzi/files/ukr/programs/euro/eu_forum_an.pdf)

<sup>138</sup> Аверчук, Р. Президент-прем’єр-парламент: чи слід Україні змінити форму правління та Конституцію. *Вокс Україна*. 2018. URL: <https://vox-ukraine.org/prezident-prem-yer-parlament-chi-slid-ukrayini-zminiti-formu-pravlinnya-ta-konstitutsiyu/>

<sup>139</sup> Проект координації європейської інтеграції (EUCOP). *Інститут еконо-*

the Ukrainian authorities were offered two models for building a European integration policy coordination system based on the analysis of integration models of countries that have successfully integrated or demonstrated effectiveness in acquiring EU membership. The first centralized-governmental one provided for the existence of a unit on European integration within the Government apparatus. For some time, it was believed that the centralized government model (coordination of the European integration policy by the structure of the government secretariat) is optimal. The functioning of the Government Secretariat in accordance with the best European experience (Bulgaria, Slovenia, Estonia, etc.) made it possible to solve key issues related to the implementation of the Agreement and the strengthening of the institutional support for European integration effectively and at minimal costs. Sufficient effectiveness of the functioning of this model was proven by the activity of the Coordinating Bureau of European and Euro-Atlantic Integration within the Secretariat of the Cabinet of Ministers during 2008 – 2010.

The second model was based on a central executive body with special powers (following the example of Poland).<sup>140</sup> The substantive discussion of the idea of creating a centralized European integration coordination system in Ukraine based on the example of former and current candidate countries for joining the EU took place back in 2008. However, due to certain narrow departmental interests of three key ministries, no decision was made.<sup>141</sup> The most effective mechanism of coordinated work in relations with the European Union, according to A. Veselovskyi, is, firstly, compliance with obligations regarding the fulfillment of assigned tasks, and secondly, the close relationship of Ukrainian ministries with the relevant EU structure in order to adopt

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*мічних досліджень та політичних консультацій*. 2007. URL: <http://www.ier.com.ua/ua/projects?pid=2218>

<sup>140</sup> Трюхан, В. Інституційне забезпечення виконання угоди про асоціацію Україна-ЄС. *Вісник Національної Академії державного управління при Президентові України*. 2011. №3. С. 189–190.

<sup>141</sup> Угода про асоціацію – цінність, яку можна втратити: аналітична записка. Київ. *Міжнародний фонд «Відродження»*. 2012. URL: [https://www.irf.ua/perspektivi\\_pidpisannya\\_ugodi\\_pro\\_asotsiatsiyu\\_z\\_es\\_obgovoryat\\_u\\_zaporizhzi/files/ukr/programs/euro/eu\\_forum\\_an.pdf](https://www.irf.ua/perspektivi_pidpisannya_ugodi_pro_asotsiatsiyu_z_es_obgovoryat_u_zaporizhzi/files/ukr/programs/euro/eu_forum_an.pdf)

its experience, standards and rules of operation. For example, the agricultural sector of Ukraine (Ministry of Agrarian Policy) should interact with the Commissioner for Agriculture and Rural Development and his staff and the subordinate Directorate General of the European Commission, the Ministry of Family, Youth and Sports – with the Commissioner for Education, Training, Culture and Youth, and the Ministry of Industrial Policy – with the Commissioner for Entrepreneurship and Industry. The directorates general of the European Commission develop proposals that form the basis of the decisions of the highest body of the European Union and become the practical policy of all member states. In the same way, compliance with obligations must be monitored in terms of state obligations – by the Government and its target body, the Coordinating Bureau of European Integration. In the part of the current actions of the integration participants – by the diplomatic agency. But even then, the need for a separate department for European integration, which operated in all new member states and EU candidates at a similar stage, was discussed and substantiated to ensure the successful implementation of a multi-faceted process of interaction with the EU.<sup>142</sup> Discussions regarding the need to create a ministry or other office that should be headed by a profile vice prime minister, was restored in 2014 and lasted for several years. Therefore, referring to the proposed periodization, the specificity of the institutional dimension of the implementation of European practices in Ukraine at the first stage was the initiation of the creation of a structure of offices whose functional purpose was to ensure the European direction of foreign policy.

The above-mentioned processes of the first stage of the European integration policy are subordinated to reforms in executive authorities. On the initiative of the first Minister of Foreign Affairs of independent Ukraine A. Zlenko, the updated structure of the central apparatus of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was approved, where specialists of the designated second territorial administration in the number of five departments (Central Europe, Western Europe, Northern Europe and

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<sup>142</sup> Веселовський, А. Європейська інтеграція України: між омріяним поверненням та «домашньою роботою». *Науковий вісник Дипломатичної академії України*. 2009. № 15. С. 67.

the Baltic, the USA and Canada, Central and Southern America) were engaged in the study and implementation of these issues.<sup>143</sup>

Ukraine-EU relations took place at the level of the President and the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In September 1992 (Kyiv), the first Ukraine-EU meeting took place at the highest level between the President of Ukraine L. Kravchuk and the Chairman of the Commission of the European Communities J. Delors. And the first meeting at the level of foreign ministers took place on March 9 – 11, 1994 (Kyiv). The signing of the Agreement on partnership and cooperation at the level of foreign ministers (January 5, 1995, Kyiv) updated the discussion of prospects for the development of Ukraine-EU relations and current international issues.<sup>144</sup> Subsequently, the number of meetings and creation of new institutes increased. The first meeting of the Ukraine-EU Joint Committee on March 24, 1995 (Brussels), regular meetings of the President of Ukraine L. Kuchma with the Head of the European Commission, Ukraine-EU meetings at the level of foreign ministers, etc. testified to the fact of the formation of the institutional component of Ukraine-EU relations.

At the same time, at the domestic political level, the model of implementation of European integration practices was just in its infancy. Implementation of the European integration course required the creation of an extensive functional structure at the state level. However, internal political confrontations and the lack of consensus among the Ukrainian political elite, the dominance of corporate interests over national ones made it much more difficult to advance the course of Ukraine's European integration.

Previously, we have already analyzed the external dimension of the implementation of the integration strategy through the prism of the es-

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<sup>143</sup> Кулеба, Д. Анатолій Зленко був одним із батьків-засновників сучасної Української держави. *Міністерство закордонних справ України*. 2021. <https://mfa.gov.ua/news/dmitro-kuleba-anatolij-zlenko-buv-odnim-iz-batkiv-zasnovnikiv-suchasnoyi-ukrayinskoyi-derzhavi>

<sup>144</sup> Актуальні проблеми європейської та євроатлантичної інтеграції України. *Матеріали 17 регіон. наук.-практ. конф.* 14 травня 2020 р. м. Дніпро. ДРІДУ НАДУ. 2020. URL: [http://www.dridu.dp.ua/konf/konf\\_dridu/2020\\_05\\_14\\_pei\\_pei\\_material.pdf](http://www.dridu.dp.ua/konf/konf_dridu/2020_05_14_pei_pei_material.pdf)

establishment of foreign policy relations between Ukraine and the EU, as well as the formation of an appropriate legislative framework to support these relations. Several stages of the development of the process were traced here:

- 1) 1991 – 1994 – approval of the principle of “multi-vector” as fundamental for the country’s foreign policy course;
- 2) 1994 – 2004 – the real implementation of multi-vectorism in foreign policy with the formal declaration of European integration of Ukraine as a strategic goal of development;
- 3) 2005 – 2010 – with the victory of V. Yushchenko in the presidential elections of 2004 – 2005, there was a partial change in the political and managerial elite of the country, with the recruitment of pro-European leaders to management positions.

There has been an actual change in the state foreign policy of Ukraine, the beginning of the real implementation of the course of reforms aimed at Ukraine’s membership in the EU. This happened during the development of the “Eastern” expansion program of the European Union announced in 2004. We consider the next period of 2010-2013 to be short, but rich – from President V. Yanukovich’s announcement of support for the country’s European integration strategy, the initialing of the Association Agreement, to the sudden refusal of M. Azarov’s government to continue preparations for the signing of the Agreement at the Eastern Partnership Summit in Vilnius. Currently, from 2014 until now, as a result of mass protest actions, one of the demands of which was the restoration of Ukraine’s European progress, there has been a partial reformation of the composition of the political and managerial elite, the signing of the Association Agreement and its ratification by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and the European Parliament.<sup>145</sup> Ukraine’s acquisition of the status of a candidate for EU membership in 2022 took place already in the conditions of a full-scale war with Russia. Thus, the intensity and effectiveness of the European integration process in Ukraine mainly depends on subjective factors, i.e. the position of the relevant political leader.

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<sup>145</sup> Дудкевич В. Процес інтеграції України до Європейського Союзу в контексті суперечностей внутрішньо європейського розвитку. *Політичне життя*. 2021. № 1. С. 121.

For the first time, comprehensive institutional support for cooperation between Ukraine and the EU was approved by the «Strategy of Ukraine's Integration into the European Union» dated June 27, 1999, based on the Decree of the President of Ukraine «On the List of Central Executive Authorities Responsible for the Implementation of Tasks».<sup>146</sup> The system of state authorities in relation to the European integration strategy was formed by: the President of Ukraine, who led the strategy of Ukraine's integration into the EU; The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, which was entrusted with the function of implementing the state European integration strategy; central bodies of executive power within their competence, which performed tasks in the field of European integration. The President of Ukraine managed the Strategy of Ukraine's integration into the EU, and also annually participated in the Ukraine-EU summit, which is a mechanism for regular political dialogue at the highest level. A special place among state bodies has traditionally been occupied by the Council of National Security and Defense of Ukraine, which, in accordance with the Constitution of Ukraine (Article 107), is a coordinating body on issues of national security and defense under the President of Ukraine.

In order to adapt the legislation to European standards, the Decree of the President of Ukraine dated August 30, 2000 established a consultative and advisory body under the President of Ukraine – the National Council on the Adaptation of Ukrainian Legislation to EU Legislation.<sup>147</sup> However, six years later, this structure was liquidated, after which the Coordination Council for the Adaptation of the Legislation of Ukraine to the Legislation of the European Union, which was created to ensure the interaction of state authorities and non-state institutions during the implementation of the National Program for the

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<sup>146</sup> *Про перелік центральних органів виконавчої влади, відповідальних за здійснення завдань*. Розпорядження Президента України від 27.06.1999. Верховна рада України. Законодавство України. URL: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/151/99-%D1%80%D0%BF#Text>

<sup>147</sup> *Про Національну раду з питань адаптації законодавства України до законодавства ЄС*. Указ Президента України від 30.08.2000. Верховна Рада України. Законодавство України. 2000. URL: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1033/2000#Text>



Adaptation of the Legislation of Ukraine to the EU Legislation, continued to take care of its issues.<sup>148</sup>

The lack of understanding of the system of coordination of measures aimed at the realization of Ukraine's European aspirations, miscalculations in the appointment of key positions and staff shortages are evidenced by the chaotic creation of certain institutions, their short existence and subsequent liquidation. Created by Presidential Decree dated January 30, 2003, the State Council for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration was liquidated already in 2005 due to a significant amount of duplication of functions of other institutions in the implementation of the European vector. So, under the presidential-parliamentary republic in Ukraine, the leading role in the field of European integration belonged to the President of Ukraine. At the same time, executive authorities, including the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, played a small role in determining the strategic tasks of European integration.<sup>149</sup>

The introduction of the parliamentary-presidential republic (2006 – 2010) increased the influence of the government and parliament on the implementation of Ukraine's European integration strategy. Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No. 174 «On some issues of coordination of the activities of executive authorities in the field of European integration» dated March 3, 2005, a decision was made to create a new position of Vice Prime Minister for European Integration. If previously the Minister of Economy headed the Ukrainian part of the Committee on Cooperation, now the authority was entrusted to the Vice-Prime Minister for European Integration.<sup>150</sup>

By Resolution No. 649 of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine dated July 16, 2008, the Coordinating Bureau of European and Euro-Atlantic

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<sup>148</sup> *Про деякі питання впорядкування діяльності консультативно-дорадчих органів при Президентові України.* Указ Президента України від 03.05.2006 р. № 340/2006. Верховна Рада України. URL: <http://zakon1.rada.gov.ua>

<sup>149</sup> Проблеми вдосконалення інституційних механізмів європейської інтеграції. *Лабораторія законодавчих ініціатив.* 2005. URL: <https://parlament.org.ua/2005/07/07/problemi-vdoskonalennya-institutsijni/>

<sup>150</sup> Тарасенко, К., Серета, Т. Конституційно-правова основа та інституційне забезпечення співробітництва України із Європейським Союзом. *Часопис Київського університету права.* 2016. № 3., С. 400–404.

Integration was established in the structure of the Secretariat of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on the basis of the Office for European Integration, which was liquidated.<sup>151</sup> The number of the newly created structure was 60 full-time units, which, in turn, increased the maximum number of employees of the Secretariat of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine by 40 full-time units. On the basis of Resolution No. 398 of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine dated June 7, 2010 “Some issues of the Secretariat of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine”, the above-mentioned body was also liquidated and the Bureau of European Integration was created in its place.<sup>152</sup> Also, another redistribution of functions and powers of state authorities took place, including in the field of European integration. The strengthened leadership of Ukraine’s EU integration strategy now rested on the President of Ukraine.

Another feature of European practices of this period was the lack of effective coordination between departments, their inability to resolve problems that arose in the integration process, particularly of a technical nature. The problems were the inconsistency of the actions of the Ukrainian delegations and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, conducting negotiations from the position of the department, and not of society, which significantly made it impossible to make optimal decisions, and reduced the level of information about the implemented measures in the field of European integration. The creation of institutions for the implementation of the European integration of Ukraine often took place without analyzing the effectiveness of the previous structures by mechanically copying the systems that operated in the new candidate countries for joining the EU, without taking into account the peculiarities of the administrative model in force in Ukraine or elementary expediency. This period was characterized by a constant increase in

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<sup>151</sup> *Про створення Координаційного бюро європейської та євроатлантичної інтеграції*. Постанова Кабінету Міністрів України від 16.07.2008. Верховна Рада України. Законодавство України. URL: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/649-2008-%D0%BF#Text>

<sup>152</sup> *Деякі питання Секретаріату Кабінету Міністрів України: постанова Кабінету міністрів України від 07.07.2010*. *Верховна Рада України. Законодавство України*. URL: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/398-2010-%D0%BF#Text>

the number of advisory and coordinating offices under the President of Ukraine, the functions of which often duplicated the functions of those state authorities that had the right to participate in the formation and promotion of Ukraine's European integration strategy, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.<sup>153</sup>

It should be noted that during the implementation of the European integration strategy, one of the key provisions in the system of institutional support for the European integration of Ukraine was played by the Parliament through the work of the Committee on European Integration, the decision to create which was adopted by the Parliament of the fourth convocation in June 2002, and the Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs. Only during 2002–2004, more than 50 meetings of the Committee were held, about 130 draft laws were considered. The parliamentarians emphasized the need for specific achievements in the economy, politics, social sphere, ensuring human rights for the success of the European integration path as a whole. The active work of the committee on European integration in the Verkhovna Rada of the seventh convocation, which consisted of 17 deputies, brought Ukraine closer to the EU. Such a wide composition of the committee testified to the understanding of the importance of working with European issues and recognizing them as key.

