УДК 327, 323 (477)

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EURO-INTEGRATION IN DIMENSION OF DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT OF UKRAINE

У статті аналізується проблема взасмодії процесу реалізації євроінтеграційного курсу і внутрішніх демократичних перетворень України. Розглядаються виклики щодо обох процесів і можливі перспективи їх подолання.

Ключові слова: Україна, євроінтеграція, демократія.

Declaration of independence of Ukraine in 1991 determined the perspective of its democratic development with such features of civil society as guaranteed political rights of citizens, equal status of each of Ukrainians towards judicial and court system, possibility of rank and file representatives of state to influence governmental circles... Civil society had acquired in this respect (regarding liberal political thought) a real chance to become a concisely defined self-government sphere from activity of the state and as a real factor of democracy [1, 38].

The latest position was confirmed during the so called Orange Revolution (2004), when Ukrainian people as an organized social mechanism displayed (contrary to the governmental circles) their will to democracy. This factor revealed at the same time a tendency and a real perspective of Ukrainian society to be incorporated into the European Union as the association of democratic states. From the other side, the perspective of Ukraine to be incorporated into the European Union could deepen (as it was awaited) the tendencies of civil society constitution in Ukraine.

However, both noted phenomena have acquired contradictive traits during latest years, provoking research discussions and

necessity to make analytical deductions upon them. Regarding this, the aim of the article is to define, why the integration with European Union may be accepted as a factor of the process of democracy development in Ukraine. What is the correlation of these two processes? How can one estimate the present day situation upon integration of Ukraine with European Union? Which challenges may be revealed against this process? How can one evaluate the prospects of the Ukrainian course towards European Union and in this dimension the civil society establishment in Ukraine?

It is a generally accepted truth that European Union is the association of democratic states with strong civil societies as a foundation of European democracy. This note means above all adherence of EU members to such outlines of the state and of public life as legal foundations of functioning of supreme organs of government; transparency of governmental activity; accountability of government to society; independence of court system and judges towards government; independent functioning of Mass Media, abolishment of any state censorship upon them; opportunities of society to influence governmental decisions; real political pluralism without persecution of opposition ... and others, which create the fundamentals and at the same time the main values of European democracy.

From the other side, these values are known to be the main standards of EU membership. So, to gain these standards is to define (as to Ukraine) the prospects of the full value of membership in EU. And otherwise membership in EU means that the country-member has achieved an appropriate level of democracy and pursues the main traits of civil society.

Ukrainian government on behalf of Ukrainian society has proclaimed the course towards EU membership and thus has taken obligations on reforming society towards democracy. A corresponding agreement «'About partnership and cooperation» with EU was signed in 1994 under the presidency of L.Kuchma.

This course was confirmed by following two Presidents (including virtual President V.Yanukovich) and all following

Cabinets. It needs saying in this respect that such Act of Parliament as «About Fundamentals of Internal and External Policy» which was adopted by Verkhovna Rada (Ukrainian Parliament) in July of 2010 and which authorizes policy of the actual Ukrainian government has proclaimed the European integration course as a priority for Ukrainian society [2].

However establishment of democratic principles in Ukraine hasn't acquired a consistent pattern, when negotiating about full value membership in EU and – as an important stage to it – about associated membership in EU – Ukrainian supreme functionaries don't express their readiness to support negotiation process by appropriate democratic reforms. And moreover one can state substantial withdrawal of the contemporary Ukrainian society aside democratic norms.

Among negative phenomena of Ukrainian social and political life which provoke the gravest concern of EU officials are: growing discrepancies in political and socio-economic status between representatives of supreme authorities and rank and file civilians of society; their inequality towards judicial and court system; corruption within administrative structures; violation of political rights of Ukrainians and first of all their rights for mass meetings, protest actions, independent Mass media; persecution of opposite political leaders (as in the case of ex-Premier Yu.Timoshenko or ex-Minister of internal affairs Yu.Lutsenko).

The latest position brings forth special anxiety of governors of EU countries regarding generally accepted truth that judicial system of Ukraine needs pressing reforms. Among such (reforms) is the renewal of Ukrainian criminal and civilian codes in compliance with European achievements in this sphere.

