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IMPLEMENTATION OF EUROPEAN VALUES AS A BASIS OF DEMOCRACY IN UKRAINE

Course Reader

Mykolaiv-2025



Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine

IMPLEMENTATION OF EUROPEAN VALUES AS A BASIS OF DEMOCRACY IN UKRAINE

Course Reader

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This Course Reader integrates interdisciplinary perspectives on international relations, European integration, and global governance. It combines theoretical analysis with empirical cases, fostering critical thinking and comparative approaches to complex political, legal, and institutional processes. The Course Reader prepared and funded Erasmus+JM Module «Implementation of European Values as a basis of Democracy in Ukraine» 101085843 – EVADEM – ERASMUS-JMO-2022-HEI-TCH-RSCH. Intended for scholars, university lecturers, students, and all those interested in the issues under discussion.

The authors of the sections are responsible for the reliability of the results.

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PREFACE

The course reader Implementation of European Values as a Basis of Democracy in Ukraine has been developed within the framework of the Jean Monnet Module project funded by the European Union under the Erasmus+ programme (Grant Agreement No.101085843–EVADEM–ERASMUS-JMO-2022-HEI-TCH-RSCH). The project is implemented at Petro Mohyla Black Sea National University and reflects the institution's commitment to promoting the European dimension in higher education, research, and civic engagement.

This reader serves as an academic and methodological supplement to the interdisciplinary course of the same name. It is designed to provide students with structured and accessible materials that support critical engagement with the course content. Through selected excerpts from scholarly books, official documents, historical texts, and analytical sources, students are encouraged to deepen their understanding of the role of European values in fostering sustainable democracy, good governance, and legal approximation in the Ukrainian context.

The course reader is organized into three coherent modules that follow the thematic and chronological progression of the course:

MODULE 1. EU AS A MODEL FOR A REGIONAL INTEGRATION

MODULE 2. UKRAINE AND EUROPE: COMMON HISTORICAL DESTINY (VALUE ASPECT)

MODULE 3. THE CURRENT STAGE AND PROSPECTS OF THE EU FUNCTIONING. UKRAINE AND THE PROCESSES OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Each module comprises nine topics. Every topic includes a brief analytical introduction, a list of suggested readings (consisting of verified and publicly available academic sources), and selected primary or secondary textual materials ("Sources") that illustrate the concepts discussed. All source excerpts are carefully chosen to reflect the actual state of research and policy analysis on European integration, value systems, and the EU–Ukraine relationship.

The purpose of this reader is not only to complement lectures and the course syllabus but also to encourage independent study and critical thinking. It aims to foster a nuanced understanding of how European norms such as democracy, human rights, the rule of law, and solidarity can be implemented and adapted within the context of Ukraine's political, legal, and institutional transformation.

This compilation is intended for use by students of political science, international relations, European studies, and related disciplines. It may also serve as a reference for educators, researchers, and practitioners engaged in EU–Ukraine relations and democratic development.

MODULE 1

EU AS A MODEL FOR A REGIONAL INTEGRATION

1.1. Introduction to the Course. The Idea of Europe

The concept of Europe has long transcended mere geography. It embodies a historical trajectory shaped by shared cultural roots, philosophical traditions, and traumatic experiences that necessitated unity. From ancient Athens and Roman law to the Enlightenment and post-war integration, the “Idea of Europe” has been grounded in the evolution of values: democracy, human dignity, human rights, pluralism, and reason. Following the devastation of two world wars, a group of visionary leaders, including Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman, proposed a new model of relations based not on dominance, but on solidarity and institutional cooperation. Europe as a project represents the political embodiment of the search for peace, reconciliation, and shared prosperity. But the “Idea of Europe” also includes an internal tension – between unity and diversity, between supranationalism and national sovereignty. What distinguishes the EU from other international organizations is its normative ambition: the creation of a legal and political space where the rule of law, fundamental rights, and democratic governance form the core. This unit focuses on Europe not just as a continent or an organization, but as a symbolic, historical, and value-driven space. Europe is a civilization project that emerged from the ruins of war to promote integration based on shared interests and shared ideals. This beginning frames the rest of the course and highlights the relevance of the EU as a model for regional integration globally. For Ukraine, understanding the roots of this European idea is essential. European integration is not only about trade or geopolitical orientation. That is why today’s European integration discourse must begin with the fundamental question: What is Europe and what does it mean to be part of it?

Suggested Readings:

- ✓ Anderson, P. (2009). *The New Old World*. Verso.
- ✓ Beck, U., & Grande, E. (2007). *Cosmopolitan Europe*. Polity Press.
- ✓ Davies, N. (1996). *Europe: A History*. Oxford University Press.
- ✓ Delanty, G. (1995). *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- ✓ Habermas, J. (2001). *The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays*. Polity Press.

- ✓ Judt, T. (2005). *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*. Penguin Books.
- ✓ Müller, J.-W. (2010). *Constitutional Patriotism*. Princeton University Press.
- ✓ Pagden, A. (Ed.). (2002). *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*. Cambridge University Press.
- ✓ Shore, C. (2000). *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration*. Routledge.
- ✓ Zielonka, J. (2006). *Europe as Empire: The Nature of the Enlarged European Union*. Oxford University Press.

Sources:

Delanty, G. (2005). *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality*. Palgrave Macmillan.

“The idea of Europe is not a timeless identity nor a fixed cultural core. Rather, it is a symbolic construction, a discursive field in which various actors and institutions have negotiated the meaning of civilization, modernity, and order. Europe has always been imagined relationally – defined not so much by what it is, but by what it is not.” (p. 11)

“From antiquity to the present, Europe has been contrasted with Asia, Islam, Africa, and most recently with America and Russia. These oppositions have created a boundary-producing function that defines ‘Europe’ through exclusion. In this sense, Europe is not just a place, but a story about civilization – a narrative that assigns meaning and hierarchy in global space.” (p. 12)

“The ancient world knew of the geographical label ‘Europa’, but it lacked political or cultural meaning. Only with the rise of Christendom in the early medieval period did Europe begin to be imagined as a civilizational unity. This Christianitas was defined by religious commonality and shared spiritual purpose. However, even this unity was constantly challenged – by the Islamic world, by internal schisms, and by emerging nation-states.” (p. 13)

“In the Renaissance and especially the Enlightenment, the idea of Europe was redefined in secular and rationalist terms. Europe became the vanguard of progress, reason, science, and liberty. Thinkers such as Kant envisioned Europe as a moral community, capable of universal principles. But this European universalism was deeply contradictory: while it spoke of equality and emancipation, it also justified empire, slavery, and cultural domination.” (p. 15)

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“The colonial project of Europe – from the sixteenth to the twentieth century – was integral to the construction of a Eurocentric worldview. Europe became the ‘center’ of the world, while non-Europe was relegated to peripheries of barbarism or underdevelopment. In this global imagination, Europe was both the standard of civilization and the agent of subjugation.” (p. 17)

“The cataclysms of the twentieth century shattered the moral and political legitimacy of that earlier Europe. The two world wars, the Shoah, totalitarianism, and the collapse of colonial empires forced Europeans into a painful reckoning. Post-war Europe was constructed not on glory, but on guilt – a desire to contain the dangers of nationalism, militarism, and racism.” (p. 18)

“This shift gave rise to a new political project: European integration. The European Communities of the 1950s were not just economic tools, but attempts to forge a post-sovereign space, where states would voluntarily pool authority in order to prevent war and secure prosperity. Integration became a new mode of sovereignty – functional, legalistic, and normative rather than territorial.” (p. 20)

“This was a radical departure: instead of imagining Europe as a single empire or hegemon, the EU embodied the logic of governance through cooperation. In doing so, it redefined what it meant to ‘be European’: not to share blood, religion, or language, but to commit to human rights, democracy, market economy, and institutional negotiation.” (p. 21)

“The post-1989 period introduced a new chapter. With the collapse of communism, Europe expanded eastward. For many in Central and Eastern Europe, ‘returning to Europe’ was both a geopolitical aspiration and a moral imperative. But this return was not seamless. It revealed fractures in the European idea: between West and East, old and new members, cosmopolitanism and nationalism.” (p. 24)

“The European Union found itself confronted with growing heterogeneity. Immigration, Islam in Europe, multiculturalism, the erosion of social cohesion, and democratic backsliding exposed the fragility of its normative consensus. Deliberative democracy, human rights, and solidarity – once core values – came under pressure.” (p. 26)

“Today, Europe remains suspended between a past it seeks to transcend and a future it struggles to define. It is still ‘inventing’ itself – through memory politics, constitutional debates, and cultural contests. The question of ‘what is Europe?’ is thus not just historical or territorial, but philosophical and normative.” (p. 28)

“Europe’s identity is ultimately that of an unfinished project. It is not a state, nor an empire, nor merely a market. It is a symbolic form – one that carries the legacy of Athens and Auschwitz, of empire and resistance, of reason and violence. Its meaning is negotiated in universities and parliaments, treaties and protests, symbols and silence.” (p. 30)

“In this light, the European Union can be seen as the institutional condensation of the idea of Europe, yet the EU is not the totality of that idea. The idea of Europe remains open: to reinterpretation, to expansion, to critique. Its survival depends on its ability to reflect, to remember, and to reform.” (p. 32)

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

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1.2. The European Union: its goals, purpose, and benefits

The European Union (EU) is a unique political project that emerged from the ruins of war with the ambition not only to rebuild Europe materially, but to reimagine it politically and morally. Unlike previous continental systems built on empire or domination, the EU was founded on principles of voluntary cooperation, shared sovereignty, and institutionalized peace. At its heart, European integration represents a shift from balance-of-power geopolitics to a new model of order based on law, interdependence, and common values. The EU's original goal to make war between European nations “not only unthinkable but materially impossible” was both idealistic and pragmatic. It reflected a recognition that sustainable peace could not rely on diplomacy alone, but required economic entanglement and supranational governance. As such, the EU became a civilizational experiment: to embed national interest in a wider normative framework. Over time, the EU's purposes evolved beyond peacekeeping. It now encompasses a wide spectrum of aims: the promotion of democracy and human rights, sustainable development, market integration, social cohesion, and collective action on global challenges. Its structure – neither a state nor a classic international organization – allows for the flexible management of diversity while maintaining a shared legal and institutional core. For EU member states, the benefits include political stability, economic opportunity, legal protection, and enhanced international standing. For candidate countries like Ukraine, the EU is not only a strategic partner, it is an aspirational community that offers both integration and identity within a European space defined by cooperation, solidarity, and democratic transformation.

Suggested Readings:

- ✓ Bickerton, C. J. (2012). *European Integration: From Nation-States to Member States*. Oxford University Press.
- ✓ Craig, P., & de Búrca, G. (2021). *EU Law: Text, Cases, and Materials* (7th ed.). Oxford University Press.
- ✓ Dinan, D. (2014). *Europe Recast: A History of European Union* (2nd ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.
- ✓ European Commission (2023). *The European Union: What It Is and What It Does*. <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/31f263a4-0b87-11ee-997a-01aa75ed71a1>
- ✓ Fabbrini, S. (2015). *Which European Union? Europe After the Euro Crisis*. Cambridge University Press.
- ✓ Haas, E. B. (1958). *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces 1950–1957*. Stanford University Press.

- ✓ Laffan, B., & O'Mahony, J. (2008). Ireland and the European Union. Palgrave Macmillan.
- ✓ Moravcsik, A. (1998). The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht. Cornell University Press.
- ✓ Nugent, N. (2023). The Government and Politics of the European Union (9th ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.
- ✓ Parsons, C. (2003). A Certain Idea of Europe. Cornell University Press.
- ✓ Pinder, J., & Usherwood, S. (2018). The European Union: A Very Short Introduction (4th ed.). Oxford University Press.
- ✓ Rosamond, B. (2000). Theories of European Integration. Palgrave Macmillan.
- ✓ Schuman, R. (1950). Schuman Declaration (9 May 1950). https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/symbols/europe-day/schuman-declaration_en
- ✓ Wallace, H., Pollack, M. A., & Young, A. R. (Eds.). (2020). Policy-Making in the European Union (7th ed.). Oxford University Press.
- ✓ Zielonka, J. (2006). Europe as Empire: The Nature of the Enlarged European Union. Oxford University Press.

Sources:

Dinan, D. (2014). Europe Recast: A History of European Union. Palgrave Macmillan.

“The postwar environment was particularly conducive to European integration. The devastation of the war and the desire to avoid future conflict led national leaders to consider innovative forms of cooperation. The political climate in Western Europe favored supranationalism, not least because of the United States’ encouragement of integration as part of its broader strategy of rebuilding and stabilizing Europe.” (p. 8)

“The functionalist approach to integration, championed by Jean Monnet, involved starting with limited, pragmatic steps in areas of high interdependence, such as coal and steel, with the expectation that cooperation would spill over into broader political union. Monnet believed that sovereignty could be pooled in ways that preserved national identity while delivering collective benefits.” (p. 9)

“Schuman’s proposal on 9 May 1950 to pool Franco-German coal and steel production under a common authority was a response to the need for peace, economic recovery, and institutional innovation. It marked a radical departure from traditional diplomacy and laid the foundations for the ECSC as the first supranational European institution.” (p. 13)

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“The Treaty of Paris (1951), establishing the ECSC, was revolutionary because it created institutions that could make binding decisions on member states. The High Authority had powers that went beyond intergovernmentalism, setting a precedent for supranational governance.” (p. 15)

“The Treaty of Rome, signed in March 1957, created the EEC and Euratom. The signatories agreed to establish a common market and progressively approximate their economic policies. Their goal was to lay the foundations for an ‘ever closer union’ among the peoples of Europe.” (p. 22)

“The EEC achieved remarkable success during the 1960s and 1970s. By eliminating tariffs and quotas internally, and creating a common external tariff, it laid the groundwork for Europe’s economic expansion. The customs union stimulated trade and growth, while the common agricultural policy provided stability for rural economies.” (p. 31)

“By the mid-1980s, the internal market was incomplete. National regulations and administrative barriers still hindered the free movement of goods and services. The White Paper of 1985 outlined 300 measures to remove these obstacles, reinvigorating integration. This led to the Single European Act, signed in 1986.” (p. 45)

“The Single European Act was the first major revision of the Treaty of Rome. It introduced qualified majority voting in many areas, increased the powers of the European Parliament, and provided a legal framework for completing the internal market by 1992. It was a decisive shift toward deeper integration.” (p. 50)

“The Maastricht Treaty, signed in 1992, established the European Union and launched the Economic and Monetary Union. It also expanded the scope of European cooperation to include foreign policy and internal security. This treaty reflected both a deepening and a broadening of the integration process.” (p. 57)

“The benefits of membership were multifaceted. Economically, the single market allowed for scale, efficiency, and investment. Politically, it stabilized democratic governance in Southern and later Central and Eastern Europe. Psychologically, membership symbolized acceptance into the European community of values.” (p. 66)

“The Amsterdam (1997) and Nice (2001) treaties prepared the EU for enlargement. They refined institutional procedures and redistributed voting weights. However, they did not fully resolve governance challenges in an expanded Union, prompting the need for the Lisbon Treaty.” (p. 74)