At the same time, the number of the corresponding Committee of the eighth convocation of the Parliament was 13 deputies. In the Verkhovna Rada of the ninth convocation, discussions began regarding reducing the number of the Committee to the minimum (seven deputies) and possible unification with another committee. Such statements were made by representatives of the “Servant of the People” party. Since it depends on the specialized committee, how quickly and how well the parliament will consider European integration draft laws to fulfill its obligations under the Agreement, the mission of the European Parliament did not recommend Ukraine to combine this committee with another, but on the contrary, advised to increase its role in decision-

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<sup>153</sup> Тарасенко К., Серета Т. Конституційно-правова основа та інституційне забезпечення співробітництва України із Європейським Союзом. *Часопис Київського університету права*. 2016. № 3., С. 401.

making.<sup>154</sup> In addition, the involvement of a large number of deputies and committees in the consideration of European policy contributes to the spread of knowledge and understanding of policy, EU institutions and the processes of European policy development in parliaments.

Committees in their activities depend on the number and expertise of their employees. For example, identical committees in the parliaments of EU member states have from one to 59 employees. The staff responsible for working with European issues do not work only in the structure of committees in European affairs – they can specialize in European issues, but work in sectoral committees (as, for example, in Lithuania) or work in a central research service or legal department (as, for example, in the United Kingdom or France).<sup>155</sup>

The insufficient resource potential of the Committee on European Integration of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine remains a problematic aspect of the quality of achieving the goal of the signed agreements between Ukraine and the EU. Every month, during one meeting, it considers about 40 projects of legislative acts. Restarting the committee leads to a slowdown in the work on the preparation of draft laws, detailed analysis, and comprehensive conclusions. The need for increased expert assistance and assistance from the secretariat will allow MPs to focus on important bills that have particular political or legal significance at a given moment. Therefore, the previous experience in the field of coordination of the European integration policy consisted in significant discreteness of the functions and powers of the authorities. And the implementation of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between Ukraine and the EU, the Ukraine-EU Action Plan, the Agenda of the Ukraine-EU Association, the Action Plan for the Liberalization of the EU Visa Regime for Ukraine, and other obligations took place in the conditions of the conjunctural distribution of competences for approval work between various central bodies of executive power.

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<sup>154</sup> «Слуга народу» хоче обмежити комітет з євроінтеграції мінімальною кількістю депутатів. *Європейська правда*. 2019. URL: <https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/news/2019/08/20/7099880/>

<sup>155</sup> Функціонування комітетів у європейських справах у парламентах держав-членів ЄС: досвід для України. *UNDP*. URL: <https://www.ua.undp.org/dam>ukraine>

The distributed functions of European integration policy coordination between the President of Ukraine, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine could not ensure proper and full implementation of Ukraine's European obligations. The lack of a centralized coordination mechanism hampered the achievement of agreements with the EU and the implementation of tasks defined by internal decisions. One of the consequences of this institutional gap was that Ukraine lagged far behind its western neighbors, former partners in the socialist camp, on the path of integration into the EU, and the declared goals and adopted decisions aimed at rapprochement with the EU remained largely unrealized.<sup>156</sup> The implementation of European integration practices at the second stage was characterized by decentralization, lack of coordination of actions and low efficiency, which was reflected in numerous reports of civil society organizations, international and domestic experts, fragmented and chaotic changes in the system of coordination of European integration policy that took place in recent years.

At the current stage, the solution to the problem of creating and improving an integral coordination mechanism of the European integration policy in the system of executive power was actualized by the adoption of the Agreement. Going to a fundamentally new level required the creation of a coordinating body and a specialized government direction, and the negative previous experience of the Ukrainian government's activity in the field of European integration required the construction of a clear coordination of the implementation of the European integration direction. This process was significantly intensified by the authorities along with the rule-making work. Resolution No. 346 "On the Government Office for European Integration" dated August 13, 2014 approved the regulations on the Government Office, which, by the way, was developed in accordance with the best international experience summarized by the experts of the "SIGMA" program of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and De-

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<sup>156</sup> Трюхан, В. Інституційне забезпечення виконання угоди про асоціацію Україна-ЄС. *Вісник Національної Академії державного управління при Президентіві України*. 2011. №3.- С. 25.

velopment.<sup>157</sup> The main task of the Office was to focus attention on monitoring the general situation regarding the implementation of the Agreement. The resolution also approved the interaction scheme of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, the Ukrainian part of the Association Council between Ukraine and the European Union and the Association Committee between Ukraine and the European Union, the Government Office for European Integration of the Secretariat of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, ministries, other central executive authorities; a list of issues in the field of European integration is defined, the direction, coordination and control of which is carried out by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. A positive achievement was the opportunity to prepare consideration of issues of European integration policy at the level of meetings of the Council and the Committee of the Association (government level). Prior to that, such issues were considered separately at meetings of the Ukrainian parts of bilateral bodies (the Council and the Committee on Ukraine-EU Cooperation) and required additional formalization of their decisions within the framework of governmental regulatory procedures.

The governmental system of coordination and organization of the implementation of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU is presented as a system in three dimensions: – institutional, functional and programmatic. As the researcher T. Panfilova writes, “the institutional and functional components of the implementation of European practices in the branch of executive power consist of the following levels: the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, which directs, coordinates and controls the activities of ministries and other central bodies of executive power; Government Committee on Economic Policy and European Integration; The Government Office for European Integration of the Secretariat of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine... Deputy Ministers for European Integration and specialized divisions of ministries are responsible for the formulation and implementation

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<sup>157</sup> Co-ordination at the Centre of Government: The Functions and Organisation of the Government Office. Comparative Analysis of OECD Countries, CEECs and Western Balkan Countries. *SIGMA Papers*. No.35. OECD Publishing. 2004. URL: [http://www.oecdilibrary.org/governance/co-ordination-at-the-centre-of-government\\_5kml60v4x2f6-en](http://www.oecdilibrary.org/governance/co-ordination-at-the-centre-of-government_5kml60v4x2f6-en)

of state policy in their spheres of competence, the preparation of draft legislative acts in the field of European integration and their implementation, interaction with the relevant structural subdivisions of EU institutions and agencies”.<sup>158</sup>

At the same time, work on the implementation of European aspirations was delayed by a number of circumstances. The Government Office for European Integration had only a “coordinating” status and functions. And the lack of the right of delegation to other state authorities (only through the Prime Minister and only in exceptional cases), the right of legislative initiative, the impossibility of conducting negotiations with the European side at the highest levels reduced the role of the office as the only and main coordinator of European integration in the country. Regarding the lack of political weight of the “European Office” in the Secretariat of the Government of European Integration, Director of the Government Office N. Hnydyuk emphasized the limited real influence on the activities of ministers and department heads.<sup>159</sup> At the same time, the resolution provided for the further subordination of the Office of the Vice-Prime Minister for European Integration, which could significantly increase its political weight and reform powers.

The speed of reforms of the European vector was hampered by the delay in introducing the position of Vice Prime Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration, in particular, due to the uncertainty of the powers of such a position. Although European diplomats noted the need for a special position to accelerate the direction of European integration in Ukraine, warning about the expected low level of implementation of the necessary reforms and a possible high level of public disappointment. The implementation of the process of European integration and the implementation of reforms required a centralized leadership, endowed with real powers and able to manage a separate ministerial structure.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Панфілова, Т. Організація виконання Угоди про асоціацію з ЄС в Україні. *Ефективність державного управління*. 2017. № 3 (52). Ч. 1. С. 102.

<sup>159</sup> Сидоренко, С. Хаотична євроінтеграція: чому Яценюк не призначає профільного віце-прем'єра? *Європейська правда*. 2015. URL: <https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/articles/2015/03/12/7031748/>

<sup>160</sup> Сидоренко, С. Хаотична євроінтеграція: чому Яценюк не призначає про-

It was also about the creation of a separate ministry or department as a central body of executive power with a special status, with motivated employees, whose salary is 1.5 – 2 times higher than in others, with its own budget. It was emphasized the need to transfer technical and financial assistance for reforms to the vice-prime minister for European integration and the structure headed by him, because practice proved the inability and reluctance of line ministries to carry out reforms. However, according to experts, such a process could take time and require significant resources.

Proposals for the creation of the National Agency for European Integration were criticized. Director of the Institute of Euro-Atlantic Cooperation O. Sushko noted that there are no convincing arguments in the expert and international environment that the National Agency can help Ukraine on the way to European integration. According to the specialist, resources, powers, coordination and political will are important for European integration, and the vice-prime minister is only a ceremonial person who will not change anything by himself. The expert environment emphasized the need for a well-thought-out approach in approving a set of powers and competencies for the position of the vice-prime minister for European integration for the successful and effective implementation of European reforms.<sup>161</sup>

Therefore, the initiative announced by Prime Minister A. Yatsenyuk in 2014 during the first meeting of the Association Council, a key body created within the framework of the Agreement between Ukraine and the EU, was implemented only in 2016. Prior to this strengthening of control over the integration of the Prime Minister minister A. Yatsenyuk was often criticized and considered by public activists as an attempt to «monopolize» the direction of European reforms by the main government official. Government Resolution No. 696 from December 5, 2014 even established the Government Committee on Economic

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фільного віце-прем'єра? *Європейська правда*. 2015. URL: <https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/articles/2015/03/12/7031748/>

<sup>161</sup> Експерт: віце-прем'єр з євроінтеграції – церемоніальна особа, що нічого не вирішує. *Слово і діло: аналітичний портал*. 2015. URL: <https://www.slovovidlo.ua/2015/04/28/novyna/polityka/ekspert-vice-premyer-z-yevrointehraciyi-ceremonialna-osoba-shho-nichoho-ne-vyrishuye>



Development and European Integration, which was chaired personally by the Prime Minister. Theoretically, according to experts, this body was able to fill the vacuum of political coordination of European reforms. However, on a practical level, the activity of this structure did not yield results. During the functioning of the Committee, the government portal did not report on any of its meetings or, even more so, on its decisions.<sup>162</sup>

On March 20, 2015, the Institute of Euro-Atlantic Partnership, representatives of the Resuscitation package of reforms and the information campaign “Stronger together!” addressed the President and the Prime Minister with a proposal to introduce the position of vice-prime minister for European integration. Euro-integrator experts developed selection criteria for this position, including, in particular, specialized knowledge, understanding of the priorities of the new economic and trade geography of Ukraine, the ability to conduct dialogue with EU institutions at the highest level, etc.<sup>163</sup> According to the results of the public selection, the list of applicants for this position included: Acting President of the American Chamber of Commerce T. Kachka, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs for European Integration O. Zerkal, Director of the Coordinating Bureau of European and Euro-Atlantic Integration in 2008 – 2010 V. Tryukhan, representative of Ukraine to the EU K. Eliseev and government commissioner for ethno-national policy H. Druzenko. However, it was only almost a year later that the position of Deputy Prime Minister was agreed upon. It should be noted that due to such inhibition, the Association Committee, which, according to the provisions of the Agreement, was supposed to be headed by the Vice Prime Minister, could not start its work for a long time.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Прем’єр-міністр провів перше засідання Урядового комітету. *Урядовий портал*. 2014. URL: <https://www.kmu.gov.ua/news/247158585>

<sup>163</sup> Громадська думка: підсумки 2013 року. *Фонд «Демократичні ініціативи» імені Ілька Кучеріва*. URL: <https://dif.org.ua/article/gromadska-dumka-pidsumki-2013-roku>

<sup>164</sup> Громадськість пропонує кандидатів на посаду віце-прем’єра з євроінтеграції *Реанімаційний пакет реформ*. 2015. URL: <https://rpr.org.ua/news/hromadskist-proponuje-kandydativ-na-posadu-vitse-premjera-z-jevrointehratsiji/>

In 2015, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine announced an initiative to create the State Agency for European Integration. In 2015, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, P. Klimkin, advocated the creation of a new body of executive power that would take care of European integration and reforms. In his opinion, each country that became a member of the EU had such a separate structure, and in Ukraine it should take care of the entire spectrum of reforms taking place in the state, and not just relations with the EU.<sup>165</sup> A number of experts emphasized the need to create a separate coordinating body on issues of European integration in the system of executive power in Ukraine. As evidenced by the experience of Poland and the Baltic states, the government and executive authorities played the main role in the coordination of the state European integration strategy. Therefore, adequate funding for the fulfillment of the tasks of such a structure is expected to ensure the effectiveness of the implementation of European practices.

The experience of many European countries that have successfully integrated or are on the way to integration testifies to the success of the model in which the work of the structural bodies of the European integration direction was subordinated directly to the prime minister. In the Baltic countries, European integration was handled at the strategic level by a body headed directly by the prime minister (a government committee in Estonia, a government commission in Lithuania, the European Integration Council with the status of a government subcommittee in Latvia). However, the effectiveness and success of the implementation of European integration obligations was directly related to the existence of a separate special body for European integration. Therefore, the coordination and implementation of the legislation was handled by institutions that had a branched structure and a leader: the office of European integration in Estonia and Latvia, the European committee in Lithuania. Slovakia and Macedonia had a profile vice-prime minister for European integration with sufficient political and administrative weight. In Slovakia, this position was created within the structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (it is analogous to the Hun-

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<sup>165</sup> МЗС пропонує зробити Держагенцію з євроінтеграції. З єврокомісією погодили. *Європейська правда*. 2015. URL: <https://www.euointegration.com.ua/news/2015/07/15/7035948/>

garian State Secretary for European Integration). The Vice Prime Minister for European Affairs headed a separate body – the Government Council for European Integration, which was responsible for adapting legislation, conducting negotiations on joining the EU, managing EU funds for potential members, as well as for implementing the provisions of the agreement.<sup>166</sup> The Ministry of European Affairs was also established in Slovakia, and the Ministry of European Integration in Romania. The success of European practices is demonstrated by the experience of Poland's integration into the EU. The Government Commissioner for European Integration and Foreign Aid receiving the status of Secretary of State and the presence of a powerful structure – the office of the Committee for European Integration (the committee itself, created in 1996, is headed directly by the Prime Minister) allowed the Polish government to effectively fulfill its obligations under the agreement and integrate into the European space.<sup>167</sup>

Therefore, we focus on various models of implementation of European integration practices, which is demonstrated by world experience: the granting of broad powers in coordinating the European process to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Hungary, Czech Republic), the creation of special bodies with the status of individual ministries (Croatia, Turkey), the creation of separate state offices (Bureau of European Integration of Estonia), the creation of bodies with a special status in the structure of government secretariats (the office of the Committee on European Integration in Poland, the Directorate on European Integration in Bulgaria).<sup>168</sup>

<sup>166</sup> Шлях до ЄС Вишеградських країн: уроки для України. Фонд «Демократичні ініціативи імені І. Кучеріва». 2015. URL: <https://dif.org.ua/uploads/pdf/13318048035a71a8a708cc49.06571067.pdf>

<sup>167</sup> Басараб, М. *Досвід європейської інтеграції Польщі: перспективи для України*: автореф. дис. ... канд. політ. наук : 21.01.01. Нац. ін-т стратег. дослідж., Нац. ін-т пробл. міжнар. безпеки. Київ. 2004. 15 с. – С.7.

<sup>168</sup> Беззуб, І. *Сучасний стан і перспективи української євроінтеграції. Центр досліджень соціальних комунікацій НБУВ*. 2015. URL: [http://nbuviar.gov.ua/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=1209:suchasniy-stand-i-perspektivi-ukrajinskoji-evrointegratsiji&catid=8&Itemid=350%20%D0%B4%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B0%2012](http://nbuviar.gov.ua/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1209:suchasniy-stand-i-perspektivi-ukrajinskoji-evrointegratsiji&catid=8&Itemid=350%20%D0%B4%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B0%2012)

Ensuring regular dialogue between these institutions on issues of Ukraine's integration into the European Union, coordination of joint systematic and effective steps that bring Ukraine's legislation closer to EU law has become important in the implementation of effective European practices. In November 2019, the then Vice-Prime Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration of Ukraine D. Kuleba and the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine D. Razumkov announced the creation of a joint parliamentary and governmental platform for European integration for more effective and faster implementation of the Association Agreement with EU.<sup>169</sup> Within the framework of the platform, the government and parliament jointly develop and adopt laws for the implementation of the Agreement (with due consideration of EU legal acts), carry out further sectoral integration of Ukraine into the energy and digital markets of the EU, strengthen customs cooperation, deepen cooperation with the European Union in the areas of justice, freedom and security.