The situation is under acute discussion among politicians and experts in Ukraine and abroad. As to European governors – they state that unless Ukrainian leaders initiate political (and as a special direction – judicial) reforms they will not be able to achieve progress towards invalidation of Agreement on association with EU [3].

But is it possible to own the readiness of Ukrainian authorities to such deeds? Unfortunately, it isn't.

The explanation perhaps is in the essence of the contemporary Ukrainian political system which has been acquiring explicitly authoritarian trends. To reform political (and within it – judicial) system means to deepen accountability of government to society, to diminish or even to destroy authoritarian tendencies of current political governance.

It is hard to state that such changes are in the interests of present day Ukrainian governmental officials.

So, authoritarian tendencies of political governance are known to be serious internal challenges to the process of civil society becoming in Ukraine as well as to the process of integration with EU. Another one reflects the external circumstances dealing with the international relations of the European continent.

It is known that EU is under serious inner political and economic crisis. So, the question is: How real could the intention of EU to incorporate new members be? And one more question: How long are the European leaders ready to negotiate with the Ukrainian supremacy upon the problems of association taking into account indifferent (at least) attitude of Ukrainian governmental circles to democracy and complicated (at the same time) economic and social problems in Ukraine?

These questions can't be discussed without analysis of policy of Russian Federation towards Ukraine. It is known that while EU puts forward requirements on political reforms in Ukraine, Russia isn't in need of them regarding main objectives of its external course. Among these is an aim to implicate (perhaps to draw) Ukraine into such economic and maybe political in future associations within Community of Independent States (CIS) – as Common Economic Area, Euro-Asian Economic Community and – as a first step towards them – Customs Union with Russia, Belorussia and Kazakhstan.

Perhaps, such line can't be seen as impossible.

It needs saying in this respect that almost by the date when Agreement on Free trade Zone between Ukraine and EU was approved (that is concerted) by both (Ukrainian and European) sides (it was declared about it on the 20 th of October of 2011) [4-5] – Prime Minister of Ukraine N.Azarov on behalf of Ukrainian government had signed (on the 18th of October) a revised Agreement on Free Trade Zone with CIS [6].

The latter event could be accepted as paradox regarding the fact that only several months before this, in May of 2011 Ukrainian government (actively negotiating with EU) rejected a proposition upon joining a renewed Agreement on Free Trade Zone with CIS.

An action of Premier Azarov provoked acute debates among Ukrainian publicity with different points of view upon it. There are analysts which have been stating that attendance of Ukraine in FTZ with CIS can't exclude its presence within FTZ of EU. That is that attendance of Ukraine in both Zones is of objective character with due regard to Ukrainian national interests [6].

Another observers have become much more provocative putting forward an idea that the reunion of Ukraine with FTZ of CIS may become an essential step towards reappraisal of its external priorities from the West to the East. That is that failing EU membership (according to unacceptable requirements from European side) Ukraine may change its integration policy into Eastern direction and join Customs Union and other associations with Russia [7].

It is important to note that such idea isn't rejected on the whole by supreme officials of Ukraine. So, during the summit meeting of Ukrainian and Russian Presidents in Donetsk in October of 2011 Minister of Social Policy S.Tigipko said that if EU explicitly expressed its «no» upon incorporation of Ukraine, the possibility of reorientation of Ukraine at Customs Union would become sufficiently strong [8].

This position was supported in a certain extent by President V.Yanukovich in Donetsk, who said after the proposal of Russian President to join the Customs Union as a possible perspective to

decrease the cost on natural gas for Ukraine that such perspective would be analyzed [8].

Once more President Yanukovich repeated such idea during the summit of Ukrainian and Russian Presidents in Yalta in July of 2012, when he said that participation of Ukraine in Customs Union could not be excluded [9].

Such statements may be accepted as an element of political game, when having lost another means of achieving necessary goals governmental officials resort to political maneuver – that is to influence EU upon the problem of incorporation by promising Russia to assemble with Customs Union. Or otherwise, to promise Russia to join the Customs Union and thus to attempt to decrease the cost of natural gas.