“The Lisbon Treaty (2007) restructured EU institutions and decision-making. It abolished the three-pillar structure, introduced a permanent president of the European Council, and expanded the role of the European Parliament. It also strengthened the Charter of Fundamental Rights.” (p. 85)

“Despite crises – the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty, the eurozone turmoil, and Brexit – the EU demonstrated resilience through its capacity to reform. The flexibility of its institutional design allowed for adaptation without unraveling core structures.” (p. 93)

“Ultimately, the EU’s purpose has remained remarkably stable: to ensure peace, promote prosperity, deepen democracy, and advance European values globally. Its success lies not in eliminating national interests but in embedding them within a framework of mutual commitment.” (p. 97)

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

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1.3. Peculiarities of the political and economic design of Europe after the Second World War

The Second World War left Europe devastated politically, economically, and socially. Beyond the immense human and material losses, the war discredited pre-war systems of international relations and exposed the dangers of nationalism, authoritarianism, and weak supranational mechanisms. In response, European statesmen, supported by the United States, initiated a fundamental rethinking of how European order could be rebuilt. The post-war design of Europe was based on two simultaneous and interdependent projects: political stabilization and economic reconstruction. These were not isolated developments but rather two sides of the same historical effort. The Marshall Plan, launched in 1947, provided not only financial aid but also a strategic framework for economic modernization and cooperation. It encouraged European countries to coordinate their recovery, which laid the foundation for multilateral institutionalization. Politically, the fear of renewed war and the rising threat from the Soviet Union pushed Western European states toward integration. The result was a shift from power balancing to functional interdependence. Institutions such as the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), the Council of Europe, and later the European Coal and Steel Community were built to ensure that national interests would be embedded in a cooperative, rules-based framework. The creation of NATO also signaled the importance of collective security within the transatlantic space. Economically, Europe moved away from protectionism and bilateralism toward a liberalized market order supported by joint planning and regulation. The Bretton Woods system provided stability, while intra-European trade liberalization supported industrial recovery. At the same time, domestic economies were reorganized around the concept of welfare capitalism, where state planning, public investment, and social protections were intended to prevent the return of fascist or communist alternatives. The early institutional architecture of post-war Europe was marked by pragmatism, flexibility, and gradualism. European integration advanced not as a single plan but as an evolving strategy rooted in functional achievements. This model proved durable and attractive. It balanced sovereignty and cooperation and provided a unique response to Europe's historical trauma. The political and economic design of post-war Europe thus became the cornerstone for the European Union and a normative reference for democratic transformation in other parts of the world, including Ukraine.

Suggested Readings:

- ✓ Berend, I. T. (2006). *An Economic History of Twentieth-Century Europe*. Cambridge University Press.
- ✓ Dinan, D. (2014). *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- ✓ Eichengreen, B. (2007). *The European Economy Since 1945: Coordinated Capitalism and Beyond*. Princeton University Press.
- ✓ Gillingham, J. (2003). *European Integration, 1950–2003: Superstate or New Market Economy?* Cambridge University Press.
- ✓ Hitchcock, W. I. (2003). *The Struggle for Europe: The Turbulent History of a Divided Continent, 1945–2002*. Anchor Books.
- ✓ Judt, T. (2005). *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*. Penguin Books.
- ✓ Maier, C. S. (1987). *In Search of Stability: Explorations in Historical Political Economy*. Cambridge University Press.
- ✓ McCormick, J. (2010). *Understanding the European Union* (5th ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.
- ✓ Milward, A. S. (1992). *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*. Routledge.
- ✓ Parsons, C. (2003). *A Certain Idea of Europe*. Cornell University Press.
- ✓ Urwin, D. W. (1995). *The Community of Europe: A History of European Integration Since 1945*. Routledge.

Sources:

Milward, A. S. (1992). *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*. Routledge.

“The reconstruction of Western Europe between 1945 and 1951 was not merely an economic event. It was a political act that sought to re-legitimize the nation-state through integration. The governments of Western Europe pursued collaboration not to diminish sovereignty, but to restore their states’ functional capacities in a radically changed world.” (p. 1)

“The reconstruction of Europe after 1945 cannot be understood as simply an economic process or an American initiative. It was a political choice made by European governments to bind themselves to each other through economic and institutional mechanisms. Integration was not a step toward the abolition of the nation-state, but a strategy for its preservation under new conditions.” (p. 1)

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“The Community institutions did not grow in opposition to national governments, but were their creation, shaped to reinforce national interests. The ECSC and the EEC were conceived as instruments of policy coordination rather than steps toward federalism.” (p. 10)

“The key to understanding the nature of the European Communities is to see them as tools used by governments to reinforce their ability to govern. The ECSC, the EEC, and Euratom were institutional innovations meant to restore prosperity, but more importantly to restore political legitimacy through economic performance.” (p. 22)

“In the early post-war years, state structures in Europe were reconfigured to meet new political challenges. The economic ministries expanded their authority, and the reconstruction of national economies became inseparable from the rebuilding of political legitimacy.” (p. 25)

“The Marshall Plan, while American in origin and funding, was not imposed. It was accepted and institutionalized through the OEEC, which allowed European governments to retain control over allocation and direction. This illustrates how external assistance was integrated into national political projects.” (p. 39)

“The political architecture of post-war Europe rested on institutional compromise. No single model was imposed. Instead, gradual functional cooperation enabled states to integrate in specific sectors without surrendering full sovereignty. This balance became the cornerstone of the integration model that followed.” (p. 47)

“There is little evidence that integration in the 1950s represented a drive toward a supranational Europe in the federalist sense. More plausibly, it was a means of adjusting the institutions of the nation-state to the new imperatives of economic recovery and geopolitical dependence on the United States.” (p. 52)

“The Treaty of Rome emerged from a pragmatic recognition that economic coordination could support domestic reform agendas. For example, the liberalization of trade was compatible with the preservation of national social contracts and public sector development.” (p. 77)

“The Community offered governments a way to manage both internal and external pressures. Internally, it helped tame industrial conflicts and modernize infrastructure; externally, it gave smaller states a collective weight in an increasingly bipolar world order.” (p. 93)

“The notion that European integration was designed to dissolve national identities is historically inaccurate. Rather, integration was a project through which nation-states redefined themselves, shifting the locus of certain powers while maintaining democratic legitimacy. This pragmatic model was more successful than attempts at immediate political union.” (p. 93)

“The post-war consensus in Europe did not rest on ideology, but on policy flexibility. The EEC allowed each member state to pursue its own blend of capitalism and social protection, within a general framework of market-oriented cooperation.” (p. 108)

“From a longer-term perspective, the political and economic design of post-war Europe proved resilient because it aligned with both domestic interests and international pressures. It allowed for growth, redistribution, and stability, all within a framework that legitimized state intervention and multilateral rules.” (p. 117)

“The European integration process must be seen as a history of negotiated sovereignty. Each stage of integration – ECSC, EEC, Euratom – reflected a compromise between national autonomy and the demands of interdependence.” (p. 117)

“By the mid-1960s, the Community had become embedded in national governance. European institutions no longer appeared as external pressures but as co-architects of domestic political economies. Their success lay in reinforcing, rather than eroding, the modern state.” (p. 143)

“It is inaccurate to claim that the European project displaced nationalism. Rather, it restructured how national interests were articulated and managed. It represented the adaptation of nation-states, not their transcendence.” (p. 159)

“By creating joint institutions, European states enhanced their national autonomy within a constrained, but secure, interdependent system. This was the ‘rescue’ of the nation-state through integration, not its abandonment.” (p. 155)

“The durability of the post-war European order derived from its responsiveness to mass democracy. Integration allowed governments to fulfill domestic electoral mandates while participating in cooperative frameworks. This is the true meaning of the ‘rescue’ of the nation-state.” (p. 181)

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“The historical achievement of post-war Europe was not the creation of a federal Europe, but the reconstruction of stable, legitimate, and cooperative national states. This required economic planning, political innovation, and the embedding of international obligations into domestic structures.” (p. 198)

“The architecture of European integration cannot be understood without reference to the crisis of the 1930s and 1940s. What emerged was not a break with the past, but a historically contingent reformulation of the role of the state.” (p. 213)

“European integration succeeded because it allowed states to evolve with, rather than against, historical pressures. It was not a utopia imposed from above, but a process of strategic adaptation. This makes it a compelling model for other regions facing similar post-crisis conditions.” (p. 232)

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

1.4. EU institutions and bodies

The institutional structure of the European Union is the product of decades of pragmatic integration, treaty negotiations, and political compromise. Its evolution reflects the EU's hybrid nature – neither a federal state nor a typical international organization. Rather, it is a unique political entity in which decision-making power is shared between supranational and intergovernmental bodies. At the core of the EU's institutional design are seven principal institutions: the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council of the European Union, the European Commission, the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU), the European Central Bank (ECB), and the European Court of Auditors. These institutions operate under a complex system of checks and balances, with competences distributed across legislative, executive, and judicial functions. The European Commission serves as the EU's executive body and guardian of the Treaties. It proposes legislation, manages the day-to-day operations of the Union, and ensures compliance with EU law. The Council of the EU (Council of Ministers) represents the governments of the Member States and, together with the European Parliament, exercises legislative authority. The European Parliament, directly elected by EU citizens since 1979, plays a vital role in co-decision, budget approval, and democratic oversight. The European Council, composed of Heads of State or Government, defines the Union's general political direction and priorities but does not exercise legislative functions. It plays a critical role during crises and in shaping treaty reform. Meanwhile, the CJEU ensures the uniform interpretation and application of EU law across the Member States, safeguarding legal coherence and the rule of law. The institutional framework of the EU is designed to accommodate diversity and balance interests among large and small states, older and newer members, and various political traditions. This balance has made the EU resilient but also complex. Understanding the functions and interplay of EU institutions is crucial to analyzing how the Union operates, how laws are made, and how its unique form of governance supports democratic legitimacy, efficiency, and accountability.

Suggested Readings:

- ✓ Bovens, M., Curtin, D., & 't Hart, P. (2010). *The Real World of EU Accountability: What Deficit?* Oxford University Press.
- ✓ Chalmers, D., Davies, G., & Monti, G. (2019). *European Union Law* (4th ed.). Cambridge University Press.
- ✓ Christiansen, T., & Reh, C. (2009). *Constitutionalizing the European Union*. Palgrave Macmillan.

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“The EU’s institutional framework is unusually complex by design. It is the outcome of successive treaty negotiations and compromises intended to balance the interests of member states, institutions, and citizens. Rather than following a single constitutional model, it reflects a layering of institutional logics: intergovernmentalism, supranationalism, and functionalism.” (p. 65)

“European integration has always been shaped by a tension between the sovereignty of member states and the logic of pooling authority. This tension is institutionalized in the EU’s governance architecture.” (p. 67)

“The European Commission plays a central role in the EU’s policy process. It has the exclusive right of legislative initiative in most areas and is responsible for implementing decisions and monitoring compliance with EU

law. Commissioners act in the European interest, not as national delegates, which gives the Commission its supranational character.” (p. 81)

“Despite the Commission’s formal autonomy, its actions are embedded in a highly political environment. The support of national governments and the Parliament is often critical to its effectiveness.” (p. 84)

“The Council of the European Union, composed of ministers from each member state, is the main decision-making body. Its rotating presidency and policy-specific configurations illustrate the institutional complexity and flexibility that define the EU system.” (p. 91)

“Qualified majority voting in the Council has facilitated decision-making but has also raised concerns about the marginalization of smaller or dissenting states.” (p. 94)

“The European Parliament’s influence has grown steadily since its first direct elections in 1979. Through the ordinary legislative procedure, it co-decides legislation alongside the Council. It also plays a key role in approving the budget and scrutinizing other institutions, especially the Commission.” (p. 102)

“Yet the Parliament still faces limitations: it cannot initiate legislation, and its influence is weaker in sensitive areas such as foreign policy and taxation.” (p. 105)

“The European Council occupies a special place in the institutional framework. Although it does not legislate, it is the primary forum for high-level political negotiation and agenda-setting. It was formalized as an EU institution by the Lisbon Treaty.” (p. 116)

“The growing role of the European Council has at times led to concerns about informal leadership and a shift toward intergovernmental dominance.” (p. 119)

“The Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) has been instrumental in developing the EU’s legal order. Through doctrines such as direct effect and supremacy, it has transformed EU law into an autonomous legal system with primacy over national law in its areas of competence.” (p. 127)

“The CJEU not only interprets the law but shapes integration. It has ruled decisively in areas from environmental policy to internal market freedoms.” (p. 130)

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“The European Central Bank, established by the Maastricht Treaty, is independent from political control and responsible for monetary policy in the euro area. Its legal mandate focuses on price stability, but its actions during crises have revealed its broader political significance.” (p. 140)

“The institutional balance in the EU aims to protect the diversity of its membership. While the Commission embodies supranational governance, the Council represents national interests, and the Parliament reflects popular legitimacy. The interplay of these forces gives the EU its character.” (p. 149)

“Accountability in the EU is ensured through a complex network of mechanisms: legal (via the CJEU), political (through the Parliament and Council), administrative (ombudsman, audits), and participatory (consultations, civil society engagement). Yet debates about the democratic deficit persist.” (p. 162)

“Although often criticized for its bureaucratic opacity, the EU’s institutional structure has proven capable of adaptation and crisis management. Institutional innovation – such as the Spitzenkandidaten process or the NextGenerationEU recovery fund – reflects this evolving capacity.” (p. 177)

“Crises have often acted as catalysts for institutional change in the EU. From the financial crisis to COVID-19, institutional actors have adapted roles and created new instruments under pressure.” (p. 181)

“Ultimately, the EU’s institutional architecture is not a fixed constitutional order but a dynamic framework. It evolves in response to political pressures, functional demands, and legal developments. This open-endedness is both a strength and a vulnerability.” (p. 188)

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

1.5. European Union Policy

European Union policy refers to the structured set of actions, strategies, and legislative instruments through which the EU addresses collective challenges and promotes shared objectives across its Member States. EU policies reflect both the Union's unique institutional setup and the political compromises inherent in multilevel governance. EU policy-making is grounded in the Treaties and shaped by the interplay between EU institutions, Member States, and civil society. Most policies originate in proposals by the European Commission, followed by negotiation and adoption through the ordinary legislative procedure involving the European Parliament and the Council of the EU. The implementation of policies, however, often depends on national or regional authorities, making coordination a central challenge of EU governance. The EU has developed a wide array of policies: from long-standing fields like the Common Agricultural Policy and Cohesion Policy to rapidly evolving areas such as digital regulation, climate neutrality, migration management, and foreign affairs. Some policies are fully harmonized at the EU level, while others follow the principle of subsidiarity, allowing Member States to retain control unless joint action provides added value. The European Semester, Multiannual Financial Framework, and European Green Deal are examples of instruments and frameworks through which EU policy gains coherence and strategic direction. Cross-cutting principles such as sustainability, digitalisation, social inclusion, and economic resilience guide policy formulation and implementation in line with the Union's overarching priorities. Understanding EU policy involves analyzing not only the content of policies but also the mechanisms through which they are shaped. Policy-making in the EU is iterative, often incremental, and relies heavily on expert networks, stakeholder consultations, and impact assessments. This complexity reflects the need to balance national diversity with European integration in an ever-changing geopolitical context.