The platform works in the format of periodic meetings under the joint chairmanship of the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and the Vice Prime Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic integration. As a result of joint work, a road map of priority European integration draft laws was formed, which are under consideration by the specialized committees of the VRU or are planned to be submitted to the Parliament.<sup>170</sup>

The fact that the Government Office for European Integration, sectoral ministries, and the Parliamentary Committee for European Integration are involved in the European integration process testifies to the capacity of the state apparatus. The EU Delegation also works closely with the Government Office to strengthen institutional capacity. The presence of an active civil society allows you to constantly monitor the work of authorities in the direction of improving the well-being

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<sup>169</sup> Уряд і Верховна Рада домовилися про тісну взаємодію у сфері європейської інтеграції України. *Урядовий портал*. 2019. URL: <https://www.kmu.gov.ua/news/verhovna-rada-i-uryad-domovilisy-pro-tisnu-vzayemodiyu-u-sferi-yevropejskoyi-integraciyi-ukrayini>

<sup>170</sup> Євроінтеграційний дайджест. Випуск 103. *Євроінтеграційний портал*. 2019. URL: <https://eu-ua.kmu.gov.ua/digest/2817>

of Ukrainians. And joint efforts provide an opportunity to achieve significant progress on the path of modernization of Ukraine and ensure democratic stability and economic growth.

The ability of Ukrainian society to create prerequisites for EU membership depends on professionally trained specialists who can turn Ukraine's European integration aspirations into reality. A problematic aspect of the effectiveness of the implementation of European practices remains the lack of personnel support of the Government Office, the limitation of powers in the functions of coordination and monitoring, the imbalance of powers and resources of structural divisions of executive bodies on European integration issues.

The effectiveness of the implementation of European integration practices depends on the coordination of the activities of authorities in the regions and informing the population about the EU and the European integration of Ukraine. Thus, the first regional office of European integration was opened in Kherson in 2020. It was expected that such offices would be opened in Dnipropetrovsk, Poltava, and Khmelnytskyi regions. The Vice-Prime Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration O. Stefanyshina emphasized that the role of such offices will be educational and communication activities, informing about the steps taken by the government, the country as a whole and the European Union in the direction of the European integration of Ukraine.<sup>171</sup> Due to the war, the opening of offices in the cities of Ukraine has been suspended, but Ukraine has significant achievements in the direction of European integration in 2022.

In order to inform about actions related to the implementation of the Agreement, the "European Integration Digest" was published, which outlined the main news of Ukraine's European integration and bilateral cooperation with the EU for the past week. This is the result of the work of the communication team of the Office of the Vice-Prime Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration of Ukraine, the Government Office for the Coordination of European and Euro-Atlan-

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<sup>171</sup> У Херсоні відкрився перший регіональний Офіс з євроінтеграції. *Урядовий портал*. 2020. URL: <https://www.kmu.gov.ua/news/u-hersoni-vidkrivsyapershij-regionalnij-ofis-z-yevrointegraciyi>

tic Integration and the Verkhovna Rada Committee for Ukraine's EU Integration.<sup>172</sup>

Some committees in the parliaments of the EU member states take measures to ensure that external partners are fully informed about the activities of the EU institutions. For example, a subcommittee was created in the Parliament of Cyprus responsible for communications with citizens regarding European affairs – during the country's preparations for joining the EU, this subcommittee disseminated information on how EU membership would affect Cypriots. Effective committees in parliaments around the world recognize the importance of working with citizens and civil society. This makes it possible to increase public support for the parliament and support for the EU.<sup>173</sup>

We can summarize that at the first stage of normalized European progress, there was an awareness of the need to coordinate the activities of authorities for systematic planning and implementation of state policy measures in accordance with Ukraine's obligations in the directions of European integration. The second stage was the period of creating the institutional, organizational and political foundations of Ukraine's integration into the EU and setting up concrete mechanisms for Ukraine's gradual integration into European structures. There has been a transition from a rigidly centralized model or a «presidential» model, in which the role of the decision-making center is played by the unit on European integration issues, formed directly in the Presidential Administration, to a centralized government model (coordination of European integration policy by the structure of the government secretariat). The last one was considered optimal for some time.

The evolution of the institutional support of European integration demonstrated that the effectiveness of the implementation of relevant normative acts was formal in nature and depended on the political will of the executive power. European practices of this period were characterized by a lack of effective coordination between agencies, the inabil-

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<sup>172</sup> Євроінтеграційний дайджест. Випуск 103. *Євроінтеграційний портал*. 2019. URL: <https://eu-ua.kmu.gov.ua/digest/2817>

<sup>173</sup> Функціонування комітетів у європейських справах у парламентах держав-членів ЄС: досвід для України. *UNDP*. URL: <https://www.ua.undp.org/dam>ukraine>

ity to resolve technical problems that arise in the integration process, frequent inconsistencies in the actions of Ukrainian delegations and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and a low level of informing the population about the measures taken in the field of European integration. With the improvement of the institutional conditions for the implementation of European integration practices of Ukraine, namely the introduction of the position of the specialized vice-prime minister, the European integration course increases the effectiveness of fulfilling the conditions for achieving the goal. The key position in the system of institutional support for European integration of Ukraine is played by the Parliament through the work of the Committee on European Integration and the President of Ukraine through the work of internal advisory and auxiliary bodies.

## PART 5. POLICY OF THE EU STATES REGARDING THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION COURSE OF UKRAINE

Broad and important discussions regarding the role of Ukraine on the part of the member states of the European Union did not take place for a long time. Guided by the European security strategy of 2003, the EU leadership directed its efforts to building a certain circle of flexible states around the Union. Regarding Ukraine, the following option was considered: its transformation along with other countries into a well-governed democracy with a market economy on the border with the EU. At the same time, decisions regarding the spheres, intensity and goals of interaction remained with each member state and depended on the location of the state in Europe, historical experience and national interests.<sup>174</sup>

In Ukraine-EU relations, two groups have formed at the EU level – idealistic activists and pragmatic conservatives. The first group included the states of Central and Eastern Europe, which joined the EU after the enlargement in 2004 and 2007 and which had a common history with Ukraine, geographical and linguistic proximity. They actively advocated the prospect of membership in the EU, but after the strengthening of the threatening tendencies of the collapse of the democratic course during the time of V. Yanukovych, it split into two factions. One faction, led by Poland and Lithuania, continued to insist on the unconditional signing of the Agreement. Keeping Ukraine in the orbit of the EU with the help of the Association Agreement was seen by them as a way of distancing Russia from the borders of the EU. Another faction declared its readiness to help Ukraine with signs of real interest in reforms and common values, which gradually got closer to

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<sup>174</sup> Emerson, M., Tocci, N. *The Rubik Cube of the Wider Middle East*. CEPS. 2003. URL: <http://aci.pitt.edu/32576/>



the other conservative group and subsequently expanded its quantitative composition.

The group of conservatives consisted mainly of old member states who saw Ukraine as a stable, governed, democratic country friendly to the EU. Any further expansion of the eastern direction of integration was interpreted by them as a weakening of the EU and erosion of European integration.<sup>175</sup> And from such positions, the countries of this group built their relations with the Ukrainian authorities. This meant that Ukraine had to do all the necessary hard work first and only then could it reap any possible benefits from proximity to the EU. Their line has always been clear: Ukraine will have to carry out reforms to prove that it deserves to be closer to the EU. They opposed Ukraine's membership in the EU, while at the same time agreeing to hold negotiations on the Association Agreement. Therefore, at one time, after the collapse of democratic reforms and the disregard of European values by the Ukrainian leadership, rapprochement with Ukraine was suspended.<sup>176</sup>

The results of the expert survey "Who is a friend of Ukraine in the EU" published by the Institute of World Politics demonstrate this distribution of the attitude of the EU member states towards Ukraine. Ukraine enjoys the greatest support in the international arena from Poland, Lithuania and Sweden. The top ten also included Estonia, the Czech Republic, Germany, Slovakia and Finland. Italy, Bulgaria, Belgium and Greece showed the least support.<sup>177</sup> By the way, Italy, Hungary and even Finland lead the Eurosceptic direction towards Ukraine, which is evidenced by the corresponding attitude of their leading political forces and governments.

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<sup>175</sup> Срколасв, В. (за заг. ред.). *Європейський проект та Україна: монографія*. К.: НІСД, 2012. 192 с. – С.78-87.

<sup>176</sup> *EU Membership Perspective for Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine: impossible, forgotten, or hidden?* Institute of World Policy. 2016. URL: [http://neweurope.org.ua/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/EU\\_Membership\\_net\\_eng.pdf](http://neweurope.org.ua/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/EU_Membership_net_eng.pdf)

<sup>177</sup> Україну на міжнародній арені найбільше підтримує Польща, Литва та Швеція – опитування. *Європейська правда*. 2014. URL: <https://www.euro-integration.com.ua/news/2014/06/23/7023594/>

The majority of EU countries, especially countries of a conservative (Eurosceptic) orientation, are quite cool with the idea of Ukraine's membership in the European Union. Ukraine's transit period has been prolonged, and its progress is accompanied by a significant number of difficulties, which calls into question the future of membership. The threat to the success of such transit, according to many experts, remains, first of all, the struggle with the oligarchic system of Ukraine.<sup>178</sup> The magnitude of the problem is demonstrated by contradictory political decisions, for example, recognizing the work of the government as unsatisfactory while keeping the head and the team of such a government connected to oligarchs. Despite a significant number of reforms, high-profile investigations into the actions of the old system are hardly carried out or are selective in nature.<sup>179</sup> This state of affairs leads to an increase in the number of Europragmatists who seek to declare Ukraine a "lost cause".

Taking into account the many internal corruption scandals, the unstoppable threat from Russia and the weaknesses in the West, we can really talk about the low effectiveness of Ukrainian reforms<sup>180</sup> At the same time, such a conclusion, according to experts, does not correspond to reality for three reasons. First, turning to the historical aspect of reform processes in Ukraine, it is necessary to recognize the existence of a significant difference between the structure of today's Ukrainian political elites and the structure of their predecessors. Although the oligarchs still exercise enormous control over the decision-making process in Ukraine, their power is now more limited than after the «Orange Revolution» of 2004 – 2005 or during the presidency of V. Yanukovych in 2010 – 2014. Changes in civil society and the presence of reformist agents of change, though still in the minority, in all key branches of government mean that the pressure for reform is much greater now than before. Second, the legacy of the

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<sup>178</sup> Chromiec J. *Supporting Ukraine's Difficult Path Towards Reforms*. Jacques Delors Institut. Berlin. 2015. 24 p.

<sup>179</sup> *Judy Asks: Is Ukraine a Lost Cause?* Carnegieceurope. 2016. URL: <https://carnegieceurope.eu/strategieurope/62866>

<sup>180</sup> Chromiec, J. *Supporting Ukraine's Difficult Path Towards Reforms*. Jacques Delors Institut. Berlin. 2015. 24 p.

2013 – 2014 Revolution of Dignity meant that a significant portion of Ukrainian citizens not only relied on the government to implement reforms, but also demonstrated the ability to take some responsibility for their implementation. The war caused even deeper reflection on the civic national identity of Ukraine. Thirdly, the EU and the US have become more attentive to Ukraine and more mature in their assessment of Russia's actions<sup>181</sup>. Some experts emphasize that the presence of unrealistic Western expectations significantly hinders the assessment of Ukrainian achievements in reform.

According to P. Schmidt, the EU's policy towards Ukraine had strategic miscalculations, which consisted, first of all, in ignoring the warning about the possible harsh reaction of Russia if Ukraine gravitates towards the Western vector of development and becomes part of the EU's sphere of influence. It was emphasized that the potential membership of the states participating in the EU's Eastern Partnership Program will «change the tectonics of the post-Soviet space» and cause massive reactions from Russia. The next miscalculations were the presence at the EU level of a somewhat romantic approach to understanding the internal political situation and the insensitivity of the EU itself to the question of what negative consequences the Association Agreement may have for the EU itself.<sup>182</sup> In addition, the existing approach, which denied the connection between the EU's eastern policy and membership, was modified. On February 7, 2013, the European Commissioner made a statement on the possibility of a connection between the Eastern policy of the EU and its membership.<sup>183</sup> Therefore, even with a restrictive interpretation of the Association Agreement, the Ukrainian authorities perceived support from the EU as a future connection with direct membership in the European Union.

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<sup>181</sup> *Judy Asks: Is Ukraine a Lost Cause?* CarnegieEurope. 2016. URL: <https://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/62866>

<sup>182</sup> Schmidt, P. Reasons for Big «Blunders» – EU Policy towards Ukraine. *L'Europe en Formation*. 2016. № 3 (381). P. 81.

<sup>183</sup> Штефан Фюле: Євросоюз має надати Україні чітку перспективу членства. *Центр міжнародної безпеки та партнерства*. 2013. URL: <https://www.ispc.org.ua/archives/921>

One of the reasons for conducting a flexible policy towards Ukraine by the EU is that, regardless of the fact that member states formally have a decisive voice in the process, in practice many actors are involved, among which there is no clear hierarchy, rather a complex network of mutual dependencies and responsibilities. These actors do not share the same priorities and differ in their perspectives. Therefore, the voting, primarily on the issues of further EU expansion, is controversial and protracted, and increases the opacity of the accountability system.

Therefore, accepting responsibility for Ukraine today is a huge burden for the EU and overloads its economic and political agenda. Currently, the European Union is unable to provide resources for a realistic integration path for Ukraine. Despite significant political investments in Kyiv for many years, the EU leadership lacks a clear idea of the importance and prospects of Ukraine in the European Union. There are many signs that European integration is at a crossroads. The European elite still continues the traditional path of integration, but opposition to further centralization is growing. And this means that “integration fatigue” is progressing in the European Union.<sup>184</sup>

As already noted in the study, there is a difference in attitude between the elite and the population regarding Ukraine’s European integration progress. It consists, firstly, in the fact that European integration remains the subject of a limited group of experts discussed by the government, but not an issue of everyday life for the population. Secondly, the impact of the long-term lack of general information about the EU and the lack of a targeted information campaign is felt.<sup>185</sup>

Many Ukrainian analysts seem to share the opinion that Ukraine’s weak position in advancing its European integration aspirations is the result of inconsistent and slow domestic reforms; the dominance of political declarations over the practical implementation of Ukraine-EU documents; the weakness of administrative and institu-

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<sup>184</sup> Schmidt P. Reasons for Big «Blunders» – EU Policy towards Ukraine. *L’Europe en Formation*. 2016. № 3 (381). P. 73–100.

<sup>185</sup> Jarábik B., Sasse G., Shapovalova N., Waal T de. *The EU and Ukraine: Taking a Breath*. Carnegie Europe. 2018. URL: <https://carnegieendowment.org/2018/02/27/eu-and-ukraine-taking-breath-pub-75648>

tional support for Ukraine's ambitions for European integration; lack of experience on issues of European integration in the government. The key challenges are seen as the lack of coordination and coherence in the actions of state institutions regarding European integration efforts and insufficient institutional capacity, as well as the lack of public interest, awareness, support and demand for European integration.

