

Problems of Integration Choice of Ukraine

I. T. KISCHAKⁱ, A. V. SLYUSARENKOⁱⁱ

In modern conditions of Ukrainian statehood and its economic potential development the question of European integration is rather relevant. The necessity for membership in the European Union (EU) depends on a number of qualitative factors, which provide the benefits of economic, social and political order. However, along with the dominance of opinions about the expediency of Ukraine's accession to the EU, the fact of the complexity of the process does not lose its relevance. It is updated in the light of differences of mentality, economic fundamentals and the list of imperatives from European countries, which, ultimately, are not stimulating in terms its development. So, the problem of European integration is relevant with its advantages and disadvantages that are worth investigating to identify strategic directions of the perspective Ukrainian state institutions development.

Keywords: development, integration, globalization, liberalization, imperative.

УДК 339.92+330.3(477)

JEL Codes: F15, F29, F47, H77

Introduction. Autonomy of the state in economic development terms is impossible in the context of achieving improvements. Ukrainian reality throughout the period of formation of a sovereign power of the state institution is trying to resolve the issue of the integration of the choice of the definition of advantages and disadvantages. Ukraine should be formed decisions regarding geopolitical and economic commitment that quality is a prerequisite for radical change and institutionalization of strategic priorities in foreign relations and global positioning. This issue deserves attention and thorough research on the formation of clear conclusions.

Formulation of the problem. A modern characteristic of the global economy development is preventing functional isolation and the existence of any country aside the integration processes. Such integration processes are the requirements of the evolutionary processes of globalization and accordingly are the narrowing of competition vectors with the wording of transparent "rules of the game" on a planetary scale. Ukraine is also actively trying to integrate into the world community and throughout the path of its independence the policy of the priority development choice is variable, ranging from the EU to the Customs Union (CU) and vice versa. At the moment European integration vector is preferred. This particular direction has recently become the cornerstone of the controversy in Ukraine.

An important contribution to the Ukrainian reality in terms of the theory of European integration is made by such foreign scholars as D. Mitrani, F. Schmitter, S. Hoffman, M. Gronicki, L. Hooghe, G. Marks. A large number of works are devoted to the expediency of Ukraine following the European way of development, but the problems of consequences of this vector are neglected. The scientific relevance of the strengthening of the EU-Ukraine

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relations is thoroughly investigated in the works of P. Haidutsky, M. Levchenko, A. Slobodyanyuk, B. Gubsky, D. Lukyanenko, S. Mocherny, V. Tarasevich, A. Filipenko, T. Tsygankova and others. They focused their attention on the profitable issues of cooperation and integration of Ukraine into the EU. So, in the studies of modern scientific elite more than enough attention is paid to the various aspects of the strengthening relations between the EU and Ukraine, to the development and deepening of the cross-border cooperation, security and other issues. But the qualitative analysis of the potential consequences of the deepening relationships is not carried out, the existing advantages and hidden defects are not defined.

The aim of the article is presenting an opinion on defending the European integration chosen by Ukraine.

Results. The tendency of Ukrainian State Institute for the development according to the European model is actually dated 1993, because the membership in the EU was determined by Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine as a promising target. Thus, the way of EU-Ukraine relations began almost immediately after gaining its independence. The legal framework of relations was determined by the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) which was signed on June 14, 1994 (came into force on March 1, 1998). So, Ukraine among the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) was the first to sign the agreement with the EU, stating its readiness for cooperation and development through the benefits of liberalization and globalization. However, not all expectations of the state have been realized and justified.

The core attraction of Ukraine to the European society is the objective reasons of its geopolitical and geo-economic situation, historical, cultural and ethnic traditions that are identical with the EU for the most part. In addition, we should pay attention to the development of integration and globalization in the modern world which determine the necessity of identifying the role and place of the country in the global economy. Finally, Ukraine today has no alternative to global and regional integration processes, paying attention to the conditions dictated by science and technology and information revolution, the formation of a global division, labor cooperation and highly competitive environment that characterize the planetary interstate relations. In general, the need to determine the vector of Ukrainian integration process development is generally defined as a necessity, but it should be defined an optimum for preserving the territorial integrity and its development, and citizens' guarantees.