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“Policy-making in the EU is a complex and differentiated process that takes place within a system of multi-level governance. The EU neither replicates state-level politics nor conforms to traditional international organization patterns. Instead, it constitutes a hybrid order with overlapping competencies, actors, and procedures.” (p. 5)

“European policy-making is best understood as a multi-level process shaped by formal rules, institutional dynamics, and political negotiation. The European Commission initiates most policy proposals, but the Council and the Parliament modify and co-decide on their content. This tripartite structure reflects the EU’s hybrid nature.” (p. 7)

“One of the distinctive features of EU policy-making is the prevalence of consensus-building and the search for compromise. Policies often emerge through long and complex negotiations, reflecting the diversity of Member State interests and the technical complexity of issues under discussion.” (p. 15)

“The European Commission acts as the engine of integration in the policy process. It initiates most legislation, sets the agenda, manages implementation, and oversees compliance. Its institutional independence and technocratic expertise underpin its centrality in EU policy-making.” (p. 21)

“The co-decision procedure, now known as the ordinary legislative procedure, exemplifies the increasing democratization of EU governance. It places the European Parliament on equal footing with the Council in most areas, thereby enhancing the representative legitimacy of EU law.” (p. 45)

“Interest groups and stakeholders have become integral to EU policy-making. Through public consultations, expert groups, and lobbying, they shape Commission proposals and influence deliberations in both Parliament and Council. This embedded pluralism compensates for the Union’s perceived distance from citizens.” (p. 63)

“The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) has historically been one of the most contested and expensive EU policies. Yet it also illustrates the EU’s capacity to mediate divergent national interests through redistribution and common objectives such as rural development, environmental protection, and market regulation.” (p. 102)

“The CAP remains a cornerstone of EU spending and integration. It illustrates how policy instruments serve distributive, regulatory, and symbolic functions. The CAP has evolved from market support to rural development and environmental goals, but remains politically sensitive.” (p. 101)

“Cohesion policy has become one of the EU’s most visible tools for territorial solidarity. It channels resources to less-developed regions and reinforces the legitimacy of integration by linking it with tangible development outcomes. Implementation varies widely due to administrative and institutional capacities.” (p. 124)

“Environmental policy, once marginal, now occupies a central role in the EU’s internal and external agendas. The European Green Deal has elevated climate policy to a strategic priority, demanding cross-sectoral coordination and ambitious targets such as net-zero emissions by 2050.” (p. 141)

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“Environmental policy is an area where EU competence has expanded significantly since the Single European Act. EU-level standards in air and water quality, chemical regulation, and emissions reduction have been instrumental in raising environmental performance across Member States.” (p. 145)

“The European Green Deal, launched in 2019, marks a new phase of strategic policy integration, combining environmental, economic, and social goals. It aims to transform the EU into a climate-neutral continent by 2050, reshaping agriculture, energy, transport, and finance policies in the process.” (p. 157)

“Social policy remains primarily a national competence, but the EU influences domestic outcomes through coordination mechanisms such as the European Semester and the Open Method of Coordination (OMC). These tools facilitate convergence without enforcing legal harmonization.” (p. 172)

“The Open Method of Coordination (OMC) is an example of soft law governance, where benchmarks, guidelines, and peer review replace formal legislation. It is particularly prominent in social policy, education, and employment strategy.” (p. 166)

“External policies of the EU – such as trade, development, and foreign policy – are subject to both supranational and intergovernmental control. The EU’s global actorness is constrained by the need for unanimity in many areas, but it is also enhanced by the size of its market and regulatory power.” (p. 189)

“In foreign and security policy, intergovernmentalism prevails. Decision-making requires unanimity, which limits ambition but ensures member state control. Despite the Lisbon Treaty’s institutional innovations, the EU’s external action remains fragmented.” (p. 189)

“EU budgetary policy, negotiated every seven years through the Multiannual Financial Framework, reflects both strategic priorities and intense bargaining. The allocation of funds to cohesion, agriculture, research, and infrastructure has long been a barometer of policy preferences and political power.” (p. 203)

“The EU budgetary process reflects both functional priorities and political bargaining. The Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF) structures long-term policy objectives, but its negotiation exposes tensions between net contributors and beneficiaries, and between spending areas.” (p. 204)

“Policy implementation in the EU is typically shared between the EU level and national administrations. Variations in administrative cultures, political will, and capacity often result in uneven enforcement, which undermines uniformity and effectiveness.” (p. 223)

“The complexity of EU policy-making often gives rise to concerns about legitimacy and transparency. Although procedures have become more participatory, policy-making remains dominated by insiders, especially within the Commission and national ministries.” (p. 227)

“The COVID-19 crisis triggered an unprecedented expansion of EU policy competences in areas such as public health and economic recovery. The adoption of NextGenerationEU represented a shift toward fiscal solidarity and deeper budgetary coordination.” (p. 231)

“Flexibility mechanisms such as opt-outs, enhanced cooperation, and differentiated integration allow the EU to proceed without full unanimity. These tools reflect the Union’s adaptive response to growing heterogeneity among its members.” (p. 248)

“EU policy-making has been repeatedly criticized for its technocratic character and democratic deficit. Nonetheless, successive treaty reforms have expanded transparency, participation, and parliamentary control, even if gaps remain.” (p. 257)

“Ultimately, policy-making in the EU is characterized by negotiation, compromise, and incrementalism. It delivers legitimacy not by mimicking national democratic systems but by offering functional solutions to transnational problems.” (p. 268)

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

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1.6. Basic European Values

The European Union is not only a political and economic project but also a normative one. At its core lies a set of shared values that underpin its identity, institutions, and external actions. These values – human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law, and respect for human rights – are enshrined in Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union and further elaborated in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU. The EU's normative foundations evolved from the historical traumas of the twentieth century. The horrors of fascism, war, and genocide prompted a collective European commitment to build peace through democracy and rights-based governance. As a result, the EU's institutional design embodies mechanisms of accountability, legal oversight, and pluralistic representation intended to protect these core values. Over time, the Union has promoted its values both internally and externally. Internally, these principles guide legislation, court rulings, and policy standards in areas ranging from social rights to environmental protection. Externally, they serve as the basis for enlargement policy, neighborhood diplomacy, trade conditionality, and crisis response. However, the EU's values have also been tested. Democratic backsliding in some Member States, restrictive migration policies, and inconsistent responses to global conflicts have raised concerns about normative coherence. The EU has responded by enhancing rule-of-law mechanisms, strengthening the role of the Court of Justice, and anchoring conditionality in budgetary instruments. Critically, the idea of “European values” is not static or uncontested. It is shaped through public debate, political struggle, and legal development. The Union's strength lies not in claiming moral perfection, but in its capacity for normative self-reflection and reform. In this sense, the EU remains a laboratory of values – an ongoing experiment in building a political community rooted in law, solidarity, and human dignity.

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“The idea of normative power Europe rests on the claim that the EU’s international identity is defined not primarily by its economic size or military capabilities, but by its ability to shape conceptions of ‘the normal’ in international relations.” (p. 239)

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“The European Union is a normative power in the sense that it is able to shape conceptions of the ‘normal’ in international relations. This is not just about setting technical standards, but promoting values that define appropriate state behaviour.” (p. 239)

“Normative power Europe is fundamentally different from traditional conceptions of military or economic power. It seeks to exert influence not through coercion or material incentives, but through the projection of norms such as democracy, human rights, and rule of law.” (p. 240)

“The European Union represents a normative actor in that it seeks to promote a set of core values: peace, liberty, democracy, the rule of law, and respect for human rights. These principles are not just internal commitments but guide its external relations, enlargement policy, and global engagement.” (p. 240)

“The EU’s founding principles reflect a commitment to transcend the destructive nationalism of the twentieth century. Peace, liberty, democracy, and respect for human rights are not merely rhetorical statements; they form the bedrock of the EU’s external relations and enlargement strategy.” (p. 241)

“Normative power is exercised through the diffusion of norms. This can occur via contagion (unintended diffusion), informational means (strategic communication), procedural influence (institutional arrangements), and overt conditionality.” (p. 242)

“The diffusion of norms occurs through multiple mechanisms: contagion, where others imitate the EU model; informational practices, such as technical assistance; procedural diffusion, through institutional relations; transference via trade and aid; overt influence through conditionality; and cultural filtering.” (p. 242)

“The emphasis on human rights and democratic values has been central to EU external relations since the 1990s. This development signalled a shift from market access conditionality to political conditionality – where values matter as much as trade rules.” (p. 243)

“The concept of ‘civilian power Europe’ provided a useful foundation for thinking about EU identity. But it underestimated the ideational dimensions — the EU is not just a passive civil actor; it actively promotes a vision of global order based on its own normative framework.” (p. 244)

“The concept of Europe as a ‘civilian power’ has evolved toward a more ambitious role: shaping global norms. The EU positions itself as a promoter of multilateralism, legal order, and human security.” (p. 245)

“While the EU lacks a military arm comparable to the US or China, it has proven remarkably effective in shaping international standards, particularly in environmental law, data protection, human rights instruments, and anti-death penalty campaigns.” (p. 245)

*“The EU’s Charter of Fundamental Rights and the Copenhagen criteria are clear examples of its codified normative commitments. Candidate states must not only adopt the *acquis* but demonstrate consistent adherence to democratic and legal principles.” (p. 246)*

“Critics argue that normative claims mask strategic interests or policy inconsistency, such as in the Union’s migration policy or trade negotiations. Nevertheless, the EU remains unique in attempting to ground its identity in principles rather than power politics.” (p. 248)

“Critics have rightly pointed to contradictions in the EU’s normative stance. Selective application of values, particularly in relations with authoritarian regimes or in migration policy, raises the question of whether the EU truly practices what it preaches.” (p. 248)

“The credibility of normative power depends on consistency. The EU must apply its standards internally and externally, and respond to breaches among Member States with the same resolve it expects from accession countries.” (p. 250)

“The EU’s power is ‘normative’ to the extent that it seeks to define what passes as legitimate and desirable. Its influence derives from the perception of legitimacy and the attractiveness of its values-based approach.” (p. 251)

“The legitimacy of the EU’s role as a normative power rests on perceptions — both within and outside Europe — that it acts as a force for good in global affairs. Legitimacy cannot be assumed; it must be constantly renewed through action.” (p. 251)

“Normative power is not a finished attribute; it is a process of contestation and reaffirmation. Public debate, treaty reform, legal judgments, and institutional accountability all shape the EU’s identity as a normative actor.” (p. 252)

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“This role is not unproblematic. The EU must constantly reaffirm its commitment to its own values, especially when internal developments – such as rule-of-law crises in Member States – challenge its credibility.” (p. 253)

“Internal developments, such as democratic backsliding in Member States, risk undermining the Union’s global credibility. If the EU fails to address erosion of the rule of law at home, its claim to normative authority abroad weakens.” (p. 253)

“To sustain its normative status, the EU must invest in mechanisms that ensure member compliance with foundational values. This includes better monitoring, stronger enforcement tools, and political will to act in difficult cases.” (p. 254)

“To remain a normative power, the EU needs both self-awareness and consistency. It must apply its standards internally and externally with equal rigor, or risk undermining its moral authority.” (p. 256)

“Despite its limitations, the EU remains the only global actor that has codified a values-based mission at the constitutional level. This makes it an unprecedented political entity – one whose power lies in its commitment to normativity over coercion.” (p. 256)

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

1.7. Values for the sustainable democracy

Democracy is not a static condition but a dynamic and evolving process that requires constant nurturing, institutional balance, and societal support. In the context of the European Union, sustainable democracy is grounded in a shared commitment to fundamental values such as human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law, and respect for human rights. These values are enshrined in Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union and serve as the normative foundation of both internal governance and external action. Sustainable democracy implies more than electoral competition. It encompasses independent institutions, judicial accountability, protection of minorities, a vibrant civil society, and a public culture of deliberation and pluralism. The EU has consistently promoted this model among its Member States and partners through instruments such as the Copenhagen criteria, the Charter of Fundamental Rights, and rule-of-law conditionality in funding and enlargement policy. However, in recent years, this model has come under pressure. Democratic backsliding in some Member States, the rise of authoritarian populism, and the erosion of trust in political institutions have raised concerns about the resilience of European democracy. Furthermore, global challenges such as the COVID-19 pandemic, the war in Ukraine, and the climate crisis have tested the capacity of democratic systems to respond effectively while preserving civil liberties and legal standards. Sustainable democracy also requires political culture and civic responsibility. Voter turnout, trust in public institutions, tolerance of dissent, and digital literacy are vital components that support democratic legitimacy. In this regard, the EU supports democratic engagement through education, digital regulation, civic initiatives, and transnational political dialogue. The future of democracy in Europe depends on the capacity to reconcile institutional integrity with social inclusion and adaptability. This involves addressing socioeconomic inequalities, combating disinformation, and protecting media freedom. At the same time, the EU must ensure that its governance mechanisms remain accountable and participatory at all levels, including through stronger parliamentary control and responsiveness to public concerns. Sustainable democracy is therefore not guaranteed by legal texts alone. It is the product of continuous institutional reform, political will, and active citizenship – sustained by values that bind the European project together.