Such approaches reveal a kind of policy, while it is far from analytical apprehension of situation, which needs generalization of research ideas stated in Ukrainian political science during two latest decades.

Firstly, it needs saying that advancing of Ukraine in both (Western and Eastern) integration directions without definitive aim to join one of them is reciprocal with a course of multipolarity of 1990th. This course can't be recognized as successful for Ukraine taking into account that Ukraine began to acquire the features of the so called grey zone, that was the country which was staying beyond integration processes of the global scale and beyond interests of leading actors in the West and in the East [10-12; 13].

Secondly, full value membership of Ukraine in integration associations of both regional directions in the West and in the East (EU from the one side and CIS, Euro-Asian Economic Community, Common Economic Area, Customs Union, from the other) is hardly possible because of incompatibility of principles of their organization; discrepancies upon the so called «rules of the game» within these associations in respect of defense of their internal markets, competition of these associations in the international arena, their confrontation in the sphere of policy and security regarding geopolitical influences of European Union and Moscow[14-16].

And thirdly, European course of Ukraine must be confirmed and realized with due regard to the fact that European Union despite its internal economic and political difficulties and even crisis phenomena displays a tendency for rehabilitation, political pluralism, concerted approaches for solving economic issues, aspiration to serve national traditions of separate states [17-19].

Contrary to the noted positions, projects of economic integration (proposed by Russia within CIS), being motivated by authoritarian idea of geopolitical centrism of Russia, can't guarantee economic independence, nor political democracy or national revival and thus can't be seen as priority for Ukraine.

It is in need to confirm noted position by concrete facts. So, despite numerous declarations of Russian supreme officials about benefit of membership in integration associations within CIS, real date question a decision for Ukraine. According to distribution of votes within Customs Union, for example, majority (that is) 57% of them are in possession of RF, while other two members - Kazakhstan and Belorussia – own only in 21.5(s). In addition to this Russia acquires about 88 % (87,97) of all Customs collection while Kazakhstan -7% (7,33%) and Belorussia- about 5(4,7)% [7, p.12].

Such unequal approaches characterize principles of organization as well as functioning (as to the process of decision making) of such other integration associations within CIS as Euro-Asian Economic Community (which is composed at present of 6 members – Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russian Federation, Tadzhikistan, Uzbekistan) and Common Economic Area (which is consisted actually of 3 members – Russian Federation, Belorussia, Kazakhstan – and is supposed to incorporate Ukraine). As to Russia in these associations it has acquired an authority (according to its prevailing status) not only to head the processes within them, but to subject the positions of other participants to their own [20-21].

Of course, each integration community (including EU) is supposed to control some of its members operational functions by coordination center [22]. However, if decision-making within EU is being realized on consensus bases, authoritarian tendencies of

integration communities within CIS (including Customs Union) can't guarantee efficient provision of national interests of other countries contrary to Russian ones.

A case with Belorussia is of special value in this respect. It is known that Belorussia which has been pursuing a deep-set integration policy with Russia (including the kind within Customs Union) was abiding during latest years in the status of permanent gas wars with the latter. These wars led Belorussia to a full capitulation, when being unable to pay extremely high (for it) price for gas (it reached at the beginning of 2011 244 $ per thousand of cube meters of gas) it had to sell to GASPROM a full packet of shares of its gas-transport system "Biltransgas" [23-24]. It needs to add right here that due to the basic regulation documents of the Customs Union macroeconomic policy within the community had (itself, but not by selling strategic units) to equate the internal prices for countries-members, including those prices, which are dealing with output of natural monopolies.

It is understandable that such approaches can't meet the requirements of Ukraine. But discussing challenges to Ukrainian national interests within integration communities under the economic control of Russia, one must take into consideration not only economic, but political and historical factors.

As to political challenges one must understand the kind of countries, which are assumed to be integrated into common associations. They are known to be deep-set authoritarian states, which keep the lowest grades in the world rating upon corruption in administrative structures. It is worthy to apply in this respect to the commentary upon tendencies of Russian integration projects done by well-known Russian politician, ombudsman of St-Petersburg, member of Russian liberal party "Yabloko" Alezander Shishlov in his article "A Common Economic Aria for Gastarbyters and drug traffic" in his "Live Journal". «Really existing problems, - writes A.Shishlov, – which may become of critique character for Russia already in the nearest years are being lost in artistic painting of exiting future dealt with a Common Economic Area (CAE) and

Euro-Asian Union (see article of V.Putin in "Izvestiya" from the 3-d of October, 2011).