It should be mentioned that the will of Ukrainian people, who made their choice of bringing it through the Revolution of dignity, as a means of informing the ruling class about the hopes and expectations in the strategic perspective should not be forgotten. Therefore, the European integration is the civilized choice of Ukraine, one of the key demands of the Revolution of dignity. In its turn, the President of Ukraine P. Poroshenko confirmed the demand of the people emphasizing that the prospect of EU membership is a strategic guideline of the Ukrainian aspirations to transformation and is a key objective due to which the reforms are held [1].

Giving the identified root causes of Ukraine's adoption advisability of the development within the EU as the strategic guidelines, there are specific steps that confirm the willingness and seriousness of the state. Ukraine came to a decisive milestone – the signing and ratification of the Ukraine Association Agreement with the EU in November 2013, the part of which is the Agreement on free trade area (FTA). In this regard, the state has a very important task – to weigh once again the pros and cons of the European integration course, carried out as a part of this study.

An important argument that is often given in favor of European integration is the liberalization of foreign trade and the increase of its volume. It is noted that the share of gross

domestic product (GDP) of the EU in the structure of the total world GDP nowadays is 20.1 %. In turn, the share of the EU in the global turnover is about 33 %. The main alternative of Ukraine with the EU is known as followed and defined by the creation of a free trade zone – the largest market in the world with a total population of 500 million people and the GDP is \$18.4 trln. (in comparison: the US population is about 300 million people and the GDP is \$14.3 trln., the Eurasian Economic Community is 170 million people and the GDP is \$14.1 trln.) [2]. So, the integration processes in Ukraine towards European countries allow to participate in commercial activities of one of the biggest commodity markets.

Today the EU is the largest foreign trade partner of Ukraine taking share at 32.8 % of the total foreign trade turnover. The shortcomings of the trade cooperation are identified, which have the tendency to export mainly raw materials and basic commodities and import accordingly industry, machinery and chemical products with greater added value from the EU. It should be noted that the deepening of the integration process can provoke the worsening of the state's economic situation preserving this trend, because the problem of FTA is a certain specialization. This imperative of FTA provided Ukraine's accession to the EU entitles the latter "to dictate" which goods can be launched by the participant on the market of a certain area and which cannot be launched.

The fact should be taken into account that the EU is a major investment donor to the developing countries, including Ukraine. In terms of everyday life of the state, almost 80 % of total foreign direct investment is from the EU (\$40.1 billion). A significant amount of foreign direct investments (FDI) from the EU is focused on industrial enterprises – 33.4 %, financial institutions accumulate 33.1 % of foreign direct investments of total revenues to Ukraine [3]. So, European countries are a major investor in the economy of Ukraine.

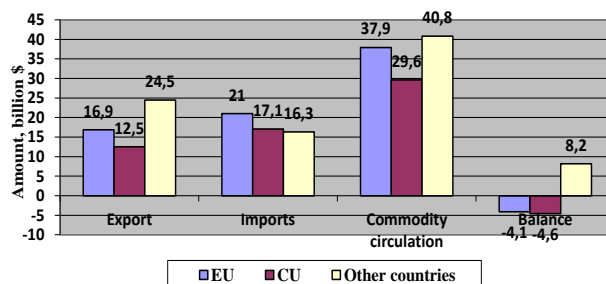
The benefits of obtaining political and social issues are expected from the support of the European integration vector. Thus, in a political sense the possibilities of involvement of the Common European Security and Defense Policy (CESDP) are open for our country which will guarantee the state sovereignty and territorial integrity. In turn, social benefits are the protection of human rights in the EU institutions, the opening of borders to free mobility, ensuring high quality of life by pulling up the country to the standards of the EU.

But people should pay attention to the inverse direction of the defined benefits. First of all, it should be noted that there is a threat of the same political, economic and social order. So, according to the political failures the fact is a risk of partial loss of sovereignty and subordination of the territories to the EU bodies, the uncertainty of development strategies, because the change of production capabilities and orientations should take place that entails the destructive changes in the economy. The EU has a strict planned economy with strict quotas dictating a destructive demand for the introduction of quotas for the production of goods for Ukraine. In turn, for the EU it is a deterrent factor in the country's adoption to the common market because of the need for serious compensation from the closure of certain industries to Ukraine.