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“The legitimacy of EU governance depends not only on performance and legality, but increasingly on democratic input and accountability – on whether citizens feel represented and heard.” (p. 2)

“The dominance of rules-based governance during the Eurozone crisis weakened public perceptions of democratic legitimacy. Technocratic control, insulation from politics, and lack of deliberation undermined citizen trust.” (p. 4)

“Rule-based governance may ensure fiscal discipline, but it often comes at the expense of responsiveness. Democratic legitimacy requires balancing rules with political discretion and inclusive debate.” (p. 7)

“European values – democracy, rule of law, human rights – are not abstract ideals. They require active institutional frameworks, political contestation, and civic participation to be sustained.” (p. 12)

“The EU’s approach to crisis governance has prioritized output over input and throughput legitimacy. As a result, citizens perceive decision-making as remote, opaque, and unresponsive.” (p. 24)

“Democratic legitimacy is composed of three dimensions: input (citizen participation), throughput (procedural quality), and output (policy effectiveness). The EU has focused too heavily on output at the cost of the others.” (p. 31)

“Strengthening sustainable democracy in the EU requires not only electoral mechanisms, but enhancing the quality of public deliberation, civil society engagement, and contestation in EU institutions.” (p. 38)

“National parliaments and the European Parliament must be empowered to scrutinize executive actors, including the Commission and the Eurogroup, if democratic legitimacy is to be more than procedural.” (p. 47)

“The rule of law crisis in some Member States revealed the EU’s institutional vulnerability. Without credible enforcement of core values internally, the EU risks losing normative coherence.” (p. 61)

“The Charter of Fundamental Rights and the values of Article 2 TEU must be treated not as aspirational rhetoric, but as binding commitments. Otherwise, the European project cannot credibly defend democracy abroad or within.” (p. 76)

“Democracy in the EU cannot be sustained by markets and law alone. It needs political debate, civic trust, and institutional capacity to absorb pluralism.” (p. 81)

“The paradox of the EU is that it promotes democratic norms globally while struggling to ensure them uniformly at home.” (p. 103)

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“To ensure democratic sustainability, the EU must address social and territorial inequalities, combat exclusion, and invest in participation beyond elections.” (p. 121)

“European democracy is at risk not only from populism but from technocratic depoliticization. Without political responsiveness, democratic structures become brittle.” (p. 136)

“The future of democracy in the EU depends on its ability to combine procedural rigor with inclusive deliberation, multilevel accountability, and trust-building mechanisms.” (p. 145)

“The EU must go beyond economic governance and invest in democratic capacity – in parliamentary scrutiny, public discourse, and institutional trust.” (p. 153)

“Democratic resilience involves contestability, not just compliance. A sustainable democratic system encourages political disagreement and pluralism without undermining legitimacy.” (p. 158)

“Technocracy is not neutral. Governance by numbers privileges certain policy paradigms over others and restricts democratic space for alternative visions.” (p. 162)

“The legal formalism that dominated post-crisis EU governance insulated key decisions from public input. This depoliticization eroded the EU’s perceived legitimacy in many Member States.” (p. 167)

“Restoring sustainable democracy requires politicization in the positive sense – bringing contested choices back into institutional arenas, especially parliaments.” (p. 171)

“Procedural legitimacy can only function if decision-making processes are open, inclusive, and responsive to evolving public preferences.” (p. 176)

“Citizens tend to trust EU governance more when they perceive fairness, transparency, and channels for voice – not only when policies succeed economically.” (p. 179)

“The future of sustainable democracy in Europe rests on three imperatives: rebalancing rules with discretion, technocracy with politics, and law with legitimacy.” (p. 183)

“Crisis management without democratic deliberation risks long-term harm to trust and cohesion. Emergency powers must be constrained by oversight and time limits.” (p. 187)

“Inclusion of civil society actors in EU policy dialogues strengthens the democratic quality of governance, especially in areas where parliamentary involvement is weak.” (p. 190)

“A resilient European democracy requires that the EU becomes more responsive to diverse voices, including peripheral regions, younger generations, and marginalized groups.” (p. 198)

“Institutional learning from past crises must include recognition of legitimacy costs – not just economic efficiency – in the design of future governance models.” (p. 203)

“Legitimacy is dynamic. It must be actively produced, maintained, and renewed through institutional reflexivity and meaningful participation.” (p. 209)

“Values such as solidarity, equality, and justice are not rhetorical add-ons. They are the normative infrastructure without which sustainable democracy in the EU is impossible.” (p. 213)

“The democratic future of the EU depends on its ability to combine functional governance with symbolic representation – to be both effective and meaningful to its citizens.” (p. 217)

“Ultimately, Europe must choose whether to govern by numbers or govern with people. Sustainable democracy demands the latter.” (p. 223)

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

IMPLEMENTATION OF EUROPEAN VALUES AS A BASIS OF DEMOCRACY IN UKRAINE

1.8. European value systems in global perspective

The European Union presents itself as a global promoter of values that it regards as universal: democracy, human dignity, freedom, equality, the rule of law, and respect for human rights. These principles are enshrined in the EU's foundational treaties and guide both its internal governance and external engagement. Through diplomatic instruments, trade relations, conditionality mechanisms, and development assistance, the EU seeks to project these values onto the international stage. However, the global projection of European values encounters both structural and normative challenges. While the EU aspires to normative leadership, its influence is often constrained by geopolitical realities, rival value systems, and internal inconsistencies. In many regions, European initiatives are perceived as Eurocentric or conditional, particularly by actors in the Global South. Critics argue that the EU's external action sometimes prioritizes strategic interests – such as migration control, energy access, or regional stability – over normative consistency. The notion of “normative power Europe” highlights the EU's ambition to shape global norms rather than exert power through military force or economic coercion. Yet this concept remains contested. Cases of cooperation with authoritarian regimes, selective application of conditionality, and silence in the face of democratic backsliding raise questions about credibility. Nevertheless, in key areas such as climate diplomacy, data privacy, human rights, and multilateralism, the EU has successfully promoted rule-based frameworks aligned with its values. Moreover, the EU is increasingly engaged in dialogue with alternative governance models. In its interactions with China, Russia, the United States, and emerging powers, the EU must negotiate between value promotion and pragmatic engagement. This global context forces the Union to rethink how its value system can remain relevant, inclusive, and adaptable without becoming diluted. In sum, the global dimension of European value systems reveals both the potential and the limits of the EU as a normative actor. Its legitimacy and impact depend on coherence between rhetoric and action, genuine partnerships rather than asymmetry, and the capacity to navigate a pluralistic world without abandoning its normative foundation.

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IMPLEMENTATION OF EUROPEAN VALUES AS A BASIS OF DEMOCRACY IN UKRAINE

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Läidi, Zaki. (2008). Norms Over Force: The Enigma of European Power. Palgrave Macmillan.

“Europe is not a military power in the traditional sense. Its global presence is constructed through the promotion and institutionalization of norms – human rights, environmental standards, market regulation – that travel better than tanks.” (p. 3)

*“What makes the EU unique is that it has turned its internal legal order into a foreign policy tool. The *acquis communautaire* has become the vector of influence far beyond its borders.” (p. 8)*

“Unlike the United States, which often relies on strategic alliances and hard power projection, Europe seeks to redefine power itself – to substitute compliance with convergence, hegemony with legitimacy.” (p. 11)

“The EU’s emphasis on norms is not just idealistic. It reflects its structural condition – a civilian entity without a unified army or coherent defense doctrine.” (p. 15)

“Normative power Europe is not merely about spreading values. It is about institutionalizing them in legal, economic, and diplomatic relations. This is what makes the EU a regulatory empire.” (p. 19)

“While the EU sees its values as universal, they are not always perceived as such outside its borders. In parts of Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, European conditionality is seen as intrusive or paternalistic.” (p. 27)

“The enlargement process has shown how norms can be powerful instruments of transformation. But when norms are decoupled from credible incentives, they lose traction.” (p. 38)

“The European Neighbourhood Policy rests on the idea that proximity creates responsibility. Yet the asymmetry of power often leads to accusations of selective engagement and double standards.” (p. 44)

“Europe’s normative appeal is strongest in domains where it offers concrete regulatory models: GDPR in digital privacy, REACH in chemical safety, or climate diplomacy via the Green Deal.” (p. 52)

“Normative influence is not always benign. When imposed without negotiation or recognition of local context, it risks backlash or symbolic compliance.” (p. 63)

"To be globally credible, the EU must address the inconsistencies between internal and external policies. Rule of law cannot be exported if undermined at home." (p. 71)

"The EU's insistence on multilateralism is not only strategic. It is epistemological – it stems from its self-conception as a post-imperial, post-Westphalian actor built on compromise." (p. 75)

"In contrast to realist paradigms, the EU projects itself as a force for 'civilizing globalization' – making markets more ethical, power more accountable, and governance more inclusive." (p. 83)

"But power is also about recognition. If European values are not seen as legitimate by others, they become irrelevant or even counterproductive." (p. 91)

"The EU cannot rely on normative inertia. It must constantly re-legitimize its claims through coherent action, inclusive dialogue, and reciprocal engagement." (p. 95)

"What is at stake is not just the EU's soft power, but its political identity – can it be a global actor without becoming a geopolitical power?" (p. 102)

"Values are not enough. What the EU needs is a vision that combines normative ambition with strategic realism, and institutional capacity with democratic accountability." (p. 109)

"European normative power is strongest when it is not unidirectional. Mutual recognition, respect for difference, and adaptive cooperation must complement conditionality." (p. 112)

"In an increasingly multipolar world, Europe must learn to engage without preaching, to lead without dominating." (p. 117)

"The global future of European values depends not only on exporting norms but on the EU's willingness to be transformed by the dialogue it initiates." (p. 123)

"Europe's reliance on law as a foreign policy tool stems from its internal evolution. Legalism became the substitute for traditional sovereignty, and later, an instrument for projecting order externally." (p. 125)

"The EU's vision of international order is deeply institutionalist. It assumes that normativity can tame conflict and that shared rules can replace the logic of spheres of influence." (p. 128)

IMPLEMENTATION OF EUROPEAN VALUES AS A BASIS OF DEMOCRACY IN UKRAINE

“This vision, however, faces contestation. In a post-Western world, Europe’s civil power narrative must compete with assertions of cultural sovereignty and alternative modernities.” (p. 132)

“Normative ambition can only succeed if it resonates. Europe must explain why its values matter globally – not as impositions, but as enablers of dignity, pluralism, and peaceful coexistence.” (p. 136)

“China’s rise illustrates the limits of Europe’s normative diffusion. Economic pragmatism, not political conditionality, has driven global alignments in recent decades.” (p. 141)

“The coherence gap between trade policy and human rights advocacy undermines the EU’s credibility. A normative power cannot be normatively inconsistent.” (p. 151)

“The export of norms requires more than formal instruments. It must be accompanied by empathy, dialogue, and a genuine interest in mutual learning.” (p. 161)

“Ultimately, the global future of European values hinges on humility: the willingness to admit failure, engage respectfully, and co-create norms with others rather than impose them.” (p. 165)

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

1.9. EU–Ukraine strategic partnership for democracy

The partnership between the European Union and Ukraine has evolved into one of the most politically and normatively significant relationships in contemporary European affairs. Grounded in a shared commitment to democracy, human rights, and the rule of law, the EU–Ukraine strategic framework extends beyond geopolitical alignment and embraces a value-based vision of integration. Since the signing of the Association Agreement in 2014, the relationship has transformed from technical cooperation into a deeper political alliance rooted in democratic aspirations. The Revolution of Dignity marked a critical turning point in Ukraine’s European trajectory. It demonstrated the societal commitment to European values and triggered a recalibration of EU policy from cautious engagement to active normative support. The subsequent reforms in areas such as anti-corruption, judicial independence, decentralization, and public administration have been framed within the broader context of Europeanization – aligning Ukraine’s governance with EU standards and expectations. The EU has supported this process through financial assistance, conditionality, monitoring, and institutional cooperation. At the same time, Ukraine’s war-time resilience has elevated the democratic dimension of the partnership. The decision to grant candidate status to Ukraine in June 2022 was not only a symbolic gesture but a recognition of the country’s democratic resolve under existential threat. However, strategic partnership also requires institutional credibility. While the EU projects its values outward, internal challenges such as democratic backsliding in some Member States risk undermining its normative legitimacy. For Ukraine, maintaining reform momentum in the context of war presents complex dilemmas of sequencing, prioritization, and political capacity. The EU–Ukraine partnership today represents more than a pre-accession framework. It is a model of democracy under pressure, where European values are not only benchmarks but instruments of national survival and societal reconstruction. The success of this partnership will depend on mutual commitment to democratic standards, long-term political investment, and the credibility of the EU’s transformative promise.

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“Ukraine’s Association Agreement with the EU is the most ambitious ever signed with a non-member state. It covers nearly the entire EU acquis and includes detailed commitments to reform and approximation in line with European values.” (p. 3)

*“The EU-Ukraine Association Agreement is unique in scope and depth, incorporating over 70% of the EU *acquis communautaire*, far surpassing prior agreements with third countries. It represents a strategic vehicle for legal and institutional Europeanization.” (p. 3)*

“The value-based nature of the agreement is explicit: respect for democratic principles, human rights, and rule of law are defined as ‘essential elements.’ Breaches may trigger suspension mechanisms.” (p. 4)

“The political conditionality attached to the Association Agreement transformed EU–Ukraine relations. Whereas earlier instruments were mostly technical, the post-2014 framework directly linked financial, institutional, and symbolic support to progress in democracy and rule of law.” (p. 5)

“Whereas the ENP and Eastern Partnership offered limited incentives, the AA/DCFTA radically shifted the paradigm – linking aid and access with normative performance. This marked the emergence of full-fledged conditionality in the EU’s neighbourhood.” (p. 5)

“The Maidan revolution became a litmus test for the EU’s identity as a normative power. Citizens in Ukraine took to the streets not simply for trade preferences but for the values the EU claimed to stand for.” (p. 6)

“The Revolution of Dignity demonstrated the depth of societal support for European norms in Ukraine. It realigned the EU’s approach, shifting from cautious pragmatism to normative engagement with state-building and resilience.” (p. 6)

“Ukraine’s transformation has been externally encouraged but domestically driven. Reforms in the judiciary, procurement, and anti-corruption systems illustrate how European integration operates through legal approximation and administrative modernization.” (p. 7)

“The 2022 Russian invasion profoundly altered the context of enlargement. Granting candidate status to Ukraine amidst war signified a re-politicization of the enlargement process – one based more on solidarity and principles than technical readiness.” (p. 8)

“Ukraine’s candidate status, granted in June 2022, was politically symbolic and strategically consequential. For the first time, enlargement was framed primarily in terms of values – resistance to aggression, defense of sovereignty, and democratic legitimacy.” (p. 8)

IMPLEMENTATION OF EUROPEAN VALUES AS A BASIS OF DEMOCRACY IN UKRAINE

“Still, the EU faces the challenge of ensuring credibility and coherence in its conditionality. Enlargement fatigue, asymmetric expectations, and internal divergences on rule-of-law enforcement weaken the Union’s normative consistency.” (p. 9)

“A value-oriented enlargement implies that the EU cannot ignore internal inconsistencies. Applying different standards to Member States and candidates undermines the credibility of its conditionality regime.”(p. 9)

“Ukraine’s integration presents a paradox: war accelerates political alignment with the EU, but undermines the institutional stability needed for deep reform. This fragility must be recognized in designing enlargement trajectories.” (p. 10)

“Ukraine’s European path cannot be reduced to a checklist of reforms. It is a long-term process of identity consolidation, legal transformation, and institutional adaptation. The war has accelerated this path, but it has also made it more fragile.” (p. 10)

“Beyond legal texts, Europeanisation requires normative socialization — the diffusion of values through civil society, education, and administrative culture. Ukraine’s resilience reflects a broad societal commitment to the European idea.” (p. 11)

“The success of Ukraine’s value-based integration will depend on multiple actors: domestic reformers, EU institutions, Member States, and civil society. A stable framework for enlargement must reconcile strategic patience with moral clarity.” (p. 12)

“The upcoming enlargement phase challenges the EU to reform itself: to increase absorption capacity, reform decision-making (e.g. unanimity rules), and strengthen budgetary tools for pre-accession support.” (p. 12)

“The EU’s credibility rests on treating Ukraine as a political subject, not just a recipient of aid. This requires moving beyond technicality to recognize the existential nature of Ukraine’s European choice.” (p. 13)

“The effectiveness of EU support depends on its coherence. Contradictory signals – such as slow disbursement of aid or unclear accession benchmarks – can weaken domestic reform coalitions.” (p. 13)

“Security and values are now intertwined. Ukraine’s struggle for sovereignty and democracy occurs at the intersection of military defence and civil governance. The EU’s engagement must reflect this duality.” (p. 14)

“Conditionality works best when it is credible, predictable, and accompanied by genuine partnership. Ukraine must be treated not as a subject of integration, but as a co-author of the European project.” (p. 15)

“The EU’s enlargement policy is undergoing a paradigm shift – from technocratic, long-term alignment toward high-stakes political choice. This redefinition will shape not only Ukraine’s future, but the EU’s own identity.” (p. 16)

