









CONFERENCE:

"Securing Peace in Europe: The Prospects of an EU-Membership of Ukraine"

Friedrich-Schiller-University of Jena, Germany 16 November, 2024 Carl-Zeiß-Straße 3, Room 243, 2nd Floor, Faculty Meeting Room (Fakultätssitzungssaal) (Open to the public either on site or via Zoom)

(Supported by the "Arbeitskreis Europäische Integration e.V."- AEI-ECSA)

I. Concept and Background of the Conference

Although EU accession by 2030 is unofficially favoured, no one can really predict today how long it will take for Ukraine to become a full member of the European Union. The unpredictable factors are numerous and have to do above all with the duration of the war, the architecture of a subsequent peace, the speed and effectiveness of the pre-accession process, but also with factors beyond political conditionality, which experience has shown to be cultural, such as the successful fight against endemic corruption in the country. It can be argued on good grounds that the decision to declare Ukraine a candidate country was a purely political decision by the

EU. A decisive gesture of support and solidarity with Ukraine and the Ukrainian people after the Russian aggression and invasion. However, it is to be feared that Ukraine can no longer hope for gestures of solidarity from the EU with regard to its EU membership after the end of the war. The EU will of course continue to support Ukraine with all available means and at all levels, be it financially, militarily, administratively or diplomatically. But the country's eventual accession to the EU will no longer be a question of "good will", as was perhaps the case when Ukraine was declared a candidate country, but will depend on measurable and tangible progress towards this prospect, as has been the case with every other country that has eventually joined the EU. As far as Ukraine's full compliance with the *acquis communautaire* is concerned, the EU will not grant any "discount" and will not recognise or accept any "special conditions". Even in the case of a rather "staged", i.e. processual or "step by step" accession, Ukraine must in the end of this process fulfil all accession requirements.

On a purely factual level, and to give a rough idea of the dimension of Ukraine's EU membership, it should be mentioned that Ukraine's membership would enrich the EU with an additional forty million citizens. Ukraine would thus have the same weight within the EU institutions as Spain or Poland. As far as the academic and professional qualifications of Ukrainians are concerned, it should be noted that Ukraine is the country where, for example, more engineers graduate every year than in any other country in Europe. Ukraine is the largest grain supplier in the world after Russia, and the country that can provide the largest, combatready army in Europe. These facts alone make it clear that Ukraine's accession to the EU will be a turning point for Europe in the long term and in many respects.

If one wants to compare Ukraine's membership in NATO with its membership in the EU, one must realise that despite the current strong opposition to such a prospect, there can be no lasting ceasefire in Ukraine if Ukraine is not a member of NATO. Otherwise, the danger of a recurring war through Russian aggression would hover over the country like a permanent sword of Damocles. This in turn would mean that the millions of Ukrainian refugees would not return to their homeland and, above all, that the urgently needed investors would avoid the country. As paradoxical as it may sound, NATO membership for Ukraine would, politically speaking, not weaken but strengthen Russian President Putin within the Russian Federation, as this would significantly strengthen Putin's role as Russia's "protector" against the "evil" West. This is because the "NATO-Ukraine" pairing has so far been very convenient for Putin's imperial plans and has been used by him as an alibi for Russian aggression. Only under a NATO security guarantee, which would rule out renewed Russian aggression, would Ukraine agree to a possible "dirty deal" with Putin. It would amount to Russia receiving a part of eastern Ukraine - how big this possible part will be will be decided on the battlefield - in return for which Ukraine would become a member of both NATO and the EU.

If NATO membership were a kind of protective shield for Ukraine, EU membership for the country, however long it might take, would be an even greater upheaval for the EU than that triggered by German reunification, for example. Compared to NATO membership, the consequences of Ukraine's EU membership in relation to Russia would be more serious. This is because a modern, democratic, economically flourishing Ukraine would be the real "thorn in the side" of the Russian president: as the largest Eastern European Slavic democracy, it would virtually be the antipode to Putin's authoritarian kleptocracy.