Social threats, including the deepening of the demographic decline, illegal migration and outflow of staff, have already been proved today, comprising labor migration, which is a controversial part of the EU-Ukraine relations. According to the data of the Ukrainian Center for Social Research and the Institute of Ethnology of the National Academy of Sciences, which is studied in the work of P. Haidutsky, the number of Ukrainian migrant workers reaches 4,5–5 million people. But there is the generalization of evidence that there are 5,5–7 million Ukrainian migrant workers. The main and the most important is that Ukrainian migrant workers see a more legal labor market in the EU. About 15 billion euros come from

migrant workers, which represent about 6–8 % of GDP from the UE to Ukraine every year. Moreover, as noted by P. Haidutsky, based on real possibilities of Ukraine to provide employment and income for the population, such high migration status of the EU for Ukrainians is undoubtedly positive [4]. But is it really so? We can really see a massive outflow of labor from Ukraine, which creates a number of not only social problems but also economic ones.

The main driving force and thorough analytical motivator of Ukraine in terms of decision-making regarding the expediency of the choosing of the one vector development policy within the EU is the penetration on the world's major markets and getting economic benefits from trading activities. And finally, is there a trade with the EU for the state economically reasonable and justified in terms of strategic priority? Since the Ukraine independence the deficit of the Ukraine's foreign trade with the EU has increased almost by six times, reaching a mark of \$4.1 billion. For comparison, the external balance of trade with the Customs Union in the corresponding period has also increased reaching a negative value at \$4.6 billion, which is also an indicator of the economic feasibility of foreign economic activity (Fig. 1). Thus, the balance of trade in Ukraine with other countries for the same period is positive, showing growth over the years almost by eight times and reaching a mark of \$8.2 billion [5]. So, Ukraine chooses beforehand an unprofitable foreign economic activity of putting its economy by "shooting", which allows making a conclusion about the impropriety of the one vector strategy of the foreign economic activity and erroneous assessment of the economic benefits of integration processes in EU-Ukraine relations.



Source: developed by the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine [5]

Figure 1. Geographic structure of the Ukraine foreign trade of the products in 2014, billion \$

Based on these problems and threats of further active work on the proceedings of European integration it seems that, as in case of the World Trade Organization (WTO), Ukraine began negotiations on an FTA with the EU without a clear position about what it wanted to achieve. Ukraine had relevant experience in such complex negotiations, except the WTO accession, where in fact it also failure. Meanwhile, the EU as a skilled negotiator (has FTA with more than ten countries of the world), has set the goal: to provide automatic access to the Ukrainian market for their business, refusing to apply the same principles to Ukraine.

In general, the essential understanding of the European choice of Ukraine opens new prospects for cooperation with developed countries of the continent, providing opportunities for economic development, strengthening Ukraine's position in the global system of international relations. This is the best way to the realization of the national interests. For Ukraine, the European integration is a way to modernize the economy, overcoming technological backwardness, attracting foreign investments and new technologies, creating new jobs, improving the competitiveness of domestic producers, accessing to the world markets, especially the EU market. As an integral part of Europe Ukraine focuses on operating in western democracies model of socio-economic development. Because of this kind of generalized positions, Ukraine's desire is to act according to the model of European development, though there is a significant number of factors which evidence of its irrationality.

First of all, we should pay attention to the organizational unwillingness of Ukraine to EU membership. The improvement of this is the statement of N. Hnidyuk, who noted that the European integration is a sphere of not only foreign but also domestic policy [6]. But when dozens of agencies are involved in the process simultaneously, without any coordinating center, in practice it leads to confusion. The European diplomatic corps also point out that they warned many times the Ukrainian government concerning expediency of a profile prime minister, without whom any chances for Ukraine's success in the conduct of European Reforms is scarce. The same opinion has the head of the Parliamentary Committee on European Integration of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine I. Gerashchenko, who believes that the position of Vice Prime Minister or First Vice Prime Minister for European Integration should be formed [7]. Making the process of European integration and reforms requires centralized management, which a specially appointed government official could provide, said the head of the civilian operations of the European External Action Service Karl Dean. According to him, it might be Vice Prime Minister or minister, who must have real powers and have the ministerial structure. The powers of the official, who is responsible for the European integration and reforms should be determined by the law and the law of supremacy must be acted [3]. The Ukrainian realities of European integration nowadays resemble a ship without a rudder.