“Ukrainian accession is not only a legal or political process. It is a symbolic act of reunification with Europe’s normative space – one that affirms the values of freedom, sovereignty, and dignity under existential threat.” (p. 17)

“The test for the EU is whether it can operationalize value-based integration not as rhetoric, but as structured support – through law, institutions, and solidarity that matches the sacrifices made by Ukraine.” (p. 18)

“For Ukraine, the EU is not just a partner in economic modernization – it is a civilizational anchor. The EU embodies a value order that stands in direct opposition to authoritarianism, legal nihilism, and militarized governance.” (p. 18)

“The success of Ukraine’s integration will depend on the ability to institutionalize reforms beyond the immediate urgency of war. This means entrenching independence of the judiciary, transparency in procurement, and depoliticization of oversight institutions.” (p. 19)

“The EU must also manage internal contradictions: enlargement promises coexist with protectionist instincts, and rhetorical solidarity may clash with budgetary caution or political fatigue.” (p. 20)

“Ukraine’s accession is likely to reopen questions about treaty reform, voting rules, and redistribution within the Union. The political weight of Ukraine, as a large and war-hardened candidate, will reshape the EU’s internal equilibrium.” (p. 21)

“Inclusion of a country at war poses new precedents. Conditionality must be flexible enough to account for disrupted institutions, but strict enough to preserve credibility and trust – both within Ukraine and among existing Member States.” (p. 22)

“Support for Ukraine must go beyond accession rhetoric. It requires sustained technical assistance, macro-financial aid, and integration of Ukraine into key EU programmes (e.g. Horizon Europe, Erasmus+, single market segments).” (p. 23)

IMPLEMENTATION OF EUROPEAN VALUES AS A BASIS OF DEMOCRACY IN UKRAINE

“The legitimacy of enlargement rests on reciprocity. While the EU provides incentives and support, Ukraine contributes resilience, political will, and societal consensus around European values – even under fire.” (p. 24)

“A truly value-based approach to enlargement will not focus only on conditionality. It must also empower Ukrainian institutions, civil society, and regional actors to shape integration from within.” (p. 25)

“The long-term resilience of Ukraine’s democracy will depend on institutional pluralism and legal culture as much as on formal harmonization with the acquis. These deeper layers of Europeanization require time and political imagination.” (p. 26)

“If Ukraine succeeds, it could become a model of value-driven accession under adversity – a counter-narrative to both disillusionment within the EU and autocratic assertiveness beyond it.” (p. 27)

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

MODULE 2

UKRAINE AND EUROPE: COMMON HISTORICAL DESTINY (VALUE ASPECT)

2.1. History of Europe and Ukraine. Periodization and schemes-concepts

The subject of the unit is the development of humanity within such geographically and historically defined regions as “Europe” and “Ukraine”, historical and cultural parallels of its existence. In the world historical science, there are no clear definitions of these two concepts and the boundaries between them. Each of them can be perceived from different perspectives: geographical, historical, cultural, etc. An important component of understanding these terms is the historical context, because the mentioned concepts had various, sometimes radically different meanings in different historical epochs. The concept of “Europe” primarily means for us a cultural space based on the development of ancient and Christian traditions, which geographically corresponds to the boundaries of the continent bearing the same name. As for the concept of “Ukraine”, it defines first of all the modern (since 1991) administrative territory of the Ukrainian independent state and the adjacent historical and ethnographic regions where the Ukrainian diaspora lived and lives.

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С. 5-6. «Тривалий час українська історіографія була позбавлена можливостей вивчення історії України в контексті загальноєвропейського історичного процесу. Проте, за час свого історичного існування український народ виявив себе як органічна складова європейської спільноти народів, які, попри всю складність політичних та економічних взаємин, поділяли єдину культурну та суспільну спадщину.

Україна ніколи не потребувала «революції», подібної до здійсненої Петром I з метою європеїзації Росії; більш того, тривалий час вона служила для останньої важливим шляхом проникнення західноєвропейських впливів.

У надзвичайно складних взаємовідносинах двох типів європейської цивілізації – західної (католицько-протестантської) і східної (греко-православної) – Україна прагнула до поєднання обох традицій у живий соціально-політичний і культурний синтез. Православний Київ жодним кроком не засвідчив про свій розрив з Римом після розколу християнства у 1054 р. і продовжував зберігати канонічні зв'язки з обома його центрами. Українське суспільство попри всі перепони часу залишалось відкритим, здатним толерувати і органічно інтегрувати здавалось би неприйнятні для православ'я соціально-культурні явища. Навіть у кульмінаційні моменти боротьби з латинізованою Польщею Україна демонструвала, що вона протистоїть не західній цивілізації, а агресивним намаганням поневолення з боку сусіда. Про це свідчили неодноразові спільні виступи литовців-католиків і української знаті проти спроб інкорпорації Польщею Литовсько-Руської держави, забезпечення Б. Хмельницьким римо-католицькій шляхті свободи

віросповідання у козацькій державі, тісні контакти Війська Запорізького з протестантськими державами – Швецією, Бранденбургом, Угорщиною, Литвою та ін. Тенденція до активного сприйняття західної культури знайшла свій вияв у діяльності багатьох інтелектуальних центрів тодішньої України – Львівської братської школи, Острозької академії, Києво-Могилянського колегіуму, які у своїй організації і програмі багато в чому наслідували приклад європейської вищої школи. Про це ж свідчить і акцептація Україною усіх великих мистецьких стилів останнього тисячоліття – візантійсько-романського, готичного, ренесансу, бароко, рококо, класицизму, еклектики і модерну, причому в основних хронологічних межах кожного з них. Порівняльна характеристика соціальних структур, витворених українським народом на всіх етапах історичного розвитку розгляданого періоду, починаючи від «варварських» ранньофеодальних держав і до розквіту абсолютизму та доби Просвітництва, свідчить, що Україна у багатьох напрямках йшла одним шляхом з країнами Центральної і Західної Європи. Разом з тим, український народ вносив свої оригінальні форми соціального існування, які були іманентним проявом його власної творчості і стали надбанням світової історії. Таким було українське козацтво, яке увібрало в себе активні творчі сили усього тогочасного українського суспільства і постійно перебувало у вирі воєнного і політичного життя. Саме козацтво репрезентувало український національний тип в очах всієї Європи. Запозичивши чимало від ворожого йому мусульманського світу, козацтво, однак, залишилось типовим європейським соціумом, що відіграв важливу роль у формуванні буржуазних відносин в Україні. Пошуки шляхів ліквідації національного і соціально-економічного поневолення України, які демонструвало козацтво та інші стани, мали багато спільного із загальнонаціональними прагненнями та демократичними рухами у Західній Європі, що, зрештою, знайшло свій вияв у майже одночасному вибуху визвольної війни 1648-1654 рр. в Україні і революцій у Нідерландах та Англії. Одержавши можливість відносно стабільного суспільного та економічного розвитку на порівняно невеликій території Гетьманщини український народ попри всі уніфікаторсько-русифікаторські заходи царизму зумів витворити культурні цінності, які надовго забезпечили йому самобутність духовного розвитку і дозволили посісти належне місце серед європейських народів.

Україна силою свого географічного і геополітичного становища перебувала під перехресними впливами азійсько-кочового, орієнтально-візантійського та європейського світів, по-різному інтегруючи впливи кожного з них. І все ж вирішальним вектором її соціокультурної і

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політичної орієнтації була європейська цивілізація. М. Грушевський зауважував, що український народ у порівнянні з російським «являється народом західної культури – одним з найбільш багатих східними, орієнтальними впливами, але все-таки по всьому складу своєї культури й свого духу народом західним, тим часом як великоруський, хоч і європеїзований, стоїть вповні у власті орієнтального духу й стихії». Вивчення історії України саме як важливого компонента загальноєвропейського історичного процесу у її розмаїтих зв'язках із західним світом сприятиме об'єктивному і органічному сприйняттю сучасниками історичного минулого українського народу. Такий підхід є особливо актуальним сьогодні, в контексті намагань незалежної України відійти від однобічної орієнтації у своєму політичному, економічному і культурному розвитку і відновити штучно перерваний зв'язок з європейськими країнами».

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

2.2. Synergetic Method of Researching the History of Ukrainian Statehood: European Experience

The situation in Ukraine requires an objective understanding of national statehood not only in terms of content and structure, but also in terms of time. For this reason, the use of the synergetic method can ensure the choice of its most advanced models for the future. One of the founders of synergetics, the Belgian chemist and philosopher Ilya Prigogine, has pointed out that history is a sequence of bifurcations. In the current research, the author proceeds from the fact that “bifurcation points” have taken place in the history of Ukrainian state forming. Moreover, their exploration, which is based on the synergetic method, is of a scientific nature. A number of key dates, which became symbolic for the Ukrainian state formation, have been identified.

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P. 68–70. “Bifurcation points” come a kind of symbol of Ukrainian statehood are important for our study. They are a specific numerical code for understanding historical processes and phenomena. Considering the numerical series related to the history of Ukrainian statehood, we have identified the following dates:

- 1199 –creation of the Galicia-Volhynia state; the conquest of Kyiv; the reign of Roman Mstyslavovych,
- 1648 –beginning of the National Liberation War headed by Bohdan Khmelnytsky; the formation of the Ukrainian Cossack state,
- 1918 –proclamation of the Ukrainian Central Rada; the creation of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic,
- 1919 –Unification Act of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Western Ukrainian People's Republic in Kyiv, reunification of the eastern and western Ukrainian lands,
- 1990 –adoption by the Verkhovna Rada of the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine,
- 1991 –adoption on 24 August 1991 of the Act of Declaration of the Independence of Ukraine by the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR). The name “Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic” was replaced by the original name of the state –“Ukraine” by a law of 17 September 1991. On “1” December 1991, referendum and elections of the

President of Ukraine were held (90,3% of citizens, who participated in the referendum, confirmed the Act of the Independence of Ukraine).

These dates are the starting points of different stages of Ukrainian statehood – princely (1199), Cossack (1648), national-democratic (1918) and the modern Ukrainian independent state (1991). We consider the beginning of Princely Era of Ukrainian state formation in 1199, supporting the Ukrainian historian and diplomat StepanTomashivsky, who named the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia the first form of the Ukrainian national state, describing it as “the Galicia-Volhynia state”. In addition, the territorial framework of the Galicia-Volhynia state, the Hetmanate and the Ukrainian People’s Republic best corresponds to the modern borders of Ukraine. A key year in state formation is 1919, as it symbolizes the unification of the Ukrainian People’s Republic and the Western Ukrainian People’s Republic, proving the idea of unity and indivisibility of the Ukrainian lands.

Adoption of the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine in 1990 can be considered the year of the beginning of modern state formation.

Three of the mentioned six dates immediately attract attention. They are 1199, 1919 and 1991, which consist of two numerals “1” and “9” by their doubling. Consider the following dates: 1648, 1918 and 1990. Consecutively adding the numerals from the dates, we get such interesting results:

$$1+6+4+8=19$$

$$1+9+1+8=19$$

$$1+9+9+0=19$$

Again, we get numerals “1” and “9”, which are significant for the Ukrainian state forming.

Thus, basing on the dates, the dominance of two numerals “1” and “9” (the Hindu-Arabic decimal number system) can be clearly traced through the history of Ukraine’s state formation.

All numbers have quantitative and qualitative characteristics. We are used to dealing with their quantitative side. However, numbers also have a qualitative side as symbols of creation. They were perceived as such by the mathematician Pythagoras, who, according to legend, studied with the Egyptian priests, and then brought the ready-made numerical matrices to Europe. In an adapted version, they have survived and are known as the “Pythagorean Square”. In this system, the numeral “1” (beginning of the square) represents momentum, unity, activity and creativity, and the numeral “9” (ending of the square) expresses the highest form of symbiosis. Perhaps

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it explains why the combination of such components gives a numerical impetus to the symbiosis of Ukrainian state forming.

According to Pythagoras, mathematics was the most appropriate science for establishing general harmony as an abstract and universally applicable part of scientific knowledge. From mathematical cognition, Pythagoras put arithmetic in the first place, because numerical characteristics formed the basis of all mathematical and scientific knowledge. That idea led Pythagoras to an intensive studying of mathematics and its basis – the arithmetic of natural row of numerals, separating of arithmetic from geometry, and studying them as independent disciplines that have their own subjects, methods, and objects of study. Using these mathematical disciplines, Pythagoras sought to establish the relationship between numerals and geometric objects and to establish, by their help, harmonious relationships between objects of the universe. This principle should be used, while performing mathematical operations with dates and determining certain patterns of the historical process.

Other mathematical operations with three basic dates are also interesting.

1991–1919=72; “72” is $7+2=9$

1919–1199=720; “720” is $7+2+0=9$

Subtraction with additionally applied dates also gives a similar result:

1990–1648=342; “342” is $3+4+2=9$

1918–1648=270; “270” is $2+7+0=9$

In the result of various mathematical operations with the specified dates, we get “9” – the basic number of the Ukrainian state formation.

Thus, the dates of Ukrainian history, which contain the numbers “1” and “9” are closely related to Ukrainian statehood and make a kind of basis for the formation of “bifurcation points”, given the synergetic method.

However, do the numbers “1” and “9” always symbolize the state-building process in Ukraine? It turns out that no. There is a number of dates that contain these numbers, but threaten the existence of statehood in Ukraine.

- *1169 – destruction of Kyiv by the Prince of Suzdal Andriy Bogolyubsky; the beginning of the Old Rus state’s decline.*

- *1349 – Galicia was conquered by neighbouring Poland, and Volhynia – by Lithuania. The Galicia-Volhynia principality ceased to exist as a single political unit.*

- *1709 – Battle of Poltava. Defeat of the Swedish army and its ally Ivan Mazepa. For Ukraine, the consequence of the Poltava catastrophe became*

the Moscow military occupation and a significant restriction of the autonomous rights of the Hetmanate.

What is the peculiarity of these dates? The following calculations could be done:

$$1+1+6+9=17$$

$$1+3+4+9=17$$

$$1+7+0+9=17$$

On the other hand, after discarding the initial “1” and the final “9” of these three dates, we get the numeral “7” in a result of every calculation.

$$1169 (1+6=7); 1349 (3+4=7); 1709 (7+0=7)$$

Thus, the numeral “7”, which is sacred in many religions, particularly, in the Bible it occurs more than 160 times, seems destructive for the Ukrainian state formation.

In addition, the bizarre intertwining of numerals in the following dates of Ukrainian history looks quite mystical:

- *1569 – Union of Lublin. Creation of Rzeczpospolita. Polish conquest of the Podlasie [Podlasiu], Kyiv, Bratslav and Volhynia regions,*
- *1596 – Church Union of Berestia. It increased division among Ukrainian believers,*
- *1659 – Pereyaslav Articles (or Pereyaslav Agreement). Contractual terms between the Moscow tsarist government and Hetman Yurii Khmelnytsky, which significantly narrowed the power of the hetman and the autonomy of Ukraine.*

In addition to the already known “1” and “9”, the simultaneous presence of the numerals “5” and “6” is negative for state forming events in Ukraine.