But, in which direction it is proposed to develop integration by participation of Russia? It is obvious, that prevailing position has been already given not to European, but to Asian direction. No prerequisites are seen to consider, that "entry into Euro-Asian Union... will let each of its participants to be integrated into Europe more fast and with due regard to more firmed foundations". In any case for Russia.

Among perspective participants of a Common Economic Area are Tadzhikistan and Kirgiziya. As it is known Russia is engaging 154-166 position (among 178 countries) under rating of corruption. By the way, other present-day participants of a CEA – Belorussia and Kazakhstan – are engaging more high positions regarding this rating: 127 and 105 places correspondingly. Tadzhikistan is engaging in respect of the rating of corruption the same position as Russia, and Kirgizia engages one more lower position, being on the 164-167 place. Perhaps, it is worthy to chose another orientations?» [25].

As to Ukraine in the noted context, its inclusion into the integration process within CIS is likely to block not only its unification with EU, but also its ability to deepen democratic tendencies which are in need for Ukrainian society during the period of independence.

Such conclusion may be drawn up also according to historical background of Ukraine, which having a substantial economic, political, national potential reached no more than a status of resource province of Russian Empire during 18 and 19th centuries. Such traits designated the abidance of Ukraine within the USSR notwithstanding communist ideology about equal status of all soviet republics. It needs saying that imperial tendencies characterize at the same time contemporary integration projects of Russia when unification under the aegis of Moscow reminds not cooperation, but submission of participants of possible economic

union to Russian Federation as a geopolitical center of Euro-Asian area.

It is assumed that such ideas are evident even for Ukrainian supreme officials who despite their virtual contradictive internal policy try to express at lest in declaration manner their adherence to European integration. However, situation needs real changes which may be done:

- Firstly, by active influence upon governmental circles from civil society which is being formed in Ukraine
- Secondly, by shifts within representatives of political circles, including Verkhovna Rada (Parliament) and Cabinet. The latest Parliamentary elections are awaited to become of special value in this respect.

As to European Union or Western community on the whole (including the USA), it is very important to prolong their endeavors to support Ukraine in its course to be incorporated into Europe. Ukrainian political opposition as well as Ukrainian opposite publicity highly appreciate such endeavors which influence positively internal situation (dealt with democratic processes) of Ukraine [26-28].

From the other side, European course of Ukraine is not only of regional, but of international significance. The alternative to it may be situation when Ukraine heaves to Moscow as a prerequisite of Russian Empire restoration. But as distinguished American politician and researcher Zb.Brzezinski points out "it is impossible to state with full conviction that without Ukraine Russia ceases to be an empire, but with Ukraine suborned and subordinated Russia automatically becomes an empire"[29].

So, to promote a course of Ukraine toward EU means to promote its democratic transformation. And from the other side, to promote the processes of civil society establishment in Ukraine is to promote its European perspective.

However, internal reforms in Ukraine can be encouraged, but not implemented from outside. The problem of democratic development of Ukraine is a duty of Ukrainian civil society itself.

It must be said that democratic potential of Ukrainian people is strong enough. It revealed itself during so called Orange Revolution in 2004 and is likely to be restored at present with due regard to acute socio-economic and political situation in Ukraine, which provokes massive aspiration for welfare, political rights, national liberties, democratic development of Ukrainian society.

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В статье анализируется проблема взаимодействия процесса реализации евро-интеграционного курса и внутренних демократических преобразований Украины. Рассматриваются вызовы по отношению к обоим процессам и возможные перспективы их преодоления.

Ключевые слова: Украина, евро-интеграция, демократия

Article is dealing with the problem of reciprocity of the process of realization of Euro-Integration course and democratic transformations of Ukraine. The challenges on both processes and possible perspectives of their overcoming are being discussed.

Key words: Ukraine, Euro-Integration, democracy.