However, we should stay on the unavailability of Ukraine to join the EU because of the instability provoked by conducting the anti-terrorist operations in the east of the country. This fact determines not only the unwillingness on our part, but also by the EU, because the presence of military actions reduces the investment appeal and creates ambiguity regarding payback and proper use of investments. Among the three countries which have signed an association agreement with the EU, Ukraine stands alone, as the armed conflict in Donbas takes a lot of effort and money, said Ukrainian analyst of the Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation Vladimir Gorbach. "The events in the East reduced the activity of the state in matters of implementation of the agreement with the EU, besides the part of the agreement on free trade zone still has not entered into force because the EU made concessions to the Russian Federation, when postponed the beginning of the agreement before January 1, 2016 year"[8].

Today the Russian Federation (RF) behaves rather aggressively to Ukraine and is not ready to take the Ukrainians' public choice of its attraction to the EU. It essentially holds the geopolitical and geo-economic policies aimed at absorption of Ukraine. A. Volovich emphasizes that this course of events is confirmed by Alexander Dugin – a Russian political scientist. According to the plan, which is represented in his works, the partition of Ukraine on four zones is expected: "The further existence of the unitary Ukraine is unacceptable. This

territory should be divided into several zones, corresponding to the gamma of geopolitical and ethno cultural realities. Geopolitical components of Ukraine are Western Ukraine (belongs to Central Europe), actually Little Russia (the left bank of the Dnieper), the Right bank of the Dnieper (regions, tending to Great Russia), the Crimea (independent pro Eurasian geopolitical entity)" [9]. In turn, Russia becomes an obstacle to the realization of the plan connected with the European integration of Ukraine and delays the process indefinitely.

As A. Levin noted, Western politicians should resolutely refuse to talk about Ukraine as a "buffer zone" between Europe and Russia [10]. Paying attention to the today's realities, Ukraine in the landmark global positioning refers to the intersystem periphery, which is affected by the interests of both the EU and Russia. Though in this case, Ukraine can receive the appropriate benefits on the results of changing priorities and policy actions in relation to restrictions of the vectors of the international community. So, in the geopolitical triangle EU-Ukraine-Russia the state can fulfill a unique consolidating function that, consequently, can potentially be a step towards the creation of the dominant European space or creating "Great Europe" (the slang commonly used in recent years in the circles of the national scientific community) through the obtaining of the synergies effect from the combination of existing EU and CU potentials. The main objective of Ukraine is, firstly, the removal of confrontations between powerful participants' centers of the potential geopolitical space, that is possible thanks to the eliminating from the practice of unilateral vector of a foreign economic state attraction, and, secondly, the formation of the position of Ukrainian State Institute self-sufficiency with the effective economic mechanisms.

In the detailed work on the failures of the geopolitical formula of the triangle EU-Ukraine-Russia the state will have an opportunity to become a formative element, a natural connector, not a peripheral element or sanitaire border or a "buffer zone" [11]. For Ukraine, the presence and operation of the geopolitical triangle is based on a varied multidimensional cooperation and strengthening of foreign economic relations, which will be characterized by a positive balance of trade activities and reaching the maximum of the beneficial effects from the international activities. V. Sokolov in his works often refers to the words of a prominent American political scientist Z. Brzezinski, "the international community has not sufficient understanding of the Ukraine's international importance" [12]. So, Ukrainian realities are facing the current problems of forming a consensus model of a geopolitical positioning national comprehensive strategy.