Vedic numerology provides a certain explanation for the calculated facts, according to which the numbers are in harmonious, passive (neutral) and divergent (negative) states. Thus, in particular, the numbers “1” and “9” have a harmonious interdependence with each other. The numbers “1” and “9” are divergent to “7”. Moreover, “1” divergent to “6” and the number “6” is divergent to “5”.

Based on the analysed dates of Ukrainian history, it can be assumed that the numbers “1” and “9” are the numerical code that corresponds to the Ukrainian state. Doubling this code actually gives a 100% chance to the Ukrainian state for existing, as the numbers are in harmony with each other. The presence in the date of the internal number “7” indicates a potential

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threat to the state, since there is a discrepancy between the numbers. The intertwining of the numbers “1”, “5” and “6” starts the liquidation of state forming processes in Ukraine, as there is a double discrepancy between them”.

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

2.3. Ukrainian Mentality: Indo-European Context

The “mentality” category is one of the fundamental spiritual and socio-psychological characteristics of the human personality. Mentality is understood as stable structures of the deep level of collective and individual consciousness and subconsciousness that determine the aspirations, inclinations, guidelines of people, in which the national character, universally recognized values and social psychology are manifested. Moreover, mentality means something common that underlies the conscious and subconscious, logical and emotional. In other words, it is a deep source of thinking, ideology and faith, feelings and emotions. The mentality of the people is its worldview, world perception, vision of itself within the global community. It may be regarded as the “soul of the people”.

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С. 94. «Українці, на жаль, мають невелику кількість давніх писемних джерел, що дало можливість певній кількості дослідників говорити про філософську нерозвиненість української культури. Проте, не слід забувати про усну спадщину українців. Історичні думи і балади сприяли збереженню у народі пам'яті про своє походження. Так українці передавали наступним поколінням духовний досвід своїх предків у вигляді обрядів, звичаїв, переказів, казок, пісень. Відлуння давньої віри й треба шукати насамперед у фольклорі українського народу. «Колядки, – відзначав, наприклад, М. Драгоманов, – цілі Веди південноруські, за котрими можна простежити відтинки релігійних уявлень від древніших часів до пізніших. Своїми образами вони нагадують гімни Індірі, оспівування інших напівбогів». Веди мають величезне значення для реконструкції праукраїнських вірувань, записи яких до нас не дійшли.

Фольклор зберіг для українців цінні зразки власної релігійної міфології про створення світу (колядки типу «Коли не було з нащадка світа, Дажбоже!», або «Стояла сосна серед Дунаю, Дажбоже!»). Веснянки, Купальські та Обжинкові пісні розкривають таємниці народного світогляду та етнічної пам'яті такої глибокої давнини, яких марно було б шукати в якихось писемних текстах, бо писемність язичницької доби була винищена християнством. Давньоукраїнські пісні, стародавні веснянки, колискові, пісні річного обрядового кола – це пісні-славлення, які дають образне сприйняття будови Всесвіту.

На жаль, наукові дослідження символіки народних обрядових пісень досі залишаються малодоступними для широкого кола українців. Інформація про етнічні релігійні свята народного астрономічного календаря обмежується поверховими коментарями дикторів радіо та телебачення або християнською світоглядною цензурою редакторів цих програм. Не знаходиться місця для етнічної інформації й на сторінках преси. Збереження етнічної пам'яті й досі здійснюється усним шляхом – від людини до людини.

Таким чином, основою для дослідження української ментальності можуть служити нетрадиційні джерела, зокрема, ведична література, адже українці пережили тисячі нападів різноманітних ворогів, багато разів втрачали свою державність, розгубили власну культуру. А тепер, на початку нового тисячоліття, починають відшукувати своє коріння. Духовні скарби ведичної культури – не просто собі цікава архайка. В них знаходиться реальне знання, якого нам так не вистачає в наш час. Настав час зрозуміти, що Веди – це загальнолюдське надбання, одвічні витoki української культури, мудрість їх перевірена тисячоліттями. Відмінність лише в тому, що в Індії вони збереглися і передаються без спотворень низкою учнівської послідовності – як наука про Бога (поєднання філософії й релігії), а в Україні вони залишилися лише в легендах і казках.

Опираючись на ведичні знання можна визначити, що українська усна традиція зберегла міфологічну (ведичну та язичницьку) традицію української ментальності. Українець, не відмовляючись від раціоналістичної думки, великої ваги надає виявам почуттів та емоцій. Інколи він може видаватися навіть сентиментальним і ліричним. Українець дуже прив'язаний до своєї родини, в якій намагається будувати міцні та близькі стосунки. Для його ментальності характерно піклуватися. Українці, як правило, оточують своїх близьких турботою, своєрідною материнською опікою. Дітей

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підтримують до зрілого віку, і часто ще й у зрілому віці. Така близькість родинних стосунків, певною мірою, визначається історичним минулим: на території, що лежала на перехресті західного й східного світів, практично не припинялися війни і грабіжницькі напади. Жити тут було небезпечно, панування і влади часто змінювалися, і зберегтися як єдине ціле можливо було лише замкнувшись у колі найближчих родичів».

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

2.4. The Old Rus State and the European Military-Political Space: Stereotypes and Myths

The Old Rus State or Kyivan Rus was one of the most powerful states of its time, which significantly influenced the development of European civilization. The formation of the Old Rus State contributed to strengthening the defence capacity of the East Slavic population, preventing its physical destruction by nomads. Kyivan Rus raised the authority of the Eastern Slavs in Europe. Its international significance lies in the fact that it influenced political and military events in Europe and Asia, in the Middle East; princes of Rus maintained political, economic, dynastic ties with France, Sweden, England, Poland, Hungary, Norway, Byzantium.

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- ✓ Yakovenko, N. M. (1997). *Narys istorii Ukrainy z naidavnishykh chasiv do kintsia XVIII stolittia*. Kyiv: Heneza.

Sources:

Tereshchenko, Yu. I. (1996). *Ukraina i yevropeyskyi svit: Narys istorii vid utvorennia Starokyivskoi derzhavy do kintsia XVI st.* Kyiv: Perun.

С. 150 «Надзвичайно інтенсивними були зносини України-Русі з країнами Північної Європи. В період правління Володимира і Ярослава відбувалася християнізація Скандинавії, що, як і Старокиївська держава, переживала одночасно становлення феодалізму. У Данії християнство було запроваджене Гарольдом Синім Зубом (960) і остаточно утверджене Кнудом Великим (995-1035); у Норвегії – Олафом I Трігвессоном (969- 1000) та Олафом II Святим (995-1030); у Швеції – королем Олафом (1000). Більшість скандинавських володарів мали зв'язки з київським великокняжим двором і так чи інакше перебували у сфері політичних інтересів Старокиївської держави. Олаф I Трігвессон виховувався на Русі, куди втекла його мати після загибелі свого чоловіка. Прийнявши християнство в Англії, Олаф у 995 р. прибув у Норвегію, був визнаний королем цієї країни і активно поширював у ній християнство.

При дворі Ярослава Мудрого якийсь час перебував один з претендентів на норвезький престол майбутній король Норвегії Олаф II Святий та його молодший брат Гаральд Сміливий. Олаф II протидіяв зазіханням Кнута Великого на Норвегію і, не погодившись визнати ленну залежність від датського короля, шукав підтримки могутнього київського володаря. Тіснішому зближенню руського і норвезького монархів сприяли їхні одруження з доньками шведського короля Олафа III Шьотконунга. Дружина Ярослава Мудрого Інгігерда (Ірина) сприяла активному втручання Київської держави у скандинавські справи, а також зміцненню її воєнної потуги за допомогою варязьких дружин.

У 1030 р. Ярослав разом з Олафом II та своїм майбутнім зятем 15-річним Гаральдом Сміливим здійснив похід на Польщу і повернув собі Белз та інші міста Забужжя. Тепер настала пора допомогти Олафу II відискати норвезький королівський престол. У тому ж році Ярослав здійснив похід у землю естів і заснував там місто Юріїв (Дерпт), яке мало сприяти налагодженню зв'язків зі шведськими союзниками. Олаф II із сильним військовим корпусом, наданим йому Ярославом, рушив на Трондгейн (тодішню столицю Норвегії). Проте у битві під

Стікельстадом був розбитий Кнудом Великим і загинув у бою. Дружина Олафа II і його син Магнус залишились у Києві.

У складному переплетінні політичних і династичних інтересів країн Північної Європи Київ намагався не допустити піднесення Данії, яка прагнула територіального розширення за рахунок слабших сусідів. У 1016 р. датський король Кнут Великий після дворічної боротьби з англійським королем Едмундом Залізноюбоком захопив північну частину Англії. Невдовзі після смерті Едмунда Кнут був проголошений королем всієї Англії та опікуном дітей померлого. Вони були відправлені ним до шведського короля Олафа, а з часом знайшли притулок при дворі Ярослава Мудрого. На короткий час Датське королівство підпорядкувало собі Норвегію, частину Швеції, Англію з Шотландією і утворило своєрідне імперське об'єднання на півночі Європи; йому активно протидіяла Київська держава, підтримуючи противників Кнута Великого.

У цьому контексті надзвичайно цікавою є згадка англійського середньовічного хроніста Роджера з Ховедена (1201), прекрасно освідомленого про події політичного життя сучасних йому Англії, Франції та інших країн Європи. У своїй фундаментальній «Хроніці» він зазначає, що син короля Едмунда Едуард «по смерті батька, боячись короля Кнута, втік з цієї землі у землю ругів, яку ми називаємо Русією. Король цієї землі, по імені Малесклад (під цим ім'ям Ярослав був відомий в Англії – авт.), коли почув і зрозумів, хто він, з честю прийняв його». Подібні згадки вміщено у «Діяннях гамбурзьких єпископів» знаменитого північнонімецького хроніста Адама Бременського (помер після 1081) та інших середньовічних авторів. Про факт перебування синів Едмунда Залізноюбокого у Ярослава Мудрого говорить також у коментарях до законів Едуарда Сповідника, який зійшов на англійський престол у 1042 р. після розпаду держави Кнута Великого і ліквідації влади датчан в Англії. Цілком ймовірно, що сталося це не без допомоги Києва, який сприяв вигнанню датчан з Норвегії по смерті Кнута Великого і приходу на норвезький королівський престол Магнуса Доброго (1036).

Розширенню політичного впливу Київської держави сприяла також діяльність згаданого раніше норвезького принца, а згодом короля – Гаральда Суворого (1015-1066). Тривалий час він служив Ярославові Мудрому, брав участь в антивізантійському поході Русі 1043 р. і того ж року одружився з донькою Ярослава Єлизаветою. Посівши норвезький престол (1047), він втрутився у боротьбу за англійську корону і незадовго до нормандського вторгнення в Англію загинув у битві з Гаральдом II Англійським під Станфордбриджем. На цьому зв'язки України-Русі з Англією не припинилися.

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Невдовзі, коли Вільгельм Завойовник розгромив Гаральда II Англійського у битві при Гастингсі, два брати останнього і його дочка Гіта втекли у Данію і знайшли підтримку могутньої Київської держави. На цей час Київ полагодив стосунки з Данією, король якої Свен II (1047-1075) одружився зі вдовою Гаральда Сміливого Єлизаветою Ярославною. За їхнім посередництвом англійська принцеса Гіта була просватана за онука Ярослава Мудрого – Володимира Всеволодовича (Мономаха).

Династичні зв'язки Ярослава Мудрого і його нащадків дедалі більше набували характеру міждержавних зносин і були свідченням активної інтеграції України-Русі у західноєвропейський політичний і культурний процес. Для багатьох скандинавських конунгів, інших європейських монархів київський володар – один з наймогутніших у Європі, претендент на титул «царя» – став своєрідним еталоном феодального государя. Саме таким він виступає у королівських сагах зводу «Хеймскрінгли» та середньовічних європейських хроніках».

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

2.5. The Phenomenon of Cossacks-Kharakternyks and Warriors-Werewolves in the European Tradition

The remnants of the archaic cult of the warrior-beast archetype (the wolf-warrior) are evident in the mythological complexes of many Indo-Europeans, including Ukrainians (werewolves, dog-headed beings, Cossacks-Kharakternyks). At different times, it influenced the formation and development of military affairs and was one of the most important ancient Ukrainian mythological concepts. The image of a Cossack-Kharakternyk in the spiritual culture of the Zaporizhian Cossacks is a projection of the ancient cult of the wolf warrior, which existed as an integral part of the training of a perfect warrior. Analogies are found in Indo-European traditions, in particular, in the actions of berserkers – the mystical Viking clan.

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- ✓ Speidel, M. P. (2002). Berserks: A history of Indo-European “mad warriors”. *Journal of World History*, 13(2), 253–290.
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С. 75-76. «Повертаючись же до козаків-характерників, мусимо констатувати, що вони сповідували давню, язичницьку віру і були посвяченими в таємні знання про людину, природу і космос, перейняті ними від винищених волхвів.

Про них і при житті, і після життя ходили найрізноманітніші легенди, їхні надлюдські здібності вражали навіть бувалих козаків. Простий люд називав їх чаклунами, а священики твердили, що в них вселився біс. Характерники на Січі складали козацьку старшину. Були хранителями культури, робили посвяти в козаки. Зберігали давні волховські традиції. І хоча вже на той час формально Січ була християнізована, але ведичний дух там витав іще з попередніх часів. Залишалось поклоніння багатовіковому дубу, де збирались запорожці.

Українські казки, легенди та перекази про козаків-характерників, вовкулаків, перевертнів свідчать, що стародавній культ воїна-вовка органічно увійшов до міфології українського козацтва. Хоча елементи військового культу безпосередньо зафіксовані лише в деяких переказах та оповідях, проте в багатьох інших випадках їх можна реконструювати. Скажімо, в казках та легендах про вовкулаків нерідко фігурує святий Юр, що був спадкоємцем бога війни і воїнів-звірів Одіна та слов'янського Перуна і став покровителем середньовічного лицарства Європи. Святий Юрій (Георгій) мав дбати про вовків, як про своїх вірних воїнів-дружинників; він призначав кожному з них здобич і навіть особисто варив для них їжу, й тому, у свою чергу, завжди був оточений вовками, що вірно служили йому. Цей міфологічний сюжет можна зрозуміти, пригадавши, що вожді ранньосередньовічних військових лицарських ватаг розплачувалися з воїнами-дружинниками їжею та питвом на безкінечних бенкетах. Так було на билинних бенкетуваннях Володимира Святого з дружиною, за короля Артура і лицарів Круглого столу, у германського бога воїнів-звірів Одіна-Вотана у Валгалі.

У фольклорному комплексі українських козаків також простежуються вкраплення міфологічного образу вовкулаки. В «Думі

про козака Голоту», приміром, це подано так: «То козак Голота добре козацький звичай знає, Ой на татарина скрива, як вовк, поглядає».

В українських легендах і переказах зустрічаємо цілі пласти розповідей про те, що козаки-характерники знали багато іноземних мов й уміли ними розмовляти, вміли насилати на своїх ворогів сон та ману, перетворюватися на вовків та інших тварин, виходили сухими з води, могли надзвичайно довго бути під водою (якщо згадати козацьку військову хитрість: перебуваючи під водою, дихати через очеретину, – тут немає нічого дивного). Для знищення І. Нечая поляки зарядили рушницю срібляним гудзиком. Прості ж свинцеві кулі та ядра характерники ловили руками та полами жупанів. Жили вони дуже довго й були неймовірно сильними.