Unfortunately, EU debates regarding Ukraine have always taken place in the area of either EU expansion or containment of dangerous influence from Russia. At the same time, the EU leadership understood that the democratic decline of Ukraine negatively affects Eastern Europe and sends ambiguous signals to other countries of the Eastern Partnership (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia and Moldova).<sup>186</sup>

But the fact that Ukraine remains important for the entire EU in terms of political stability, security and energy issues is undeniable. A demonstrative argument for this thesis is the reaction and attitude of the EU to Russian aggression in Ukraine since 2014. From the very beginning, the European Union has supported the territorial integrity of Ukraine, condemning clear violations of Ukrainian sovereignty by acts of aggression by the Russian armed forces. He fully supported all initiatives aimed at a long-term political solution to the conflict in eastern Ukraine, using all available means. The EU's approach has been to combine pressure through restrictive measures with diplomatic efforts and continued dialogue. The EU and its member states are the largest participants in the special monitoring mission of the OSCE, which monitors the implementation of the Minsk agreements. The European Union accounts for two-thirds of both the budget of the mission and the monitors. In addition to Member States, the EU contributed through the Instrument for Stability and Peace to support the Mission's ability to fulfill its mandate.<sup>187</sup>

The European Union has been Ukraine's largest international donor since the country's independence. The organization, together with its member states, provides the necessary support in the short and long

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<sup>186</sup> EU guidance on the handling of visa application from residents of Ukraine's Donetsk and Luhansk regions. *European Commission*. 2015. URL: [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP\\_19\\_5975](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_19_5975)

<sup>187</sup> The same.

term for the implementation of political and economic reforms necessary to consolidate a democratic, independent, united and prosperous Ukraine. In 2014, the EU and European financial institutions allocated 11 billion euros to support the political, economic and financial stabilization of Ukraine. About 6 billion euros were raised in the form of loans and grants, including the approved additional third program of macro-financial assistance in the amount of 1.8 billion euros. In addition, the first special measure (grants) was adopted in 2015 for Ukraine in the amount of 70 million euros to support the development of the private sector and the rapid recovery of the economy. This was supplemented by a loan guarantee of EUR 40 million under the Neighborhood Investment Fund. Together, these measures contributed to the support of small and medium-sized businesses and entrepreneurship in all regions of Ukraine, including in the areas most affected by the military conflict.<sup>188</sup>

In order to solve a particularly acute problem in mid-2014, the Commission created the Ukraine Support Group. It coordinates the resources and expertise of the European Commission in order not only to monitor, but also to assist Ukraine in implementing the Association Agreement and, most importantly, in carrying out the necessary deep and systemic reforms. The group helps individual ministries develop reform strategies and new reform legislation. Such a support group was created for the first time for any country outside the EU.

The EU is united in its unwavering support for Ukraine in the face of Russia's unprovoked and unjustified invasion and brutal military assault. The European Union has increased its political, humanitarian, financial and military support to Ukraine and is imposing large-scale sanctions against the Kremlin to undermine its military power.

Since the beginning of the Russian aggression, the EU has mobilized more than € 4 billion in macro-financial, budgetary, humanitarian, emergency and crisis aid to Ukraine. Except this, within the framework of the European Peace Fund, €2 billion was allocated to support the Armed Forces of Ukraine for the protection of the population and the territorial integrity of the state. The EU and its member states will

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<sup>188</sup> How the EU is supporting Ukraine. *European Commission*. 2015. URL: [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/de/MEMO\\_15\\_5035](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/de/MEMO_15_5035)

cooperate with international and European financial institutions, partners and organizations to continue to support Ukraine and help it meet its urgent financial needs, provide jobs basic institutions, and later to restore a free and democratic country.<sup>189</sup>

The Ukrainian authorities seek to strengthen cooperation with the EU and move relations to a more progressive level, coming up with various initiatives and proposals, for example, V. Zelenskyi's initiative to join the "Three Seas Initiative" (Three Seas). "Three Seas Initiative" (Adriatic, Baltic and Black) is an informal platform of cooperation of 12 countries of Central and Southern Europe (Poland, Croatia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Austria). However, Ukraine's joining this initiative is possible in case of EU membership.<sup>190</sup> Also, the "Three Seas" initiative should not be associated with geopolitics, since it should be considered as an infrastructure project.

In 2022, Ukraine will become the first non-EU country to lead the EU Strategy for the Danube Region (EUSDR). Presiding over the Danube Strategy is a great responsibility for Ukraine and an opportunity to learn from the experience of other countries in the region. Each joint platform with the EU accelerates the path of European integration of Ukraine, especially when it comes to cooperation in one of the largest regions of Central Europe.<sup>191</sup>

Thus, among the achievements of the current stage of implementation of European integration practices, we note a wide range of assistance from European structures. EU support is extremely important in Ukraine's resistance to a full-scale Russian invasion. Ukraine receives financial and military aid from EU member countries. Assistance is also provided in the areas of anti-corruption, decentralization, public

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<sup>189</sup> Ukraine. Support and reconstruction. July 2022. *Mission of Ukraine to the European Union*. 2022. URL: [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/STR\\_ReliefandReconstruction%20\\_Factsheet-UKR\\_1.pdf](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/STR_ReliefandReconstruction%20_Factsheet-UKR_1.pdf)

<sup>190</sup> Тримор'я і Україна. *Український кризовий медіа-центр*. 2021. URL: <https://uacrisis.org/uk/trymor-ya-i-ukrayina>

<sup>191</sup> Ukraine to be the first non-EU member state to chair EU Strategy for Danube Region (EUSDR) in 2022. *Danube Region Strategy*. 2020. URL: <https://danube-region.eu/ukraine-to-be-the-first-non-eu-member-state-to-chair-eu-strategy-for-danube-region-eusdr-in-2022/>

administration, judiciary and rule of law, constitution and electoral practices. For this, for the first time for any country outside the EU, at the level of the Union, a support group was created to monitor and assist Ukraine in the implementation of the Association Agreement. The EU, together with its member states, is the largest donor of humanitarian and rapid recovery/development assistance to Ukraine. However, due to the limited budget, the low level of support for reforms, the leadership's inability to resolve priority tasks, and a lack of understanding of the actions of the Ukrainian authorities, Ukraine's allies are willing to help rather in individual projects or training. The problematic dimension of EU-Ukraine relations remains the emphasis on personalities rather than institutions.



## PART 6. THE IMPACT OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION ON POLITICAL PARTIES AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN UKRAINE

European integration as a political course, the ultimate goal of which is to meet certain criteria and join the European Union, was constitutionally enshrined in Ukraine in 2019. This was preceded by surges of civil activity, the spread of European integration slogans, a broad information campaign, and the signing of important documents, the main of which is the Association Agreement between Ukraine, on the one hand, and the European Union, the European Atomic Energy Community and their member states, on the other hand. The foreign political vector of the state's development and its choice have always been part of the rhetoric of both the political elite and the counter-elite, but it is possible to determine the conditioning of this speech practice only by finding out whether European integration in politicians' speeches is synchronized with European integration in the demands of society.

Despite the fact that the European integration course cannot be called stable and planned, however, as of 2022, it does not have and does not need alternatives. It is significant that in the assessment of the progress of the implementation of the tasks of the Association Agreement, more than a third of the directions concern civil society, and even more – are qualitative criteria of its functioning. This raises a dualistic question: is a developed civil society a guarantee of advancing the European integration process in Ukraine, or is it one of the goals of implementing the European integration course? Or how are these aspects related, taking into account the role of public activity in the formation of the foreign policy paradigm of the Ukrainian state? Research interest also concerns the European integration context in the formation of ideologies and programmatic development of domestic political parties – situational communicators of socio-political relations, and ideally – leaders and exponents of public interests.

The tasks described above can be solved, for example, by comparing the program statements of the parties with the subsequent decisions of the representative authority. Having previously studied the periods of active institutionalization of the European integration course, we consider it appropriate to pay attention to the last 20 years of the genesis of the relevant component in the activities of parties, starting with the 2002 elections, as quite competitive and with a polar ideological representation of political forces. Then, of the 33 parties that participated in the elections, six political forces – parties and blocs that unite 22 parties – entered the parliament, overcoming the 4 % barrier.<sup>192</sup>

The leaders of the races in the single-mandate electoral district – the electoral bloc of political parties “Viktor Yushchenko’s Bloc “Our Ukraine” (comprising 10 parties) – declared in the joint pre-election program “restoration of European traditions of personality development” and “introduction of European environmental standards in the creation and reconstruction production facilities to improve the environment”.<sup>193</sup> And although such theses are automatically associated with the European vector of development, no intention of de facto integration is recorded in the document, its character is rather general and declarative, in the format of a joint statement of political forces.

The program of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU) lacks any pro-European rhetoric, instead rapprochement with Russia and Belarus is fixed.<sup>194</sup> Such theses remained unchanged until the ban of the Communist Party of Ukraine (as part of the Law “On Condemnation of Communist and National Socialist (Nazi) Totalitarian Regimes in Ukraine and Prohibition of Propaganda of Their Symbols” dated April 9, 2015).

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<sup>192</sup> Вибори народних депутатів України 31 березня 2002 року. *Центральна виборча комісія: Офіційний вебсайт*. URL: [https://www.cvk.gov.ua/vibory\\_category/vibori-narodnih-deputativ-ukraini/vibori-narodnih-deputativ-ukraini-31-bereznya-2002-roku.html](https://www.cvk.gov.ua/vibory_category/vibori-narodnih-deputativ-ukraini/vibori-narodnih-deputativ-ukraini-31-bereznya-2002-roku.html)

<sup>193</sup> Вибірчий блок політичних партій «Блок Віктора Ющенка «Наша Україна». Програма партії (блоку). *Центральна виборча комісія: Офіційний вебсайт*. URL: <https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2002/webproc12v7c4e.html?kodvib=400&pf7171=194>

<sup>194</sup> Комуністична партія України. Програма партії (блоку). *Центральна виборча комісія: Офіційний вебсайт*. URL: <https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2002/webproc12v1745.html?kodvib=400&pf7171=140>

“Bloc that will win” is the slogan from the program of the electoral bloc of political parties “For a united Ukraine!”, which, judging by the configuration of forces in the newly elected parliament, really won. The dual nature of the bloc’s program consists in the fact that, on the one hand, the political force declared about “promoting the comprehensive European integration of Ukraine”, on the other – about “strengthening ties with the CIS countries”.<sup>195</sup> The document repeatedly emphasized that Ukraine is a European country whose future is inextricably linked with Europe, and it was proposed to make the state itself a “center of regional economic integration”. However, no dominants were singled out – the priorities were reduced to “filling relations with Russia and the CIS countries with new content, increasing Ukrainian foreign policy, economic and humanitarian presence in Europe and the world”.<sup>196</sup> Similar to the rhetoric of the bloc “For a united Ukraine” were the provisions of the program of the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (united): “strengthening the sovereignty of the state and active participation in the international division of labor; Ukraine’s entry into world and European international organizations; development of relations with Russia on terms of partnership, equality and mutual benefit; creation of a pan-European collective security system with the participation of the countries of Western, Central, Eastern Europe and Russia.”<sup>197</sup> No assessment was given to European prospects in the program of the Electoral Block of political parties “Electoral Block of Yulia Tymoshenko”. And in general, the issue of foreign policy is limited by the criteria of “national interests”, “peaceful and equal relations with all states”, “use of transit capacities”.<sup>198</sup> Among the seven “priority obliga-

<sup>195</sup> Виборчий блок політичних партій «За Єдину Україну!». Програма партії (блоку). *Центральна виборча комісія: Офіційний вебсайт*. URL: <https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2002/webproc12vd151.html?kodvib=400&pf7171=195>

<sup>196</sup> Виборчий блок політичних партій «За Єдину Україну!». Програма партії (блоку). *Центральна виборча комісія: Офіційний вебсайт*. URL: <https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2002/webproc12vd151.html?kodvib=400&pf7171=195>

<sup>197</sup> Соціал-демократична партія України (об’єднана). Програма партії (блоку). *Центральна виборча комісія: Офіційний вебсайт*. URL: <https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2002/webproc12v0e36.html?kodvib=400&pf7171=143>

<sup>198</sup> Виборчий блок політичних партій «Виборчий блок Юлії Тимошенко». Програма партії (блоку). *Центральна виборча комісія: Офіційний*

tions of socialists”, which formed the basis of the SPU program, there are no points on the foreign policy vector of the state’s development.<sup>199</sup>

The balance of forces in the Verkhovna Rada of the IV convocation did not contribute to the implementation of pro-European slogans or to the promotion of the corresponding course, however, as can be seen from the pre-election programs, the parties did not see such goals and tasks among their priorities. Undoubtedly, in the period 2002 – 2006, the dialogue between the EU and Ukraine took place, the previously approved road maps continued to operate, but none of the parties made official statements about the implementation of the course for direct accession to the European Union.

The short tenure of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the 5th convocation (2006 – 2007) was marked by the outlined starting positions fixed in the pre-election programs of political parties. Thus, the Party of Regions declared about: carrying out a policy of good neighborliness with all neighboring states; systematic guidance of Ukraine towards European integration under the conditions of protection of national interests; support of Ukraine’s non-aligned status; normalization of relations with Russia as a strategic partner of Ukraine and completion of work on the creation of the Single Economic Space. Yulia Tymoshenko’s Bloc did not have a clear position on foreign policy priorities, and „Our Ukraine“ Bloc called integration into European structures with obtaining associate membership as soon as possible as the main direction of Ukraine’s foreign policy. The Socialist Party of Ukraine advocated good-neighborly mutually beneficial relations with Russia and other countries and defined social justice, the well-being of every family, a strong, democratic, sovereign state as the European choice of Ukraine. The Communist Party of Ukraine declared: strengthening friendly ties with the Russian Federation, the Republic of Belarus and other CIS countries; filling in the real content of the Agreement on the Single Economic Space.<sup>200</sup>

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*вебсайт.* URL: <https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2002/webproc12v7e00.html?kodvib=400&pf7171=204>

<sup>199</sup> Соціалістична партія України. Програма партії (блоку). *Центральна виборча комісія: Офіційний вебсайт.* URL: <https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2002/webproc12vc4fe.html?kodvib=400&pf7171=139>

<sup>200</sup> Партії та виборчі блоки партій у виборчому процесі. *Вибори народних*

The short-term activity of the deputy corps was not marked by the adoption of laws in the context of the promotion of European integration of Ukraine and ended with the signing of the Presidential Decree on June 5, 2007: „On the appointment of extraordinary elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in connection with the lack of authority of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and the early termination of its powers.“ The programs of the four political parties, which were re-elected to the parliament as a result of the citizens' will, did not differ much from the previous election statements, and the new political force – „Lytvyn Bloc“ – did not have a clear position on the external course of the state.<sup>201</sup> Ignoring the European integration component in the pre-election programs of the parties during several electoral cycles has, in our opinion, several preconditions: first, the absence of a consolidated and specific request from society; secondly, the impossibility of implementing the course without similar statements of intent from the EU, and such statements were not made at the time; thirdly, the toxicity of the topic of joining the EU as a counterthesis of friendship with Russia, which leads to reputational risks and electoral losses; fourthly, against the background of the difficult socio-political and economic situation in the country, the emphasis on a clear foreign course of the state looked less significant and relevant. At the same time, it was during the work of the Verkhovna Rada of the 6th convocation that the Law of Ukraine: „On the Principles of Internal and Foreign Policy“ was adopted with the stated goal of „ensuring Ukraine's integration into the European political, economic, and legal space with the aim of gaining membership in the European Union.“<sup>202</sup>