However, the EU's perspective on Ukraine is not only linked to the development of the war within Ukraine or to the EU's support and solidarity, but also to developments on the other side of the Atlantic. It is no secret that both Russia and China would welcome Donald Trump's re-election as US President and would possibly support him using methods that are not always loud. The main reason for this attitude, according to Thomas Friedman, is simply that Donald Trump is not in a position to build alliances against them, as Joe Biden has done. He points to the alliance that Biden has built against China, from Japan to Korea to Vietnam and India. Or more importantly for Europe, the alliance to counter Russia's aggression in Ukraine. Both are in absolute danger of falling apart if Donald Trump becomes president again.

Against the background of the current situation and in connection with the expected developments, the following aspects arise with regard to the European perspective on Ukraine, which will be analysed and discussed in the context of the planned conference from a historical-political perspective. The conference is to take place in a hybrid format.

II. Programme of the Conference

09:00-09:15

Olaf Leiße, Faculty of Political Science, Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena (FSU) Angelos Giannakopoulos, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (NaUKMA) *Opening Remarks*

Introductory Session

Moderator: **Angelos Giannakopoulos,** National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (NaUKMA)

09:15-09:45

Taras Kuzio, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (NaUKMA)

National Identity in Ukraine and Foreign Policy Orientation: The Case of the EU (in-person presentation)

09:45-10:15

Kataryna Wolczuk, Centre for Russian, European and Eurasian Studies (CREES), University of Birmingham, UK and European Neighbourhood Policy Chairholder, College of Europe | Collège d' Europe, Warsaw, Poland

Ukraine and the pitfalls of the EU's enlargement policy' (online presentation)

10:15-10:30

Question-Answer Session

10:30-10:45 *Coffee Break*

Second Session: The Ukrainian View of EU-Membership

Moderator: **Yannes Janert**, Faculty of Political Science, Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena (FSU)

10:45-11:15

Marharyta Chabanna, Head of Institute of Political Science, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (NaUKMA)

Public Support for Ukraine's Integration Into the EU: Trends and Factors of Change (inperson presentation)

11:15-11:45

Daria Synhaievska, Research Fellow, German and European Studies Programme, Jena University

The Europeanisation of Ukraine's Political Culture: Obstacles and Prospects Ahead (inperson presentation)

11:45-12:00

Question-Answer Session

12:00-13:00

Lunch Break (invited guests only)

Second Session: The Ukrainian View of EU-Membership (continued)

Moderator: **Michael Merkel,** MA-Candidate, Faculty of Political Science, Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena (FSU)

13:00-13:30

Rostyslav Pavlenko, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (NaUKMA), Member of the Verkhovna Rada (Ukrainian Parliament)

Formation of the Autocephalous Orthodox Church of Ukraine as a Factor of Integration of Ukrainian Society Around European Values (online presentation)

13:30-14:00

Oksana Zubach, Department of German Philology, National Lesya-Ukrajinka University of Volhynia

EU-Ukraine Relations from an Uncommon Perspective: Humor as Another Form of Public Discourse

14:00-14:15

Question-Answer Session

Third Session: The European View of EU-Membership of Ukraine

Moderator: **Dmytro Yefremov**, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (NaUKMA)

14:15-14:45

Andreas Umland, Swedish Institute for International Affairs, Stockholm

How Europe and Ukraine Should Change to speed up integration (in-person presentation)

14:45-15:15

Nicolò Gasparini, Deputy Head of the Press and Information Section at the EU Delegation to Ukraine

European Union's Solidarity with Ukraine: An Overview (in-person presentation)

15:15-15:30

Question-Answer Session

15:30-15:45

Coffee Break

Fourth Session: Specific Issues Towards an EU-Membership of Ukraine

Moderator: **Dr. Raoul Ott**, Faculty of Political Science of the Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena (FSU)

15:45-16:15

Angelos Giannakopoulos, DAAD-Professor, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (NaUKMA)

The Final Obstacle to a Full EU-Membership of Ukraine? Successfully Fighting Corruption (in-person presentation)

16:15-16:45

Bill Kappis, Senior Lecturer and Deputy Director at the Centre for Security and Intelligence Studies (BUCSIS), University of Buckingham, United Kingdom

Assessing the Geopolitical Implications of Ukraine's European Path (in-person presentation)

16:45-17:00

Question-Answer Session

17:00 - 17:30

Olaf Leiße, Faculty of Political Science, Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena

Angelos Giannakopoulos, DAAD-Professor, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (NaUKMA)

Closing Remarks

19:00 **Common Dinner** (invited guests only)