Саме так описує характерників Д. Яворницький, спираючись на усне свідцтво козака Коржа: «Говорили, наприклад, що між ними завжди були так звані «характерники», котрих ні вогонь, ні вода, ні шабля, ні звичайна куля, крім срібної, не брали. Такі «характерники» могли відкривати без ключів замки, переправлятися через річки на повстині чи рогожі, брати голими руками розпечені ядра, бачити на кілька верст навколо себе за допомогою спеціальних «верцадел», жити на дні рік, залазити й вилазити з міцно зав'язаних чи навіть захищених мішків, «перекидатися» на котів, перетворювати людей на куці, вершників на птахів, залазити у звичайне відро і пливти в ньому по воді сотні і тисячі верст».

Отож, одними з найважливіших властивостей козака-характерника були його здатність трансформуватися у вовка і невразливість щодо залізної зброї та куль. Характерник володів здатністю накладати заговор проти куль: «Назад Отче наш переговорив – ступай сміло: куля не візьме».

Прямі паралелі цим рисам знаходимо в давньогерманських берсеркерів, які під час атаки як би ставали звірами. При цьому вони володіли такою силою, що їм не міг протистояти навіть зімкнутий дисциплінований ряд. Це вказує на генетичний ряд зі стародавнім культом воїна-звіра».

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

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2.6. Revolutions of the XVII Century in England and Ukraine.

Oliver Cromwell and Bohdan Khmelnytsky

The Ukrainian National Revolution is a part of the liberation struggle of a number of European countries in the 40–70s of the XVII century. Analysis of the development of revolutions in Ukraine and England reveals a common tendency to strengthen the personal power of the leaders (Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Oliver Cromwell) and the transformation of the republican form of government into a monarchical one (in Ukraine – hereditary hetmanate, and in England – Cromwell's protectorate). Unlike the English and Dutch revolutions, which ended in victory, the Ukrainian revolution in foreign policy caused a serious change in the balance of power in Eastern, South-Eastern and Central Europe.

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С. 52. «Саме тому головним завданням Б. Хмельницького, починаючи з другої половини 1648 р, на нашу думку, було утвердження Українського гетьманату як васальнозалежної держави під протекторатом якогось із монархічних дворів Заходу (Трансильванія), Сходу (Росія), Півдня (Туреччина) чи Півночі (Швеція). Як заявляв у серпні 1649 р. з цього приводу сам Б. Хмельницький «... я буду триматися того пана (монарха - Т.Ч.), який мене ласкаво з Божої ласки держить в своїй опіці». Зважаючи на те, що політика на утвердження міжнародної легітимзації через прийняття протекторату когось із іноземних монархів відбувалася майже одночасно у всіх вищезазначених геополітичних напрямках й зумовлювалася специфікою *status quo* Війська Запорозького (а воно як до, так і після 1648 р. перебувало у підданстві королів Речі Посполитої), ці зовнішньополітичні заходи поступово трансформуються в концепцію полівасалітетної підлеглості новоутвореного під час революційних подій державного організму.

Безумовно, творцем цієї концепції був ніхто інший, як гетьман Б. Хмельницький. Опираючись на довголітні традиції міжнародної діяльності українського козацтва, він зумів, як буде висвітлено нижче, не відмовляючись від сюзеренітету польського короля, забезпечити входження козацької держави до міжнародної спільноти на умовах прийняття номінального васалітету від турецького султана, московського царя й, очевидно, шведського короля. Тим самим у міжнародних відносинах було узаконене право гетьмана Війська Запорозького на володіння Україною, яка досі сприймалася світовими володарями лише як провінція Речі Посполитої.

Опираючись на наративні джерела першого ряду – міжнародні договори Українського гетьманату, дипломатичне листування Б. Хмельницького із східними та західними монархами; другого ряду - (інструкції гетьмана багаточисельним українським посольствам, переписка генеральної старшини з урядовцями інших країн тощо) й використовуючи наукові досягнення вітчизняної й зарубіжної

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історіографії, спробуємо обґрунтувати висловлену гіпотезу щодо започаткування Б. Хмельницьким концепції полівасалітетної підлеглості Українського гетьманату як держави, що виникла в результаті збройного повстання «рицарського люду» східних воєводств Речі Посполитої протягом 1648-1649 рр.»

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

2.7. The Ukrainian Problem in the First and Second World Wars

The Ukrainian problem in a narrow sense is the question of the place and role of the Ukrainian factor in the internal life of the states, which included Ukrainian lands; in a broad sense – it is the question of the conditions and mechanism of reunification of Ukrainian lands and the creation of Ukrainian statehood.

On the eve of World War II, three groups of countries interested in resolving the Ukrainian issue were clearly defined. The first group included the USSR, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia – the countries that included Ukrainian lands. Their main goal was to hold on to the lands that were already under their control and to annex new ones. The second group united England, France and partly the United States (i.e. countries that created the Versailles–Washington system), which satisfied their geopolitical interests by their interference in the Ukrainian issue or, conversely, by keeping diplomatic neutrality. Finally, the third group was formed by Germany, which, fighting for “living space”, claimed Ukrainian lands, and Hungary, which, being dissatisfied with the terms of the Trianon Peace Treaty of 1920, sought the return of Transcarpathian Ukraine.

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C. 371-372. «До 1945 року Радянський Союз, використовуючи свою військову силу, пересунув свої кордони в глиб Центрально-Східної Європи. Радянські керівники скористалися гаслами українського націоналізму, номінально розширивши Українську республіку, а фактично Радянський Союз шляхом приєднання до неї польських, чехословацьких та румунських територій, традиційно населених українцями.

Ці територіальні придбання поставили радянську владу в Україні перед новими викликами. Отримавши населені здебільшого українцями території колишньої Австро-Угорщини, на які в міжвоєнний період претендували Польща, Румунія та Чехословаччина, Сталін приніс у Радянську Україну добре розвинені традиції автономії, парламентської демократії, національної та громадської самоорганізації, що були відсутні в східноукраїнських землях. Також радянський режим зіткнувся з новою ідеологічною загрозою – радикальним націоналізмом, представленим добре організованою політичною структурою з власною військовою партизанською силою – Українською повстанською армією.

Щоб досягти повної інкорпорації цих територій, у тому числі їхньої економічної, соціальної та культурної інтеграції до УРСР та СРСР, знадобляться десятиліття. Москві треба було для початку розправитися зі збройним спротивом – процес, який забрав значні ресурси, завершився тільки в 1950-ті роки. Щоб стати повністю радянськими, ці землі повинні були пройти колективізацію та індустріалізацію, а тамтешня молодь – індоктринована за взірцями радянського марксизму. Але навіть з плином часу історичні зв'язки між новопрیدбаними радянськими територіями і Центральною та Західною Європою не припиняють свого існування. Переміщення кордонів СРСР на захід перетворило ці раніше не радянські частини України на

внутрішнє прикордоння, де режим десятиліттями проводив політику, відмінну від тої, що була в решті України.

Нова влада використала українську карту не лише для того, щоб узаконити своє панування в регіоні, а й для того, щоб радянізувати його. Москва повернулася до українізаційної політики 1920-х років, пропонуючи регіону можливість приєднатися до радянського суспільства через українізацію політичного та культурного життя. Та режим зволікав з інтеграцією місцевих кадрів, яким не довіряв, і тому сюди прислали на керівні посади українців зі східної та центральної частин республіки. Це затримувало повну інтеграцію регіону. У той же час пропозиція української культури в обмін на політичну лояльність допомогла уповільнити русифікацію в інших частинах України. Ця політика державної толеранції щодо української мови та культури в поєднанні з історичною традицією високої національної мобілізації в межах Австро-Угорщини, а потім Польщі, а також спогади про націоналістичний повстанський рух перетворюють Західну Україну, особливо Галичину, на новий український П'ємонт».

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

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2.8. Ukrainian Shield of European Civilization

The territory of Ukraine was inhabited a long time ago and there are many myths and legends surrounding it. According to the well-known history of our land, people living here constantly were under the danger to be destroyed. It is no accident that the events of all world wars have repeatedly taken place precisely on the territory of Ukraine. However, the Ukrainian national spirit is constantly reborn, even after devastating defeats and the loss of statehood. Thus, for 1155 years, the Ukrainian Crystal Shield is a shield for European civilization, protecting it from destruction by the Pechenegs, Torks, Polovtsians, Mongol-Tatars, Ottomans, Bolsheviks, and the Moscow Horde.

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P. 258. «Ukraine's geographical location made it a zone of collision of three civilizations: Western Christian, Eastern Christian and Islamic (according to Toynbee). In addition to its metaphorical and symbolic meaning, the term 'Ukrainian Shield' has a clear geological basis. The Ukrainian Crystalline Shield or Massif (Ukrainian Shield) is an uplift of the crystalline foundation of the East European Platform, which extends the middle course of the Dnipro in a strip more than 1,000 km long and about 250 km wide. This is an ancient Precambrian structure, which was formed more than 3.6 billion years ago. It stretches from the northwest to the southeast in the middle part of Ukraine, from Belarus to the Sea of Azov. Zhytomyr, Vinnytsia, Dnipro, Kryvyi Rih, Zaporizhzhia and Mariupol are all located on the Ukrainian Shield. In width, the Ukrainian Crystalline Shield extends from Khmelnytskyi to Kyiv».

P. 269. «For more than 1155 years, the Ukrainian Crystal Shield has been a shield for European civilization, protecting it from destruction by various enemies. This process began in 867, when the legendary Kyivan Princes Askold and Dir defeated the Pechenegs, and continues in 2023, when Ukrainians stop the latest Moscow horde that threatens the whole world.

The periodization of the Ukrainian Shield, developed on the basis of the Ukrainian statehood stages, may be shaped in the following way:

Stage I. Princely Statehood:

- *wars with the Pechenegs (867-1036);*
- *the struggle against the Torks (1055-1060);*
- *confrontation with the Polovtsians (1060-1238);*
- *the struggle with the Mongol-Tatars (1223-1241).*

Stage II. Cossack Era:

- *confrontation with the Turks and Tatars (1478-1775).*

Stage III. The Ukrainian National Revolution:

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- *the struggle of the Ukrainian insurgency against the realization of the Bolsheviks' World Revolution idea (1917-1923).*

Stage IV. The Modern Ukrainian Independent State:

- *the Russian-Ukrainian war (2014-2023).*

The Ukrainian shield protected European civilization from the Pechenegs, Torks, Polovtsians, Mongol-Tatars, Turks, Bolsheviks, and continues to protect it from Russian aggression since February 24, 2022. A bloody war has lasted for 667 years out of the past 1155 years of confrontation with the East that has required and continues to require enormous effort, material and human resources from Ukrainians. This is the historical mission of Ukraine».

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

2.9. Historical Memory and Historical Science in European and Ukrainian Discourses

Historical memory is not history, but a form of representation of the past that historians explore. The problem of historical memory has a wide field of interest in the modern scientific literature. Not only historians and political scientists, but also philosophers, sociologists, culturologists, linguists join the study of such a complex phenomenon. The paper explores the phenomenon of historical memory, its role and place in the system of social values. The culture of historical memory, mechanisms of functioning and interrelation of historical memory and national / regional identity are analysed by using European experience to understand the connection between the past, present and future.

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P. 78-79. «The understanding of the historical memory» phenomenon plays a significant role at the present stage of the historical science development. The essence of historical memory is to preserve in the public consciousness the most substantial information, which is a kind of experience generalization.

The problem of historical memory has a wide field of interest in the modern

scientific literature. The study of such a complex concept joins not only historians and political scientists, but also philosophers, sociologists, cultural studies researchers and linguists. They explore the phenomenon of historical memory, its role and place in the system of social values; analyze the culture of historical memory, mechanisms of its functioning and interconnecting of historical memory and national / regional identity. In this regard, European experience is applied for understanding the connection

between the past, modern and future. However, there is no pure consensus on the relation between the concepts of «historical memory» and «historical science» in the scientific world».

P. 85-86. *«Thus, the relationship between the historical science and historical memory is complex and ambiguous. It is necessary to interpret history and memory as the forms of understanding, interpreting and representing of the past, which coexist in the process of constant interaction and mutual complementation. Historical memory is not a very history, and is not a part of history, but actually a form of the past representation investigated by historians. History is subject to historical memory, which is preserved in some codified (recognized by history) tracks and remnants (places of memory), or integrated into a historical description. Historical memory is a source of history as a science. Therefore, we are shaping our present and future, extracting knowledge form historical memory.*

Ukrainian humanities know the phenomenon of historical memory, which differs in various regions, at least at the level of the West–East. Thus, there is a complexity in creating a universal history that combines different versions of historical memory into a one entity.

The value of historical memory (HM) and history as a science (H) could be shown by the following formula: $H = HM1 + HM2 + HM3$, where historical science is based on the various variants of historical memory».

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

MODULE 3

THE CURRENT STAGE AND PROSPECTS OF THE EU FUNCTIONING. UKRAINE AND THE PROCESSES OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

3.1. The origin and development of ideas of European unity. European identity.

The subject of the unit is the origin and development of ideas of European unity, historical and cultural characteristics of European identity. The problem of identity is considered as a state of self-identity, self-awareness, self-consciousness. The cultural unity of Europe is a prerequisite for the formation of a common economic and political order. Therefore, it is important to explore the concepts of Europeanness and European identity in the context of integration and cooperation. The modern vision of Europe is economic and political integration, the foundation of which is European culture, and the motive for unification is a sense of common identity. Therefore, united Europe has every opportunity to become intellectual and cultural integrity in the context of pluralism of civilizations. Today, Europe can be not only a single economic space, not only a “Europe of states”, but also a Europe of people united in a common cultural and spiritual space.

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Motren S. (2019) Stanovlennia ta rozvytok idei yevropeiskoi vednosti v konteksti tvorennia spilnoi identychnosti, Visnyk Lvivskoho universytetu. Seriiia filos.-politolo. Studii, Vypusk 25, 145 – 152.

C. 145-146. «Витоки концепту конструювання ідентичності походять від уявлення про наявність в організмах певних надприродних сил, котрі управляють життєвими потоками загалом і надають спільноті здатності до об'єднання (площина філософсько-політичної онтології). Рушійні сили історії, відповідно до цього уявлення, наднаціональні за своєю сутністю. Будь-яка національна історія має свої неповторні, самобутні ознаки, однак найбільш повноцінно вона розкривається й може бути осмислена у зв'язку з історіями інших національних контекстів.

Ідентичність генерується в напрузі міжсуб'єктної взаємодії, набуває довершення в наборі значень, котрі суб'єкт випрацьовує щодо себе, аналізуючи вчинки інших учасників інтерактивного процесу. Вирішальний чинник конституювання ідентичності, наприклад, спільноти, – визначення суб'єктом своїх зовнішніх меж, що забезпечує внутрішньосуб'єктну цілісність. Цьому передують формування уявлень суб'єкта про себе і своє ставлення до навколишнього світу. Озброївшись виробленими уявленнями, він приступає до освоєння соціального простору: ідентифікує інших суб'єктів, перевіряє їх на

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відповідність своїм принципам, визнає як «своїх» і «чужих», насамкінець підтверджує свою тожсамість. Тут помітно своєрідну кругову поруку: ідентичність є засобом комунікації й водночас її наслідком.