In the analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of EU-Ukraine relations we should pay attention to the A. Goncharenko's point of view, who states that "basic national interests and geopolitical priorities are basis for the formation of the strategic goals and objectives of foreign policy of Ukraine. Today, the basic national interest and major geopolitical priority of Ukraine's foreign policy is its development as an independent state along with the preservation of national values, social and cultural identity, economic security and political sovereignty. The implementation of the basic national interest is an important prerequisite for the security, welfare, social and cultural progress for all Ukraine's citizens" [13]. So, as a result, the analysis, which should foresee the defining of foreign economic courses on a national scale and at the same time preserving the sovereignty of the state, should be taken place on the macroeconomic level. It means that the foreign economic perspective, which guarantees the integrity of the state and preservation of its freedom should be chosen.

It is a highly controversial interpretation of the expediency of the relations between Ukraine and the EU. A. Kruglashov and A. Revutska note that "European unification is the strategic objective of Ukraine's foreign policy, which is consistent with economic, social,

political and security interests of our society and the state". Although the mentioned scientists in their works note that for the membership of our country in the EU a number of requirements for the candidate countries, known as the Copenhagen criteria should be fulfilled [14]. So, even in the legal plane the issues of the preservation strategy and principles of the national state institute are quite controversial, because Ukraine has to be adapted to the requirements in terms of cooperation and membership at the end. Thus, in our opinion there is a loss of Ukraine's nationality, values and violation of integrity as a sovereign state that is recognized internationally.

The strengthening of the Ukraine's state sovereignty in foreign policy means its full presentation within the global cultural space as an active subject of geopolitics. This is possible under the condition of a dynamic dialogue between Ukraine and other countries based on the compliance with the norms and principles of international law, mutually beneficial cooperation, security and understanding by the state the essence of its national interests.

Conclusions. Taking into account the processed aspects it is necessary to conclude that nowadays Ukraine is dealing with European adaptation instead of European integration, which creates unequal opportunities for the development through cooperation. In terms of modernity the choice of Ukraine towards the European integration development is nothing but a complete capitulation and betrayal of positions of state integrity. It is necessary to review the position of the one vector development of foreign economic relations and a deep analysis and development of a consensus model of a national strategy of Ukraine's geopolitical positioning with calculating the formula EU-Ukraine-Russia, where the state is defined as a dominant European space center.

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Manuscript received 05 June 2016

Проблеми інтеграційного вибору України

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У сучасних умовах розвитку української державності та її економічного потенціалу актуальності набуває питання європейської інтеграції. Необхідність членства країн в Європейському Союзі обумовлюється рядом чинників якісного характеру, які передбачають використання переваг економічного, соціального та політичного порядків. Проте поряд із пануванням думок стосовно доцільності входження України до Європейського Союзу не втрачає своєї актуальності факт складності даного процесу, який актуалізується крізь призму різниць ментальностей, економічних основ та переліку імперативів з боку європейських держав, які, в решті решт, не є стимулюючими в плані її розвитку. Тож проблема євроінтеграції в умовах сучасності є актуальною, маючи в своїй основі переваги та недоліки, які варто досліджувати з метою визначення стратегічних орієнтирів перспективного розвитку українського державного інституту.

Ключові слова: розвиток, інтеграція, глобалізація, лібералізація, імператив.

Mechanism of Economic Regulation, 2016, No 2, 96–105

ISSN 1726-8699 (print)

Проблеми інтеграційного вибору України

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Получено 05.06.2016 г.

В современных условиях развития украинской государственности и ее экономического потенциала особой актуальности набирает вопрос европейской интеграции. Необходимость членства стран в Европейском Союзе обуславливается рядом факторов качественного характера, предусматривающих использование преимуществ экономического, социального и политического порядков. Однако наряду с господством мнений относительно целесообразности вхождения Украины в Европейский Союз не теряет своей актуальности факт сложности данного процесса, который актуализируется через призму различий ментальностей, экономических основ и перечня императивов со стороны европейских государств, которые, в конце концов, не являются стимулирующими в плане ее развития. Поэтому проблема евроинтеграции в условиях современности является актуальной, имея в своей основе преимущества и недостатки, которые следует исследовать с целью определения стратегических ориентиров перспективного развития украинского государственного института.

Ключевые слова: развитие, интеграция, глобализация, либерализация, императив.

JEL коди: F15, F29, F47, H77

Рисунки: 1; *Література:* 14

Language of the article: English

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