The parliamentary elections of 2012 preserved the quantitative

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депутатів України 26 березня 2006 р. *Центральна виборча комісія: Офіційний вебсайт*. URL: <https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2006/w6p501517f.html?PT001F01=600>

<sup>201</sup> Партії та виборчі блоки партій у виборчому процесі. Позачергові вибори народних депутатів України 30 вересня 2007 р. *Центральна виборча комісія: Офіційний вебсайт*. URL: <https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2007/w6p001.html>

<sup>202</sup> *Про засади внутрішньої і зовнішньої політики*. Закон України № 2411-VI від 01.07.2010 р. Верховна Рада України: Офіційний вебсайт. URL: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2411-17#Text>

indicator of parties in the Verkhovna Rada, but updated two players – instead of „Our Ukraine“ and „Lytvyn Bloc“, the parties „UDAR Vitaliy Klitschka“ and the All-Ukrainian Association „Svoboda“ passed the barrier. In international politics, the Party of Regions advocated maintaining non-aligned status, obtaining associate membership in the European Union, creating a free trade zone, removing visa barriers between Ukraine and the EU, strengthening economic cooperation within the framework of a free trade zone with the CIS countries, strategic partnership with Russia, the USA, China. VO „Batkivshchyna“ declared the irreversibility of the European choice for Ukraine, promised to eliminate the crisis in relations with the European Union, ensure the signing and ratification of the Association Agreement and the free trade zone with the EU, and achieve a visa-free regime with the countries of the European Union. Vitaliy Klitschko’s UDAR party has stated its intention to „break Ukraine out of the circle of impoverished corrupt regimes and join the European community.“ The Communist Party of Ukraine declared the priority in foreign policy of joining the Customs Union, the Single Economic Space, the Eurasian Economic Union, revising the provisions of international treaties, primarily within the framework of the WTO, and the need to end cooperation with the IMF. The non-aligned and neutral status of Ukraine should have been enshrined in the Constitution. The program of the All-Ukrainian Association „Freedom“ lacks provisions regarding external choice/policy of the state.<sup>203</sup>

It is obvious that with the polarization, including an artificial one, of society, political parties also began to demonstrate polarity in the presentation of the vision of the country’s foreign policy: some kept their beliefs, but expressed them more categorically (like the Communist Party), others finally articulated not a neutral, but a clear position (for example, Yulia Tymoshenko’s Bloc). It is significant that the stumbling block for the further realization of Ukraine’s European integration aspirations was the Party of Regions, which throughout all election campaigns, starting with the activities of the «For a United

<sup>203</sup> Партії/фракції у виборчому процесі. Вибори народних депутатів України 28 жовтня 2012 р. *Центральна виборча комісія: Офіційний вебсайт*. URL: <https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2012/wp501pt001f01=900.html>

Ukraine» bloc, maintained neutrality with an inclination towards cooperation in the European direction.

The parliamentary elections of 2014 became a turning point in the perception of the issue of European integration and indicative in the context of a radical change of political forces in the legislative body of power and the general «Euro-rhetoric». The leaders of the electoral rating – the People’s Front and Petro Poroshenko Bloc parties – were united in their vision of Ukraine’s European future: European integration was supposed to be systemic, supported by successful reforms with the ultimate goal of full membership in the EU. The «Opposition Bloc» declared the negative consequences of signing the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union, but refrained from pro-Russian slogans. In its program, the Higher Education Institution «Batkivshchyna» emphasized the importance of continuing European and Euro-Atlantic integration as a key to achieving peace in the country. The goal of Ukraine’s membership in the European Union is clearly formulated in the document. The only party that did not comment on the foreign policy aspect is Samopomich Association.<sup>204</sup>

It was during the term of office of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the 8th convocation that the Association Agreement was signed, amendments were made to the Constitution, which finally fixed the state’s course for integration into the EU and NATO. Accordingly, the elections to the Verkhovna Rada in 2019 took place in conditions where the course for European and Euro-Atlantic integration was already constitutionally enshrined and permanently supported by citizens in the statistics of sociological surveys. Therefore, the vector of party statements was less dependent on public opinion, and was solely the result of the political decision of the party nomenclature and external influencers, in particular, financial ones. The informal rules of the political game, in order to confirm the relevance of the participants in the elections, required them to speak about the priorities on the “East-West” axis, so these positions are present in the programs of the five

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<sup>204</sup> Відомості щодо реєстрації виборчих списків кандидатів у депутати. Позачергові вибори народних депутатів України 26 жовтня 2014 р. *Центральна виборча комісія: Офіційний вебсайт*. URL: <https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2014/wp400pt001f01=910.html>

parties that entered the current parliament at the time of writing the research. The leaders of the Servant of the People party declared their intention to adopt “the laws necessary for the implementation of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU and the expansion of cooperation with the European Union and NATO”, but avoided statements about the ultimate goal of such actions, namely joining the European Union. VO “Batkivshchyna”, “European Solidarity” and “Holos” recorded their unconditional commitment to the European integration of Ukraine. And only the “Opposition Platform – For Life” as the ideological successor of the former „regionalists“ spoke about „returning to the multi-vector policy, ending mutual sanctions and restoring mutually beneficial trade and economic ties with Russia and the CIS countries, revising the terms of Ukraine’s participation in the World Trade Organization and the free trade zone with the European Union.”<sup>205</sup> In 2019, such positions of leading party players were quite predictable, even for newcomers to electoral contests – the Servant of the People party followed socially approved trends, but left room for maneuvers towards the opposition electorate.

So, after analyzing the public part of the party narratives regarding the European integration of Ukraine, the conclusions were formulated that the aspect of foreign policy choice was not fundamental for building the ideological platform of political parties, but was constructed depending on the demand of society and external and internal circumstances. The European course (often without mentioning the EU) was present in most studied programs of the political parties that won the parliamentary elections, but was formulated into a political slogan only in the 2010s. The foreign policy component presented in party programs is subject to logic: for the EU means against Russia – a neutral position (or not declared at all) – for the Eastern Partnership means against the EU and the West. The only exception, that is, a party that goes beyond this logic, is the Party of Regions in 2002 – 2014: the pro-European attitudes demonstrated in the party programs did not find actual manifestation at the crucial stages of the implementation of the

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<sup>205</sup> Партії на позачергових виборах народних депутатів України 21 липня 2019 р. *Центральна виборча комісія: Офіційний вебсайт*. URL: <https://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vnd2019/wp501pt001f01=919.html>



European integration course. As for the marker of evolution, only the political force headed by Yu. Tymoshenko demonstrated the evolution of the European integration part of its program statements during the studied election campaigns – from ignoring the topic to a neutral position, but still European in outlook, and recognition of the priority of European integration and the goal of acquiring full membership in the European Union.

As a result, the research recorded that from the very beginning of the functioning of the party system, it presented different points of view regarding the foreign policy attraction of the state. Moreover, these points of view underwent changes due to the influence of public opinion and external factors. Despite the fact that until 2014, the issue of European integration was often a declarative and even populist part of the agenda of domestic political parties, it was the driver of rapid changes in society, state institutions, principles of domestic policy, and the position of Ukraine in the international arena. From the status of an ordinary thesis, European integration was transformed into a principled position of the parties. Now the attitude towards the pro-European course is, without exaggeration, a criterion for evaluating the individual and global dimensions of state policy.

The relationship between the processes of European integration and the development of civil society has become the subject of research by scientists in various fields of knowledge. Social changes in Ukraine in the context of European integration are described in a collective monograph edited by S. Teleshun (2017),<sup>206</sup> the influence of civil society institutions on the European integration processes of Ukraine is updated in A. Kostenko's monograph (2018),<sup>207</sup> the formation of civil society in the conditions of modernization of state administration is analyzed in a collective monograph edited by L. Honyukova (2019). Different directions of the described issues formed the basis of dis-

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<sup>206</sup> Гонюкова, Л., Козаков, В. (за заг. ред.). *Дослідження державних політик: методологія, процедури та європейські практики: монографія*. Київ: НАДУ, 2018. 400 с.

<sup>207</sup> Костенко, А. *Вплив інститутів громадянського суспільства на євроінтеграційні процеси України: монографія*. Суми: Сумський державний університет, 2018. 411 с.

sertation studies by M. Nazarenko (2014),<sup>208</sup> A. Matiychyk (2016), I. Tarnavska (2019)<sup>209</sup> and were presented in the scientific publications of F. Baranovskyi,<sup>210</sup> S. Leskiv, O. Lotyuk, V. Marchuk, M. Mesyuk, O. Khomei, H. Mashtalir<sup>211</sup>, and others. At the same time, on the basis of official documents and the contents of target programs, grant projects, it is important to highlight assessment markers and the nature of the role of civil society in the implementation of European integration practices in Ukraine.

The European integration component of Ukraine's domestic and foreign policy was recorded in the relevant law back in 2010, namely: modernization of the civil service system taking into account European experience; improvement of the system of democratic civilian control over the military organization of the state and law enforcement agencies, ensuring their compliance with the requirements of European institutions; transition to the European model of market supervision, product quality and safety; implementation of European approaches in the field of delegation of state functions to business entities; ensuring the rights and freedoms of citizens based on compliance with European social protection standards; reforming and developing the domestic system of higher education and science, ensuring their integration into the European and world educational and scientific space, etc.<sup>212</sup>

Some of the norms laid down in the law relate to the non-institutional level of state formation, and therefore to civil society. In the fu-

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<sup>208</sup> Назаренко, М. *Комплексний механізм реалізації євроінтеграційної політики України*. Автореф. дис. ... канд. наук з держ. упр. Одеса, 2014. 20 с.

<sup>209</sup> Тарнавська, І. Специфіка висвітлення євроінтеграційних процесів в Україні. *Communications and Communicative Technologies*. 2019. № 19. С. 70–75.

<sup>210</sup> Барановський Ф. Вплив громадянського суспільства на процес європейської та євроатлантичної інтеграції: український контекст. *Наукові записки*. 2018. № 3 (89). С. 198–218.

<sup>211</sup> Машталір, Х., Леськів, С. Інтеграція України до європейського союзу як основа для розбудови громадянського суспільства. *Підприємництво, господарство і право*. 2017. № 6. С. 163–166.

<sup>212</sup> *Про засади внутрішньої і зовнішньої політики*. Закон України № 2411-VI від 01.07.2010 р. Верховна Рада України: Офіційний вебсайт. URL: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2411-17#Text>

ture, the corresponding parameters of socio-political relations were laid down in other official documents regarding the implementation of the European integration course. The Association Agreement defines the areas in which interested parties are involved in the implementation. Firstly, the operation of an advisory group on sustainable development issues is foreseen, which includes representatives of independent public organizations, such as organizations of employers and employees, NGOs and other interested parties (Article 299). In order to support dialogue on the sustainable development of trade relations between Ukraine and the EU, an annual Civil Society Development Forum is planned. Secondly, in order to implement reforms in the field of employment, social policy and equal opportunities, the inclusion of civil society organizations in the process is regulated (Article 421). Thirdly, intercultural dialogue is proposed to be carried out together with organizations representing the interests of civil society and cultural institutions of Ukraine and the EU (Article 438). Fourthly, the goal of cooperation on civil society issues is to strengthen contacts and mutual exchange of experience between all sectors of civil society in Ukraine and EU member states, to involve CSOs in the implementation of the Agreement, to ensure mutual awareness and understanding of Ukraine in EU member states and vice versa (Article 443). The document also substantiates the inclusion of CSOs in solving the tasks of cross-border and regional cooperation (Article 446) and provides for informing civil society organizations about the implementation of the Agreement and taking into account their contribution to its implementation. For this purpose, the Civil Society Platform (CSP) was created, which consists of representatives of the civil society of Ukraine and members of the European Economic and Social Committee (Ст. 469).<sup>213</sup>

In 2019, an Agreement was signed between the Government of Ukraine and the European Commission on the financing of the event “Supporting Civil Society and Culture”. The overall goal of the measures, designed for seven years, is to increase the viability and capacity

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<sup>213</sup> Угода про асоціацію між Україною, з однієї сторони, та Європейським Союзом, Європейським співтовариством з атомної енергії і їхніми державами-членами, з іншої сторони. Верховна Рада України: Офіційний вебсайт. 2014. URL: [https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/984\\_011#Text](https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/984_011#Text)

of civil society organizations and cultural institutions to contribute to the development of accountable, transparent and democratic institutions, social and economic progress, as well as the prevention of violent conflicts.<sup>214</sup>

We emphasize that the Association Agreement has updated the communication component of any interactions on civil society issues. Dialogue and cooperation between its participants on both sides is recognized as an integral part of relations between Ukraine and the EU. The key to such a dialogue should be strengthening contacts and mutual exchange of experience between CSOs in Ukraine and EU member states, promoting the process of institutional development and consolidation of civil society organizations, ensuring the awareness of Ukrainian representatives regarding the organization of consultations and dialogue between social and public partners within the EU with the aim of involvement of civil society in the political process in Ukraine. At the same time, we must state that there are a number of contradictions and shortcomings in the coverage of the activities of the Platform and the mentioned Forums. Information about the functioning of the Ukraine-EU Civil Society Platform is contained on the European integration portal,<sup>215</sup> the website of the Ukrainian side of the Ukraine-EU Civil Society Platform<sup>216</sup> and the corresponding page on the Facebook social network, but actual data on the progress of the Civil Society Forums on trade and sustainable development are not publicly available. on official sources, but only partially mentioned on the websites of the participants of the event from civil society organizations.

As a countermeasure to the shortcomings of the information and communication component of European integration policy, at the end of 2020, the government information campaign “EUUkraine” was

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<sup>214</sup> *Угода між Урядом України та Європейською Комісією про фінансування заходу «Підтримка громадянського суспільства та культури»*. Верховна Рада України: Офіційний вебсайт. 2019. URL: [https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/984\\_004-19#Text](https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/984_004-19#Text)

<sup>215</sup> Євроінтеграційний портал: Офіційний вебресурс. URL: <https://eu-ua.kmu.gov.ua/platforma-gromadyanskogo-suspilstva>

<sup>216</sup> Платформа громадянського суспільства Україна-ЄС: Офіційний вебресурс. URL: <http://eu-ua-csp.org.ua/>

launched, the goal of which is to make Ukrainians consciously support European integration. This goal is subordinated to the task of showing the practical benefits that every citizen of Ukraine receives from the fact that the country begins to “live by new, high standards.” For example, the campaign promotes “six basic European values: respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, rule of law, respect for human rights”.<sup>217</sup>

The described indicators and parameters, as well as the request for the participation of civil society institutions in the implementation of the clauses of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU, make it necessary to define the concept of “European integration potential of civil society”. It contains the capacity and set of opportunities of civil society organizations to participate in the implementation of the country’s European integration course together with state institutions, and as an independent advisory body from among interested CSOs in the priority areas of European integration. The resource component of the European integration potential of civil society is embodied by active non-governmental organizations, as well as the access they provide to information, dialogue, democratic experience of other countries and the opportunity to broadcast alternative or additional positions regarding the inclusion of socio-economic, cultural and humanitarian issues in the agenda of the European integration process, etc.<sup>218</sup>

We believe that the approach of assessing the potential of civil society solely by taking into account the membership of citizens in public organizations or the number of these organizations is erroneous, since it is impossible to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the effectiveness of such institutions. Other reasons are the opportunity for citizens to be members of several non-governmental organizations at the same time, or membership without an active position or direct activity. At the same time, Ukrainian society proved its ability to act as a driving force for socio-political changes in the state through the examples of the Orange Revolution and the Revolution of Dignity, organized resis-

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<sup>217</sup> Кампанія ЕУКраїна. *Євроінтеграційний портал*. URL: <https://association4u.in.ua/>

<sup>218</sup> Дудкевич, В. Євроінтеграційні практики України: специфіка політико-нормативного регулювання. *Політикус*. 2021. № 3. С. 47–53.

tance to Russian aggression by volunteer battalions, an active volunteer movement, etc.

It is important to emphasize the nature of public activity in the mentioned periods. According to the conclusions of specialists of the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, «the initiative of spontaneous protest actions came not from party and institutional structures, but from active citizens and students. This algorithm and feature of mostly self-organized initiatives rather than actions organized and directed by political elites persisted throughout the long protest movement, including its most dramatic episodes».<sup>219</sup> It is important to note that it is a mistake to reduce the reasons for civic activity solely to the demand for further European integration. According to sociologists, every second of the protesters ended up on the Maidan for the abolition of the corrupt regime (51 %), 46 % of respondents were motivated by the feeling that the country needs radical changes in the system of government, the desire for integration with the European Union was driven by 44 % of respondents, 30 % were outraged forceful actions of the authorities in relation to peaceful protesters.<sup>220</sup> Thus, the refusal of the official authorities to continue the course of European integration at the end of 2013 became one of the triggers, not the cause of the Revolution of Dignity.

The participation of the population in the development and subsequent control over the development of political decisions is not a tradition, but an established practice in the EU countries, as emphasized by the domestic researcher N. Vinnikova. Accordingly, the implementation of similar experience in Ukraine is part of the European integration path. EU citizens can influence decision-making through non-governmental organizations and various industry associations. According to the results of Eurobarometer research, the majority of citizens in the European Union believe that non-governmental organizations can

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<sup>219</sup> Секторальна інтеграція України до ЄС: передумови, перспективи, виклики. *Центр Разумкова*. 2021. URL: [https://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/article/2021\\_sektor\\_eu\\_ukr.pdf](https://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/article/2021_sektor_eu_ukr.pdf) – С.84.

<sup>220</sup> Секторальна інтеграція України до ЄС: передумови, перспективи, виклики. *Центр Разумкова*. 2021. URL: [https://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/article/2021\\_sektor\\_eu\\_ukr.pdf](https://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/article/2021_sektor_eu_ukr.pdf) – С. 205–206

influence decision-making at the local and national levels. The most common forms of direct participation of citizens in the process of development and adoption of pan-European decisions are plebiscites and the mechanism of the European citizens' initiative. It should be noted that the political tools of direct partisanship have repeatedly exposed the differences in the vision and assessment of European integration processes between citizens and elites.<sup>221</sup>

In general, taking the civil society of Ukraine as a certain measure of readiness or conscious European choice of the country, it is worth outlining the initial evaluation positions of the national society. Such an assessment will always be relative – in relation to other states and their socio-political and economic conditions, in relation to the specific historical situation in the world or region, in relation to the parameters by which the assessment is carried out.<sup>222</sup> For example, according to the conclusions of the Ukrainian Independent Center for Political Research and the organization FHI360, Ukraine in its subregion, which also includes the countries of the post-Soviet space, remains the country with the highest stability of civil society organizations with slow, but still positive dynamics.<sup>223</sup> Markers of the development of civil society in Ukraine are the improvement of the legal environment, the organizational capacity of CSOs, the introduction of a sectoral approach to the implementation of socially significant projects, which increases the effectiveness of non-governmental organizations, their cooperation with state agencies and international partners.

As for the internal indicators of the maturity of civil society, in our opinion, such are the willingness of citizens to take responsibility for

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<sup>221</sup> Вінникова Н. До питання «дефіциту демократії» в Європі: практики громадянської партисипації і політичної репрезентації в ЄС. *Сучасне суспільство: політичні науки, соціологічні науки, культурологічні науки: Збірник наукових праць*. Харківський національний педагогічний університет імені Г. С. Сковороди. 2016. 2(12). С. 36, 39.

<sup>222</sup> Дудкевич, В. Євроінтеграційні практики як детермінанти впливу на розбудову громадянського суспільства в Україні. *Evropský Politický A Právni Diskurz*. 2021 № 8/3. С. 122–129.

<sup>223</sup> Індекс сталості ОГС-2019: Україна демонструє стале зростання. *Портал «Громадський простір»*. 2020. URL: <https://www.prostir.ua/?news=indeks-stalosti-ohs-2019-ukrajina-demonstruje-stale-zrostannya>

the well-being of their own community, inclusion in the process of financing CSOs as a mechanism for preventing monopoly state influence, and belief in the influence of civil self-organization. Sociological studies show that almost 33 % of surveyed Ukrainians regularly or rarely attend meetings in their communities, more than 7 % do so often. However, two-thirds indicated that they have neither the time (33.3 %) nor the interest (31.7 %) to participate in such activities.<sup>224</sup> 30% of citizens are ready to support civil society organizations using a percentage mechanism, but in most cases it is about targeted support rather than investing in the modernization of institutions.<sup>225</sup> Such indicators are evidence of a low level of trust, on the one hand, in the ability of civil society organizations to influence socio-political processes in the state, and on the other hand, in the state institutions themselves as guarantors of the creation of appropriate conditions for self-organization of citizens. And here again there is a need to establish communication between the state and civil society as a means of overcoming such destructive phenomena.

Among the mechanisms of influence of civil society institutions in the process of European integration, Ukrainian researchers emphasize the following: participation in finalizing the provisions of normative legal acts (public organization “Laboratory of Legislative Initiatives”); inclusion in working advisory groups at government institutions (“Open Government Partnership” initiative); creation of a coalition of leading public organizations for the promotion and implementation of reforms in Ukraine (resuscitation package of reforms); implementation of the participatory budget (participatory budget, public budget); participation of civil society institutions in public procurement for the

<sup>224</sup> Зроби за мене: українці готові до самоорганізації, але покладають відповідальність за свій добробут на державу: Соціологічне опитування. Фонд «Демократичні ініціативи» ім. Ілька Кучеріва. 2021. URL: <https://dif.org.ua/article/zrobi-za-mene-ukraintsi-gotovi-do-samoorganizatsii-ale-pokladyut-vidpovidalnist-za-sviy-dobrobut-na-derzhavu>

<sup>225</sup> Відсотковий механізм для фінансування організацій громадянського суспільства в Україні – 2020: Соціологічне опитування. Фонд «Демократичні ініціативи» ім. Ілька Кучеріва. 2021. URL: <https://dif.org.ua/article/vidsotkoviy-mekhanizm-dlya-finansuvannya-organizatsiy-gromadyanskogo-suspilstva-v-ukraini-2020>



purpose of providing public services, measures of public control and non-state monitoring, etc.<sup>226</sup>

Also, domestic scientists offer different approaches to forecasting the development of civil society or the impact of European integration practices on it. So, H. Mashtalir and S. Leskiv, summarizing the joint study, note that «the integration of Ukraine into the European community, and later its membership in the EU, does not mean the automatic creation and functioning of a new model of civil society in Ukraine. According to the researchers, Ukrainian citizens need to independently, with the help of external, international, and internal factors, build a model of domestic civil society with all its accompanying features and elements, thereby practically proving their commitment to the basic values of Europe, demonstrating readiness for real changes and reforms within our state».<sup>227</sup> Another point of view boils down to the fact that the development of civil society is, first of all, a guarantee of its own survival and further modernization, including within the framework of European integration practices.

Another vision concerns the aspect of goal setting regarding the European choice in the development of Ukraine. Professor F. Baranovsky points out the dual nature of such a choice for Ukrainian society. First, “the direction of movement towards the European model of civilization makes it possible to achieve progress in all spheres of the life of society and the state, that is, to increase in Ukraine the European culture of identity and integration into the European environment”. Secondly, „strengthening the European identity simultaneously means strengthening one’s own national identity, damaged by the totalitarian past“.<sup>228</sup> In the conditions of force pressure on the state by the Russian Federation, the use of manipulative methods of hybrid warfare for the purpose

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<sup>226</sup> Костенко, А. *Вплив інститутів громадянського суспільства на євроінтеграційні процеси України: монографія*. Суми: Сумський державний університет, 2018. 411 с. – С. 270–271, 273.

<sup>227</sup> Машталір, Х., Леськів, С. *Інтеграція України до європейського союзу як основа для розбудови громадянського суспільства. Підприємництво, господарство і право*. 2017. № 6. С. 163–166.

<sup>228</sup> Барановський, Ф. *Вплив громадянського суспільства на процес європейської та євроатлантичної інтеграції: український контекст. Наукові записки*. 2018. № 3 (89). С. 203.

of ideological differentiation and confrontation of parts of Ukrainian society, we consider the emphasis on the European commonality to be a consolidating argument – it formulates a common value narrative, neutralizes the artificially fueled inferiority complex, contributes to an objective assessment of modern changes that are gradually being implemented in Ukraine.

It is advisable to analyze the effects and correlation of European integration practices and the development of civil society in a three-dimensional model of the initial parameters:

1. At the political and institutional level, where the degree of interest of state and supranational institutions and the regulatory opportunities created by them for the involvement of civil society organizations in the clarification and implementation of the Articles of the Association Agreement and the implementation of the policy of the candidate for EU accession are considered.
2. At the social and resource level, which demonstrates the readiness of CSOs for sectoral participation in the implementation of European integration reforms, the effectiveness of existing platforms for such participation (such as the Constitutional Commission (2015 – 2019), public-governmental platforms, the Coordinating Council for Promoting the Development of Civil society, the Council of National Unity under the President of Ukraine, advisory institutions provided for by the Association Agreement, etc.). Together with the first level, the described components represent a well-founded concept of the European integration potential of civil society.
3. At the level of individual identification, on which the degree of perceived commitment of citizens to the foreign policy course is emphasized. It is about supporting political programs during election campaigns, slogans of public activities, the results of thematic sociological surveys

The listed parameters are not exhaustive, but their consideration makes it possible to objectively assess the ratio of European integration aspirations of the state and civil society in specific conditions and in a given period. The key questions of scientific research require a clear understanding of the relationship between two processes – European integration and the development of civil society – regarding the

primary and determining influence. We see that realities actualize the parity character of the specified processes:

- the most significant surges of civil activity in Ukraine were related to aspects of the choice of the country's foreign policy course, namely a certain cultural and civilizational paradigm, which would establish the model of interaction between the state and the population. From the position of citizens, this paradigm excludes any forceful and undemocratic methods, which means that it must distance itself from the authoritarian Russian example;
- the guarantee of political modernization, which would enable the change of relations in the «state-citizens» system, is currently seen as the European integration course of the country, which, let's recall, was chosen by the government and presented by it as the highest priority. The rejection of this course, and therefore the betrayal of citizens' expectations at the end of 2013, on the one hand, made European integration part of the public demand, on the other hand, partially delegitimized the government;
- European integration is part of the state development strategy, which is statistically supported by a significant number of respondents in numerous sociological surveys, but an even larger part of the population still needs clear explanations about the content, purpose and consequences of European integration for Ukraine. By providing answers to these important questions, it is possible to turn European integration practices into a factor of consolidation of Ukrainian society;
- in the conditions of the war with Russia, European integration is considered as the only correct vector of Ukraine's development and the way of rapprochement with the civilized and safe world.

We summarize that European integration and the development of civil society in Ukraine are complementary, not mutually determining, processes that are correlated in political-institutional, social-resource, and individual-identifying dimensions. And these same processes at the present stage equally require the deepening of communication interactions, in particular social dialogue at the national, sectoral, and territorial levels, and the neutralization of barriers (artificial, external, resource) on the way to the promotion of democratic values. In our opinion, it will be possible to solve the indicated communication de-

fects, firstly, by informing about the available tools for including the public in the discussion of current European integration practices, and secondly, by giving the issue of European integration priority in the agenda of communication between the authorities and society, regardless of format and purpose of such communication.

## PART 7. INFORMATION AND SECURITY COMPONENTS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION PRACTICES

The integration of Ukraine in two directions at once – European and Euro-Atlantic – is accompanied by the growth of a number of stereotypes, one of them concerns the separation of goals: the EU is about politics and the economy, and NATO is about security. However, in the modern conditions of the globalized world and the ongoing war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine and, in general, all opponents who do not share the principles of Russian “diplomacy”, the security component is becoming an integral part of national and international policies. In the preamble of the Association Agreement, we draw attention to the above aspects. It refers to the observance of the principles and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe of 1975, the final documents of the Madrid and Vienna Conferences of 1991 and 1992, The Paris Charter for a New Europe of 1990, the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, and the Council of Europe Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of 1950. It also emphasized strengthening international peace and security, as well as engaging in effective multilateralism and peaceful dispute resolution, including through close cooperation to achieve these goals within the framework of the United Nations (UN), OSCE and the Council of Europe (CoE). The document enshrines the desire for ever closer convergence of positions on bilateral, regional and international issues of mutual interest, taking into account the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU, including the Common Security and Defense Policy.<sup>229</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> *Угода про асоціацію між Україною, з однієї сторони, та Європейським Союзом, Європейським співтовариством з атомної енергії і їхніми дер-*

Chapter II of the Agreement is devoted to political dialogue and reforms, political association, cooperation and convergence in the field of foreign and security policy, and Chapter III to justice, freedom and security. It is stated that “the parties should deepen their dialogue and cooperation and promote gradual convergence in the field of foreign and security policy, including the Common Security and Defense Policy, as well as, in particular, consider the issues of conflict prevention and anti-crisis management, regional stability, disarmament, non-proliferation, arms control and arms exports, as well as improving mutually beneficial dialogue in the space sphere. Cooperation will be based on common values and common interests and will be aimed at strengthening political convergence and efficiency, promoting joint political planning. For this purpose, the Parties will use bilateral, international and regional forums». <sup>230</sup> The document also envisages increasing Ukraine’s participation in the EU’s civil and military operations to overcome crisis situations and terrorism, as well as in relevant exercises and training, in particular those conducted within the framework of the Common Security and Defense Policy. The information component of the Agreement is represented by provisions on transparency and disclosure of confidential information (Article 107), protection of personal data (Article 15), cooperation in the development of the information society and electronic communications (Articles 389, 394), implementation of electronic communication services (Article 115) and others. <sup>231</sup>

The European Union is not a military supranational structure, but it has several competent institutions in its military-political infrastructure: the Committee on Policy and Security, the European Agency for

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*жавами-членами, з іншої сторони.* Верховна Рада України: Офіційний вебсайт. 2014. URL: [https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/984\\_011#Text](https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/984_011#Text)

<sup>230</sup> *Угода про асоціацію між Україною, з однієї сторони, та Європейським Союзом, Європейським співтовариством з атомної енергії і їхніми державами-членами, з іншої сторони.* Верховна Рада України: Офіційний вебсайт. 2014. URL: [https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/984\\_011#Text](https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/984_011#Text)

<sup>231</sup> *Угода про асоціацію між Україною, з однієї сторони, та Європейським Союзом, Європейським співтовариством з атомної енергії і їхніми державами-членами, з іншої сторони.* Верховна Рада України: Офіційний вебсайт. 2014. URL: [https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/984\\_011#Text](https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/984_011#Text)

Armaments, Research and Military Potential, the European Defense Agency, the Institute for Research on EU Security Problems, the Military Committee of the European Union, EU Military Headquarters, etc. And all the principles of the activities of these institutions are united by the common security and defense policy (CSDP), which was built according to the institutional principle at several levels of the hierarchy: at the top of the hierarchy is the European Council, the second level of decision-making, which determines current affairs, is formed by the Council of the EU in ministers of foreign affairs; the content of the work of the Council of the EU is handled by the Political Committee consisting of the heads of the political departments of the MFA of the member states, which shares its function between the political and administrative levels with the Committee of Permanent Representatives; ensuring the work of the Political Committee and the Committee of Permanent Representatives is carried out at the expense of working groups or special experts who meet regularly in Brussels.

Such structural subordination shows that the defense sphere is not a separate institutionalized unit, but is integrated into all European institutions. In general, the idea of military integration within the framework of European unification has gone through several stages: from the beginning of the 1950's at the level of vision; in the 1990's in connection with the conflicts in the Balkans; in June 2016, with the presentation by the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, F. Mogherini, of the new Global Strategy for Foreign and Security Policy, which replaced the previous document from 2003. The strategy, entitled "Shared Vision, Shared Action: A Stronger Europe" reflected the collective opinion of the member states, proposed a strategic vision of the EU's global role and became the personification of a new view on the protection of the common future of Europe, which became consolidated for the pro-European forces in the European Union.<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> Александров О. *Розвиток спільної зовнішньої та безпекової політики Європейського Союзу. Перспективи для України*. Національний інститут стратегічних досліджень. 2016. URL: <http://old.niss.gov.ua/content/articles/files/Aleksandrov-91492.pdf>

Today, 21 of the 27 member states of the European Union are members of the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO). This is due to the fact that NATO's military and defense standards are a reference point for the EU, which, while strengthening military integration, seeks to maintain a certain autonomy from NATO, but is ready to send the Alliance if necessary. The key tasks of the EU defense structures are peacekeeping activities, joint countermeasures against migration crises, participation in international missions and exercises, ensuring the security of EU borders. And in 2020, the defense ministers of the EU countries decided to create a coordinating military structure within the European External Affairs Service, which would take care of overcoming the consequences of the coronavirus pandemic.<sup>233</sup> The new structure was engaged at the European level in the same way as the military in their countries in the fight against COVID-19: they provided transport, rear support, their medical personnel, built hospitals and resuscitation centers, supported the police and emergency services.

The active phase of Ukraine's cooperation with the European Union, namely normalized integration into the political and economic environment of the EU, coincided in time with the military actions in Donbas caused by the aggression of the Russian Federation, the annexation of Crimea, and the occupation of parts of the territories of Luhansk and Donetsk regions. Therefore, it could not be a question of full-fledged military integration, instead, among the goals, experts note strengthening the country's defense capabilities, studying the common military experience of the participating countries, and deepening cooperation with European institutions. Realizing such goals for a state that is not a member of the EU is possible only under the condition of partnership relations with the community. The above-mentioned EU Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy contains a relevant point – „to work with key partners, states and regional associations that share the EU's views“.<sup>234</sup> With this approach, Ukraine is recognized by the

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<sup>233</sup> Міністри оборони ЄС домовилися про військову структуру для боротьби з коронавірусом. *Укрінформ*. 2020. URL: <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-world/2913501-ministri-oboroni-es-domovilisa-pro-vijskovu-strukturu-dla-borotbi-z-koronavirusom.html>

<sup>234</sup> *Общее видение, единый подход: сильная Европа. Глобальная стратегия*



EU as a partner of the community, moreover, the country has received comprehensive support in matters related to sovereignty, territorial integrity, protection of national interests, state and human security. For its part, within the framework of the implementation of the provisions of the Eastern Partnership and other international initiatives, Ukraine undertook to support EU policy, sharing the fundamental principles and values. In parallel, regional interactions are taking place, as in the context of cooperation with the countries of the Visegrad Group, the Black Sea region, etc.

Among the main tasks of the competent state authorities of Ukraine in matters of European integration, in particular: “the integration of Ukraine into the EU in the context of pan-European security through the recognition by the European Union of the important role of Ukraine in the formation of the latest architecture of pan-European security in the third millennium.”<sup>235</sup> And researcher V. Reznikov believes that the principle of indivisibility of European security is equally important for Ukraine and for the EU and its full and associated member states.<sup>236</sup> The thesis that Ukraine is a key boundary of geopolitical interests: between East and West, the USA and Russia, Europe and Asia, gives reason to seek its place in the military-defense strategy of the camp to which the external vector of state-building gravitates. It is obvious that this is the western direction, the goal of integration of which was constitutionally enshrined by changes in the Constitution in 2019.

As part of the implementation of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union, four key priorities in the defense sphere have been defined. First, the expansion of the dialogue format with the EU in military-political, military-technical and military directions. Secondly, the strengthening of practical cooperation

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*Европейского Союза по внешней политике и политике безопасности.*  
URL: [https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/eu\\_global\\_strategy\\_ru.pdf](https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/eu_global_strategy_ru.pdf)

<sup>235</sup> Юрковський, Д. Європейська інтеграція – стратегічний пріоритет зовнішньополітичної діяльності України. *Державне управління: удосконалення та розвиток*. 2013. №10. URL: <http://www.dy.nayka.com.ua/?op=1&z=761>

<sup>236</sup> Резніков, В. Концептуальні засади стратегії формування та реалізації державної політики у сфері європейської інтеграції України. *Державне управління та місцеве самоврядування*. 2020. № 1 (44). С. 67.

with the EU within the framework of the Common Security and Defense Policy (involvement of forces and means of the Armed Forces of Ukraine in international operations to maintain peace and security led by the EU and EU combat tactical groups).<sup>237</sup> Thirdly, participation in the EU initiative “Eastern Partnership”. Analysts reasonably note that the main achievement of the Eastern Partnership is the ideological (value-oriented) breakthrough provoked by the revolutionary events in Ukraine. In general, experts emphasize the expediency of the EP not only from the point of view of stimulating democratic reforms in the post-Soviet countries of the region, but also as a counterbalance to Russia’s actions to expand the Eurasian Economic Community and the internal political inclinations of these states towards corruption and authoritarianism. That is, the Eastern Partnership should be considered as a tool for the formation of ideological orientations of the population of Eastern European countries and an effective means of countering Russian interests with the aim of gradually restoring the influence of the EU in the region.<sup>238</sup> Fourth, the development of cooperation with the European Defense Agency, involvement in the projects of the Permanent Structured Cooperation in the Field of Security and Defense (PESCO) program.

Ukraine has repeatedly participated in joint activities with EU structures within the framework of the implementation of the common security and defense policy: operational rotation as part of EU combat tactical groups (BTG EU B4, 2016; Halbrock, 2020), the EU initiative “Eastern Partnership” (Ministry of Defense of Ukraine since 2012), European Union operations “EU NAVFOR ATALANTA” (2010 – 2013), European Union military training mission in the Republic of Mali (2014), etc. Even before the signing of the Association

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<sup>237</sup> Співробітництво у воєнно-політичній, військовій та військово-технічній сферах. *Представництво України при Європейському Союзі: Офіційний вебсайт*. URL: <https://ukraine-eu.mfa.gov.ua/posolstvo/spivpracya-ukrayina-yes-u-sferi-zovnishnoyi-politiki-i-bezpeki/spivpracya-ukrayina-yes-u-ramkah-spilnoyi-politiki-bezpeki-i-oboroni>

<sup>238</sup> Dorosh, L., Turchyn, Ya. Prospects of the Eastern Partnership under modern challenges to the European security system. *Lithuanian Foreign Policy Review*. 2016. Vol. 35. P. 79.

Agreement between Ukraine and the EU, the countries of the European Union cooperated with the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense to provide certain types of assistance: bilateral contracts between Ukraine and Denmark regarding the use of Ukrainian Il-76 MD aircraft to transport fuel to Greenland (2011), police EU mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2006-2007, 2009), etc.<sup>239</sup>

In the European Union, the issue of the possible creation of the European Defense Union – a kind of EU army – has been repeatedly raised. Such ambitious intentions are due to external factors, first of all, the ultimatums of the United States regarding the review by European states of their share of participation in NATO (it was about financial costs that should be similar to American ones). Another reason is the need for a new integration push for a united Europe, which was shaken by the fact of “Brexit” and the activation of Eurosceptics. In such conditions, Ukraine has the right and the corresponding potential to claim a deeper partnership with the EU, especially since the actual experience in confronting the modern security challenges of our country is not inferior to the training experience of the EU countries. Examining the events of recent years, we will note those practices that Ukraine deals with in view of its geographical position, resistance to Russian aggression and war:

- combating illegal migration. Ukraine has long been used as a transit territory for illegal immigrants on their way to EU countries. Ukraine has a border line with four EU countries (Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania) with a length of more than 1,360 km, where illegal migrants look for a place to illegally cross the state border both at checkpoints and beyond. Ukraine does not pose a threat to the EU as a channel of mass illegal migration, on the contrary, it has experience in identifying illegals and applying official procedures to them;
- anti-smuggling. This is a subject of joint operations and common interest of Ukraine and the bordering countries of the EU. In 2020,

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<sup>239</sup> Потенціали співробітництва України з ЄС у сфері безпеки. *Центр досліджень армії конверсії та роззброєння для Фонду Конрада Аденауера*. 2011. URL: [https://www.kas.de/c/document\\_library/get\\_file?uuid=3c38095e-4b0b-26e6-380a-7c3aa6ec671e&groupId=252038](https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=3c38095e-4b0b-26e6-380a-7c3aa6ec671e&groupId=252038)

11.9 million packs of cigarettes and 49.1 thousand liters of alcohol were seized in Ukraine. The shadow part in these groups of goods grows along with the growth of excise taxes. According to the Kantar research group, the dark part of tobacco products was 1.1 % in 2016, 2.3 % in 2017, 4.4 % in 2018, 6.6 % in 2019, in 2020 – 6.9 %, and in 2021 it has already reached a record 12.8 %. The economies of the countries on both sides of the border suffer from such trends, which should motivate deepening of real, not declarative, cooperation;

- combating cybercrimes. In 2020, global cybercrime losses amounted to more than 1 % of global GDP, which is about 1 trillion US dollars.<sup>240</sup> The spread of computer viruses, fraud with plastic payment cards and funds from bank accounts, theft of personal data, violation of the rules for the operation of automated electronic computing systems are only part of the Internet crimes that special security agencies of Ukraine and the world are fighting against. In 2015, a special unit – Cyber Police – was created within the structure of the National Police of Ukraine in Ukraine, and since 2017, the state has mainly been improving cyber security indicators;<sup>241, 242, 243</sup>
- the implementation of defensive measures in the conditions of the inclusion of the civilian population in the conflict and the presence of a significant number of internal refugees. The analytical report of the department of foreign policy and international security problems of the NISD substantiates the value of Ukraine’s potential contribution to the formation of European security policy with practical experience during the more than eight-year period of war with Russian troops and the separatist groups supported by them, as well as the existing defense and industrial base in various sectors – from aviation – and shipbuilding to the latest technical developments in

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<sup>240</sup> Батиргарєєва, В. Основні тенденції кіберзлочинності карантинного періоду та протидія їй. *Вісник Асоціації кримінального права України*. 2021. № 1(15). С. 207–225.

<sup>241</sup> *Global Cybersecurity Index*. International Telecommunication Union (ITU). URL: <https://www.itu.int/epublications/publication/global-cybersecurity-index-2020/en/>

<sup>242</sup> *National Cyber Security Index 2018*. e-Governance Academy. URL: [https://ega.ee/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/ncsi\\_digital\\_smaller.pdf](https://ega.ee/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/ncsi_digital_smaller.pdf)

<sup>243</sup> *National Cyber Security Index 2020*. e-Governance Academy. URL: <https://ncsi.ega.ee/ncsi-index/>

conducting intelligence, fire control and units. The experience of Ukraine in neutralizing the application of the principles of hybrid warfare and identifying and eliminating hybrid threats is important, as well as in neutralizing the attempts of an external aggressor to provoke mass protests, social riots and internal confrontations in the presence of a large number of internally displaced persons.<sup>244</sup>

Let us emphasize that Ukraine's position regarding defense cooperation and integration into the structures and practices of the European Union is based on the mutual interest of both sides. The potential and capabilities of Ukraine act as a kind of shield in ensuring stability in the region and the continent as a whole. The interest of the EU is evidenced by cross-cutting financial programs supporting the defense and security direction of partnership with neighboring states. Thus, in March 2019, the European Parliament adopted a legislative resolution on the new Multiannual Financial Perspective of the EU for 2021 – 2027, which determines the financing of the external dimension of the EU's activities. The document combines most of the EU's external financing instruments into one global instrument called „Neighbourhood, Development and International Cooperation“ (NDICI), where the security component (Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) Instrument, European Instrument for Nuclear Safety (EINS)) is given both priority and significant funding (3.3 billion euros).<sup>245</sup>

In the era of active development of information and communication technologies, the security and information industries are quite connected and often interdependent. Information security, objective information and information hygiene are the key to the systematic advancement of the European integration course, the formation of supportive public opinion, and constructive dialogue between the authorities of both sides and civil society. Currently, the information space contains threats both inside and outside of Ukraine, because in the conditions

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<sup>244</sup> Александров О. *Розвиток спільної зовнішньої та безпекової політики Європейського Союзу. Перспективи для України*. Національний інститут стратегічних досліджень. 2016. URL: <http://old.niss.gov.ua/content/articles/files/Aleksandrov-91492.pdf>– С.9.

<sup>245</sup> Технічна та фінансова допомога. *Євроінтеграційний портал*. URL: <https://eu-ua.kmu.gov.ua/tekhnichna-ta-finansova-dopomoha>

of a hybrid war, the European choice of state is always the focus of information attacks by opponents.

As part of the implementation of the Association Agreement, the informational component can be traced in various parts of the institutional structure of bilateral bodies. For example, the sub-committee on economy and other sectoral cooperation of the Association Committee takes care of the cluster on cooperation in the field of science and technology, information society, audiovisual policy, education, training and youth, culture, cooperation in the field of sports and physical culture. Constant monitoring of the implementation of the Association Agreement reveals both achievements and weaknesses of the changes implemented in the state regarding the information and communication policy. We consider the adopted European integration laws regarding electronic trust services, digitization of construction objects, transport and electric power, basic principles of cyber security, etc. to be an achievement. In particular, the Strategy for Ukraine's Integration into the EU's Single Digital Market and the "roadmap" for its implementation were developed and submitted to European institutions, and a regular Ukraine-EU Dialogue on Ukraine's integration into the EU's Single Digital Market was launched. In addition, cooperation has been established with the EU Network and Information Security Agency (ENISA) and the European Cyber Security Research and Competence Center to counter cyber threats. The information system of state market supervision (similar to the Community Rapid Information System, RAPEX) is operating in the pilot mode, the Coordinating Council for the Implementation of the Communication Strategy in the Field of European Integration has been created, Addendum XVII-3 to the Association Agreement has been updated, which will contribute to the implementation of the latest EU standards in the field of electronic communications and gradual integration into the EU Single Digital Market. rubrics on issues of European integration with relevant information materials were also developed and published on the official websites of ministries and agencies, regional state administrations, etc.<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> Секторальна інтеграція України до ЄС: передумови, перспективи, виклики. *Центр Разумкова*. 2021. URL: [https://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/article/2021\\_sektor\\_eu\\_ukr.pdf](https://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/article/2021_sektor_eu_ukr.pdf)

Weaknesses are those related to financial aspects, which means they are exposed to corruption risks. Experts believe that the Association Agreement is implemented at a slow pace due to the lack of information exchange, verifications and inspections on the ground and the lack of relevant agreements with the European Office for the Prevention of Abuse and Fraud (OLAF).<sup>247</sup>

The tasks of the information sector are defined as: strengthening information and intelligence cooperation with the EU states in the fight against illegal arms trade, which is caused by the significant presence of illegal weapons from the conflict zone on the territory of Ukraine; increasing trust and security when using information and communication technologies, including information security, cyber security, protection of personal information, etc.; development of cross-border and regional cooperation in the context of transport, energy, communication networks, culture, education, tourism, health care and other areas covered by the Association Agreement.<sup>248</sup>

Separately, a package of recommendations was created for the public, which is also entrusted with the responsibility of participating in the optimization of the informational component of European integration practices, namely: conducting information campaigns for foreign audiences about Ukraine's European integration successes and for the population of Ukraine in order to explain the advantages of European and Euro-Atlantic integration; inclusion of the non-governmental environment in coordinating the implementation of the Communication Strategy in the field of European integration; involvement of CSOs in cooperation regarding the systematic monitoring of information attacks by the Russian Federation in the media and social networks and activities within the framework of the single coordination center at the central bodies of the executive power regarding the response to information attacks; establishment of a systemic dialogue with the

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<sup>247</sup> Секторальна інтеграція України до ЄС: передумови, перспективи, виклики. *Центр Разумкова*. 2021. URL: [https://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/article/2021\\_sektor\\_eu\\_ukr.pdf](https://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/article/2021_sektor_eu_ukr.pdf)

<sup>248</sup> Секторальна інтеграція України до ЄС: передумови, перспективи, виклики. *Центр Разумкова*. 2021. URL: [https://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/article/2021\\_sektor\\_eu\\_ukr.pdf](https://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/article/2021_sektor_eu_ukr.pdf)

Facebook administration regarding countering informational threats in the social network; starting the practice of supporting initiatives to improve the image of Ukraine, its investment attractiveness in the eyes of foreign audiences.<sup>249</sup>

Among the large number of tasks on the agenda and unresolved issues, Ukraine decided on a key priority – integration into the EU's Single Digital Market. In this direction, several important solutions have already been implemented: in the field of electronic commerce, trust services and electronic communications. Since 2020, an experimental project in the field of providing electronic administrative services „The State in a smartphone“ and a special application „Diya“ have been operating, which, along with the convenience of services for citizens, allow you to be on the same wavelengths and frequencies as Europe. Regulatory progress is based on the adoption of the laws of Ukraine „On electronic trust services“, „On access to construction, transport, power engineering facilities for the purpose of developing telecommunications networks“, „On electronic communications“, etc. The digital market has long been important to the modern world, and in the age of the pandemic, due to COVID-19, it has taken on a new meaning, because the global economy could not survive without electronic communications and everything related to it – from access to infrastructure and high-speed Internet to security data and electronic trust services. The argument is also the conviction that in the networked world it is impossible to integrate into the civilized space only in physical reality.

Therefore, the information and communication component of the European integration process is not limited exclusively to the development of the information society, technologies and electronic communications and services. In fact, this component is present in the spheres of public procurement, infrastructure, tourism, sanitary measures, technical regulation, development of the business environment, activities of customs, control bodies, telecommunication networks, etc. This order of things enables the control and approval procedures of European

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<sup>249</sup> Європейська та євроатлантична інтеграція. *Transition book 2019*. URL: <https://www.kmu.gov.ua/storage/app/sites/1/17-presentation-2019/8.2019/transition-book-final-stisnuto.pdf>



norms and standards for Ukraine. It is communication interactions that make European integration a two-way process.

In 2021, the strategic plan envisages conducting an explanatory campaign, also within the framework of the EU-Country concept, regarding the main European values (respect for human dignity, human rights, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law) and their importance for building a successful European state. It is planned to ensure the production of informative audiovisual and printed products as part of the campaign and their placement on the air of nationwide TV and radio channels, on the Internet, in particular in social networks, public places, in the format of internal and external advertising. An information campaign is being implemented, within the framework of the concept of EU-Country, regarding the clarification of the connection between the reforms, the implementation of the Association Agreement and positive changes in the lives of Ukrainian citizens, in particular in terms of priority topics: the expansion of trade and economic relations between Ukraine and the EU, reforming the sphere of security health, integration of energy markets, stimulation of energy efficiency, integration of Ukraine into the EU digital market, etc. Among the activities are also: highlighting the results of the implementation of reforms in specific areas within the framework of the implementation of the Association Agreement by holding regular communication events on all available platforms; continuation of the implementation of the training course on European integration of Ukraine for students of general secondary education institutions. We also consider it important to develop and disseminate methodological recommendations on communication in the field of European integration, adaptation of local content to the national communication strategy among civil servants of regional state administrations and central executive bodies, local self-government officials responsible for relations with mass media and the public.<sup>250</sup>

It can be stated that we are observing a high level of inter-institutional communications, but insufficient – with the involvement of the

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<sup>250</sup> *Про затвердження плану заходів на 2021 рік з реалізації Стратегії комунікації у сфері європейської інтеграції на 2018-2021 роки.* Розпорядження Кабінету міністрів України № 331-р від 14 квітня 2021 р. Законодавство України. URL: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/331-2021-%D1%80#Text>

public. Also, a wide range of tasks aimed at popularizing European integration practices indicates insufficient awareness of the public about the goals and directions of European integration of Ukraine. In 2019, 72 % of surveyed Ukrainians stated the need to receive more information about the European Union and Ukraine's European integration<sup>251</sup> Accordingly, informing about European integration should become a permanent accompanying process along the entire path of rapprochement with a united Europe – both at the central and local levels, and with the involvement of European institutions and civil society organizations from both sides.

The implementation of European integration reforms, the formation of citizens' own assessments and prejudices regarding the European choice of the country take place in the conditions of a permanent information war, which in the social dimension often disintegrates European integration. That is why the security component of bilateral relations always contains an informational component, and this explains our logic in formulating the research tasks of the study.

At the intersection of the informational interests of Ukraine and the European Union is the policy of countering Russian propaganda. Each of the parties accepted this challenge in different ways: Europe – with diplomatic notes and the allocation of targeted funding, Ukraine – with comprehensive measures in the framework of resistance to Russian aggression. European politics also felt the influence of propagandists from Russia. In 2015, an operative working group on strategic communications of the European Union was created in the EU, the main functions of which include: clarification of key aspects of the policy of the European Union, creation of its positive image and countering disinformation; effective communication and promotion of the EU's Eastern Partnership policy; the general development of the media space in the countries of the Eastern Partnership and EU member states, which involves the promotion of media independence; improving the mechanisms that enable the EU to predict, assess and respond to disinform-

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<sup>251</sup> 72 % українців потребують більше інформації про ЄС та євроінтеграцію, 52 % – про НАТО. *Урядовий портал*. URL: <https://www.kmu.gov.ua/news/72-ukrayinciv-potrebuyut-bilshe-informaciyi-pro-yes-ta-yevrointegraciyu-52-pro-nato>

mation spread by external actors; providing informational support to EU delegations in Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine.<sup>252</sup>

In November 2016, the European Parliament adopted the Resolution “Strategic communications of the European Union as a countermeasure to third-party propaganda”, which recognized strategic communications and information warfare not only as an external aspect of the EU, but also as an internal one. In April 2017, a joint decision was made by NATO and the EU to create the European Center for Countering Hybrid Threats. In October 2019, the European Parliament supported the resolution on disinformation and external interference in the elections to the European Parliament, in which the Russian Federation played a key role, as almost one thousand (998) cases of disinformation by Russia were recorded. In December 2020, the European Commission presented the “Action Plan for European Democracy”, which defines measures to promote free and fair elections, strengthen media freedom and counter disinformation. To these normative acts and decisions is added constantly increased funding for the fight against Russian propaganda – 1 million euros in 2018, 5 million euros in 2019.<sup>253</sup> In January 2020, the European Union Task Force (a unit of the European Foreign Policy Service) held the first-ever summit on hostile external influence (mainly from the Russian Federation and China), where the changing threats caused by the spread of disinformation within the EU were discussed, the need to develop a cross – a sectoral strategy aimed at combating disinformation campaigns, mapping future threats and diagnosing areas of vulnerability, as well as identifying new ways to overcome these threats.<sup>254</sup>

<sup>252</sup> Як Євросоюзу протидіє російській пропаганді. *Міжнародний центр перспективних досліджень*. 2021. URL: <http://icps.com.ua/yak-vrosoyuz-protydi-rosiyskiy-propahandi/>

<sup>253</sup> ЄС виділяє на боротьбу з російською пропагандою вп'ятеро більше коштів, ніж раніше, – ЗМІ. *Лівий берег*. URL: [https://lb.ua/news/2018/12/28/416032\\_es\\_videlyaet\\_borbu\\_rossiyskoy.html](https://lb.ua/news/2018/12/28/416032_es_videlyaet_borbu_rossiyskoy.html)

<sup>254</sup> Дорош, Л. Відповіді на гібридні загрози: особливості стратегії Європейського Союзу у боротьбі з дезінформацією. *Вісник Маріупольського державного університету. Серія: Історія. Політологія: Збірник наукових праць*. 2020. № 27. С. 112–113.

Taking into account the abnormal statistics – in half of the cases of disinformation in the Russian mass media, it is about Ukraine, the state includes both institutionalized and non-systemic ones in the list of means of countering informational attacks. In May 2021, the President of Ukraine, V. Zelenskyi, signed the Decree «Issues of the Center for Combating Disinformation» (CCP), approving the CCP Regulations. The new structure should ensure countermeasures against both existing and projected threats to national security and national interests in the information sphere, detect and counter disinformation, propaganda, destructive informational influences and campaigns, as well as prevent attempts to manipulate public opinion.<sup>255</sup> The Center for Combating Disinformation actively refutes Russian fakes and narratives after the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine.

The analyzed experience, strategic goals and directions of activity of Ukraine and the European Union in the context of the implementation of European integration practices give reasons to state the interconnectedness of the defense sectors and information interactions. This is due to the fact that the stage of active implementation of European integration practices coincided with military aggression and means of hybrid warfare by the Russian Federation, which are primarily aimed at discrediting the European choice of Ukraine and the participation of European institutions in overcoming crisis phenomena in Ukraine. On the other hand, such circumstances optimized bilateral cooperation between Ukraine and the EU, emphasized the positive experience of the domestic defense sector, which can improve the security component of the common European space, namely measures to combat migration, smuggling, cybercrime, and armed conflicts in territories with a significant number of civilians. If the sphere of military activities remains demarcated by borders and zones of national and supranational interests, then the information space is shared and subordinated to global trends, challenges and threats, which will contribute to close cooperation of relevant departments and specialists of Ukraine, EU member states and the European Union.

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<sup>255</sup> Президент затвердив Положення про Центр протидії дезінформації. *Президент України: Офіційне інтернет-представництво*. URL: <https://www.president.gov.ua/news/prezident-zatverdiv-polozhennya-pro-centr-protidiyi-dezinfor-68317>

## CONCLUSIONS

The monograph systematizes the factors of the goals and directions of European integration policy, including historical, political, and security issues. Indicators of the directions of European integration were also clarified: regarding the possibility and expediency of centralizing or decentralizing the EU; regarding the implementation of the system of interstate relations, deep integration of political and economic management in order to increase the level of autonomy of the EU on the world stage; regarding the European identity, the search and common recognition of which is the key to the unification of Europe. The definition of “European integration practices” as a functional component of European integration policy has been specified.

It was found that, starting from the 2000’s, Ukrainian political science actively included research on all aspects of European integration – first as an actual supranational process, later as one of the perspectives of Ukraine, its strategic intention, and at the current stage, a constitutionally recognized goal.

The strengthening of the imperative component of political science research on the European integration of Ukraine since 2014 has been proven. It consisted in the transition from the study of possible options or scenarios for the country’s choice of foreign policy partnership to the analysis of challenges and tasks of the implementation of the European integration course. Correlation of current scientific research with reforms implemented in the state, such as decentralization or public administration, is substantiated. The governmental system of coordination and organization of the implementation of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU is presented as a system in three dimensions: – institutional, functional and programmatic.

Based on the analysis of the experience of European integration models of countries that have successfully integrated and candidate countries, it is claimed that the effectiveness and success of the implementation of European integration obligations is directly related to the existence of a separate institute for European integration. It is impor-

tant to create an effective mechanism of interaction between the parliament and the government by ensuring regular dialogue between these institutions on issues of integration. Another factor is the presence of political will and elite commitment to European integration reforms, even with existing problems, misunderstandings and emerging disagreements.

The study focuses on the achievements of the current stage of implementation of European integration practices, namely on the availability of a wide range of financial, economic and political support from the EU and individual EU member states. Such support is provided in the areas of anti-corruption, decentralization, public administration, judiciary and rule of law, constitution and electoral practices. A separate aspect is the security component, which came to the fore after February 24, 2022. The importance of Ukraine for the entire EU in terms of political stability, security and energy issues has been clarified.

The study carried out a content analysis of pre-election programs of the winning parties of the last six parliamentary campaigns. It was established that since the first years of independence, the attitude of political parties of Ukraine to the topic of European integration was different: declarative, neutral, approving, negative. It is emphasized that the European course has always been considered by parties within the geopolitical frame “East-West”. It was found that the polarity was constructed during the last two decades and was determined by the demands of society, external and internal circumstances, and not by the ideology of the party organization. Due to the growing relevance of the foreign component of state policy, the marker of attitude towards European integration has turned into a qualitative criterion for evaluating political activity, in particular, of parties. Whereas in the early 2000’s, the position regarding the foreign policy course was generally ignored by part of the party spectrum and did not find a place in the official election programs.

The authors clarified the concept of European integration potential of civil society. It is defined as the ability and set of opportunities of civil society organizations to participate in the implementation of the country’s European integration course both together with state institutions and as an independent advisory body from among interested CSOs in key areas of European integration. The resource component is

represented by active non-governmental organizations and their access to information, dialogue, democratic experience of other countries and the opportunity to broadcast alternative or additional positions regarding the inclusion of socio-economic, cultural and humanitarian issues in the agenda of the European integration process, etc.

It is emphasized that the most significant waves of civil activity were connected with the choice of the country's foreign policy course, tending to the Western vector. However, European integration here became one of the triggers, not the cause of citizen's protests.

Based on the analysis of socio-economic parameters of rating indicators of Ukraine in the period before and after active European integration practices (in 2013 and 2019), conclusions were made that the reputational progress of Ukraine is conditioned by European integration reforms. These include the implementation of entrepreneurial activities, ensuring the economic rights and freedoms of citizens, information openness regarding the economy and state finances, creating conditions for the ability of citizens to manage their own property and work.

The most relevant markers of the socio-economic development of Ukraine determined by the European integration factor are emphasized: the adaptation of legislation to the principles and values of EU policy in Ukrainian practices; support and forcing of systemic reforms correlated with the course of European integration, at the expense of macro-financial assistance and lending; activation and reorientation of the social mobility of Ukrainians in the European direction; improving Ukraine's reputational indicators in world rankings.

The positive experience of Ukraine's security practices, which can become key areas of bilateral cooperation based on equal partnership, is justified. The experience of combating illegal migration, smuggling, cybercrimes and the implementation of defense measures in the conditions of the inclusion of the civilian population in the conflict and the presence of a significant number of internal refugees are taken into account.

The monograph substantiates that the constitutionally determined goal of gaining membership in the European Union at the current stage did not mean the simultaneous identification of systemic transformations in Ukraine as sectoral European integration practices. They

started long before Ukraine acquired the status of a candidate for EU membership.

It is argued that Ukraine still needs to intensify information campaigns about the country's European integration course, which would contribute to increasing the level of public support, countering Russian propaganda and accusations of Eurosceptics, and constructive dialogue with international partners.



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# ABSTRACT

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