Колективна ідентичність відрізняється від особистісної так само, як соціальні явища відрізняються від індивідуальних: індивідуальна ідентичність залежить від емоційного сприйняття, колективну ж визначає факт належності до соціальної групи. Так, колективну ідентичність як соціальне явище належить вивчати на соціальному рівні: важливий не стільки індивідуальний життєвий досвід, скільки те, що індивіди сприймають як децю спільне для всіх – мета, проблема, символ. Варто звернути особливу увагу на те, що колективна ідентичність значною мірою є уявним конструктом, виступає як стилізований соціальний феномен. Проте конституюється не тільки уявним матеріалом, що лежить в її основі, а й також матеріалом, що перебуває поза нею, з яким вона імпліцитно пов'язана. Зовнішньою конститутивною силою ідентичності є мережа Інших.

Колективна ідентичність західного світу загалом і його окремих суб'єктів сконструйована значною мірою в зв'язку зі сприйняттям як свого Іншого східних цивілізацій, яскравих носіїв відмінної системи цінностей. Комунікативні практики між Європою, «Я» котрої складається як утілення західного менталітету, з одного боку, та Арабського халіфату, а згодом Османської імперії, що уособлюють лик мусульманського Сходу, і Росії – східної частини Європи, психологічного антиподу західної, – з іншого, відображають артикуляцію образу Сходу як Іншого стосовно ідентифікаційних конструктів Заходу.

Характеризуючи дух західноєвропейської ідентичності, найперше вартує наголосити на основоположних рисах західної психології загалом: критичності, скептицизмі, тяжінні до раціонального світобачення. Указаним характеристикам вони завдячують як своїй ментальній культурі, котра ґрунтується на старозавітній біблійській та античній духовній спадщині, так і досягненням у різних галузях науки й техніки. Проте конструкт європейської соціокультурної ідентичності містить і значно ширший сегмент – виплекання гуманістичної свідомості. Її підтримує кредо розмаїття та поваги до духовно-культурних традицій і надбань різних цивілізаційних складників мозаїки Об'єднаної Європи».

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

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3.2. Theoretical models of European integration. The institutional basis of European integration.

The subject of the unit is the theoretical models of European integration. In Europe, the experience of political and cultural cooperation has been accumulated both between the European countries themselves and with the countries of other regions. Therefore, it is appropriate to consider the main theoretical models of European integration, as well as the so-called “projects” of a united Europe. Recently, the scope of cooperation of European states in solving subregional, pan-continental, and transcontinental problems has been expanding. The institutional component plays an important role in the processes of deepening European integration. Attention is also paid to the problems of European integration in the context of modern political and sociological research.

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Sources:

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C. 108-109. «Важливо підкреслити, що саме визначення ролі процесу розширення на Схід є однією з головних ознак усіх моделей розвитку Європейського Союзу. І найважливішу роль ця тема відіграє в моделі «Європи ядра». Тому ми з неї й починаємо.

Німецька модель «Європи ядра» (або «Документ Шойбле-Ламерса») була представлена 1 вересня 1994 р. фракцією ХДС/ХСС Бундестагу. У ній уявлялось можливим спочатку прийняття країн Вишеградської групи і, можливо, Словенії «приблизно до 200 року» та допускався кожен наступний крок у поглибленні Європейського Союзу тільки в тісному контакті із запланованим розширенням. Також вона мала на меті запобігання, у зв'язку з розширенням, «розпаду» ЄС на південно-західну групу на чолі з Францією та північно-східну на чолі з ФРН, як також і принципове забезпечення «тісної прив'язки» Німеччини до Європейського Союзу.

У такий спосіб Німеччина намагалася розв'язати подвійну дилему своєї зовнішньої політики. Перша полягає в тому, що сусіди після об'єднання Німеччини почали остерігатись, що вона буде прагнути гегемонії ЄС, або ж вийде з нього і знов обере «особливий німецький шлях», а друга – у тому, що сам Берлін з моменту об'єднання робив усе, щоб активізувати свою роль у зовнішній політиці.

Дана модель пропонує створення «ядра Європи», яке має складатись із Німеччини, Франції, країн Бенілюксу, Данії й Ірландії. Вибір цих держав був заснований на їх здатності виконувати критерії конвергенції, передбачені Маастрихтським договором для третього

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ступеня Економічного і Валютного союзу (ЄВС). Хоча декларована була відкритість і для інших держав-членів Європейського Союзу.

Усередині «Європи ядра» має бути «проядро» – тандем Франція-Німеччина, які при цьому неможуть створювати власних інститутів. Навпаки, слід модифікувати Маастрихтський договір так, щоб зміни в ньому не приймалися односторонньо – щоб не було перешикоджань з боку країн, які не можуть чи не хочуть брати участь у спільних політиках. Дві інші моделі – «Європа концентричних кіл» і «гнучка Європа» – не мали термінів розширення і використовували принцип диференційованої інтеграції.

Так, розроблена колишнім прем'єр-міністром Франції Едуаром Баладюрмом «Європа концентричних кіл» передбачала три різного ступеня інтегрованості «кола» держав. У зовнішнє коло входять асоційовані члени ЄС, у друге – всі члени ЄС, а у внутрішнє, третє – держави, готові до більш тісного співробітництва в окремих сферах політики. Франція відкидає ідею одного центрального ядра, що складалося б на основі членства в ЄВС. Вона вважає, що склад «внутрішнього ядра» має мінятися в залежності від галузей співробітництва. На сьогоднішній день, як зазначає О. Рудік, для відповіді на виклики, зумовлені війною у Європі, «знадобиться авангард провідних і впливових держав-членів, які готові відмовитися від своїх національних прерогатив і поділитися своїм суверенітетом заради спільного європейського суверенітету та стратегічної автономії. Меньша група (або «ядро») країн, тобто глибше внутрішнє коло – це саме те, що потрібно ЄС, а не більш вільне зовнішнє коло». Модель «гнучкої Європи», запропонована колишнім прем'єр-міністром Великої Британії Джоном Мейджором, загалом відповідала французькій моделі, але відкидала навіть умовний поділ держав Європейського Союзу на якісь «кола».

Для Франції, однієї з держав-переможниць у Другій світовій війні завжди було і є важливим не допустити гегемонії Німеччини в Європі й водночас за допомогою економічної підтримки Європейського Союзу повернути собі історично приналежну їй роль світової держави. Незважаючи на те, що для Франції розширення Європейського Союзу на Схід ні з точки зору стримування Німеччини, ні з точки зору прагнення до гегемонії в Європі не було бажаним, адже у неї немає спільних кордонів з країнами ЦСЄ, вона підтримала прийняття цих країн – все з тієї ж причини: прагнення утримати контроль над Німеччиною. Водночас Париж став ініціатором розробки заходів з

послабления для Евросоюзу тиску розширення на Схід і досягнення певних стабілізуючих ефектів у державах ЦСЄ, щоб зменшити потребу в діях самого Європейського Союзу».

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

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3.3. Cross-border cooperation as the main factor of EU regional integration.

To understand the essence of EU regional integration, it is necessary to consider the concept and origins of cross-border cooperation. It is also important to understand the peculiarities of the functioning of cross-border cooperation within the Euroregions, considering the list and classification of Euroregions of Europe. Today, cross-border cooperation is carried out both at the interstate level and at the level of territorial communities, their representative bodies, and local executive bodies. Such cooperation contributes to the social and economic convergence of border regions and the creation of new opportunities for their development, including the development of economic, social, scientific, and technical, environmental, cultural and other relations, exchange of experience.

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C. 7-9. «Cross-border cooperation is an important component of state regional policy, efficient instrument of socio-economic development of border regions and powerful catalyst of European integration processes at regional and local levels. Modern tendencies of concentration of economic activity at both national and regional levels, growth of interregional socio-economic misbalances, activation of migration processes and outflow of professional staff outside Ukraine cause the need to use integrated approach to forming and implementation of state regional policy based on combination of sectoral, spatial and management components. Such approach is provided by the 2020 State Regional Development Strategy.

Based on the major tasks of cross-border cooperation, namely the development of border areas and strengthening of European integration processes in Ukraine, the monograph analyzes the mechanisms, instruments and forms of crossborder cooperation in the EU-Ukraine cross-border space, outlines the level the border oblasts use the opportunities for cross-border cooperation and examines whether the European integration processes impact the transformation of economic and social environment at border territories.

The features of Ukrainian border oblasts are, on one hand, their proximity to state border, and on the other hand, their distance from central

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regions of the country, which nowadays are the areas of investment and economic activity concentration. Therefore, the lack of sufficient opportunities for employment of border areas' residents and relatively low economic development of territories create preconditions for forming and functioning of shadow economy sector at the border areas.

Generalization of foreign experience in the development of mechanisms of economic entities' cooperation in cross-border space has shown the effectiveness of a new approach to stimulating the development of border regions. In the framework of the modern concept of the development of EU border regions the negative features of peripherality are changed into advantages through compliance with the major principles of European regional policy: subsidiarity, decentralization, partnership, programming, concentration and additionality. The use of positive and efficient models, methods and mechanisms in Ukraine to implement its regional policy based on the peculiarities of national economic system contributes to positive results in the framework of cross-border and Euroregional cooperation.

The specifics of border areas requires the use of specific instruments to stimulate their development. The EU Member States have been using them starting from 1980s in the process of implementation of Regional Policy. However, the problems of border regions' development gained its utmost importance in the context of the Community enlargement in 2004 as well as after signing the series of Association Agreements with Bosnia and Herzegovina (2015), Georgia, Moldova and Kosovo (2016) and Ukraine (2017).

After the enlargement of the European Union (EU) in 2004-2007, Ukraine got a common border with the EU member-countries, moreover Ukrainian border regions (primarily its six regions - Volynska, Lvivska, Zakarpatska, Ivano-Frankivska, Chernivetska and Odeska oblasts) became the objects of regional policy of the Community. This fact created additional possibilities for the border territories to use their development potential effectively to enter the European markets of goods and services by deeper interactions through the CBC mechanisms and adaptations of the European legislation in regional policy, etc. The process of Ukraine's entry into European integration space and its recognition by the European partners requires coordination of the efforts in the development of cooperation with the EU countries and primarily - with the neighbors of Ukraine. Therefore, the development of crossborder regions, where the intensive and multi-layer interactions between all entities and participants of cross-border cooperation are formed, is an important object of modern regional policy».

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

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3.4. Prerequisites for the enlargement of the EU to Central and Eastern Europe. The main criteria for joining the European Union (Copenhagen criteria).

The so-called “Copenhagen criteria” or accession criteria were confirmed in December 1995 at the Madrid meeting of the European Council, which emphasized, in addition, the importance of restructuring the administrative structures of the applicant country and creating conditions for gradual harmonious integration into the EU. Geographical, political, economic, and legal criteria, as well as the absorption criterion and the criteria of “convergence” to the EU, are among the main criteria for joining the European Union. However, the EU reserves the right to determine the moment when it will be ready to accept new members. Special attention should be paid to the prerequisites of EU enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe.

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- ✓ The Treaty of Rome, officially the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community (1957) http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/new_founding_treaties.htm#foundingCommunity (TEEC)

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Štefan Füle, European Commissioner for Enlargement and Neighbourhood Policy

Copenhagen accession criteria: 20 years that changed Europe
“Conference: 20 years that changed Europe”, Copenhagen, 14 May 2013

«This time twenty years ago was a time of economic and democratic transition for the countries in Central and Eastern Europe. And it was a time of hope for their citizens. Not unlike our current approach in the western Balkans, the clear objective of our enlargement policy was to support the reforms and ensure the advancement of peace, reconciliation, democracy and human rights in Europe. ...

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The Copenhagen criteria have played a pivotal role in how this policy has been designed and implemented. As it is twenty years since the criteria were formalised, I want to take a closer look at how they have delivered by highlighting three key aspects of the criteria:

their conditionality, their impact; and their continued relevance.

Let me start with conditionality.

In the early nineties, Europe was undergoing dramatic geo-political change. New democracies were emerging on our doorstep. The challenges of transition were immense. With the prospect of the European Union more than doubling its membership, the Copenhagen criteria clearly set out the rules of the game, firmly anchoring conditionality in the accession process.

The political criteria required new Member States to ensure stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, respect for and protection of minorities. The economic criteria called for the existence of a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union. Aspiring states would have to be able to take on the full body of European Union rules and regulations. The European Union's ability to absorb new members, while maintaining the momentum of European integration, was also an important consideration.

Conditionality as a concept was not new but its formal adoption, here in Copenhagen, armed the accession process with objectivity and predictability. The Copenhagen Criteria served and continue to serve as an objective counterpart of the political commitments, increasing the credibility of the whole policy.

The second key aspect concerns the impact of the criteria.

Enlargement is a gradual process, based on solid and sustainable implementation of reforms by the countries concerned. This is where the impact of conditionality driven by the Copenhagen criteria comes into play. The prospect of accession drives political and economic reforms, transforming societies and creating new opportunities for citizens and businesses. It reinforces the European Union's political and economic strengths.

The accession of countries in Central and Eastern Europe in 2004 united East and West after decades of artificial separation, contributing to overall stability and security. It also provided concrete, mutual benefits of:

- deeper trade integration;*
- a larger internal market;*
- economies of scale; and*
- expanded investment and job opportunities. ...*

Allow me to turn to the third key aspect which concerns the relevance of the Copenhagen criteria. The American Constitution is said to have kept its relevance over so many years because of its brevity: it focuses on the

essentials while the subsequent amendments keep it up to date with the changing reality and new challenges that America's founding fathers could not obviously foresee. I am glad that the Copenhagen criteria, although much younger, follow the same principle: they set out the essentials.

These criteria are as relevant today as they were in 1993. They are governed by Article 49 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) and central to the renewed enlargement consensus of 2006, which forms the basis of our enlargement policy today.

Today, while the conditionality of enlargement remains the same, the way we apply it has evolved based on what we have learnt from past enlargements. We have increased the focus on good governance and the rule of law, including judicial reform, public administration reform and the fight against corruption and organised crime.

The new approach to negotiations in the policy areas of judiciary and fundamental rights, as well as justice, freedom and security, is a case in point. Tackling these areas early in the negotiations gives maximum time to enlargement countries to establish the necessary legislation, institutions, and solid track records of implementation before the negotiations are closed. This ensures that reforms are deeply rooted and irreversible, fostering stability and reducing the risks of illegal immigration and infiltration of criminality.

...

The European Union is undergoing far-reaching changes to its economic governance and enlargement countries need to be informed, involved and associated as closely as possible to the process. This will help them get sound financial rules and budgets in place before they join. And it ensures that acceding countries will not only be able to fully implement European Union obligations, but also to face future challenges. With our interdependent economies, this will benefit the European Union as a whole».

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

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3.5. The main problems in the development of the EU. EU enlargement in 2004.

An important stage in the development of the EU was its great expansion in 2004. This led to a significant restructuring of the decision-making system in the EU. It is worth considering the peculiarities of the development of mutual relations in the EU at the current stage, including the problem of the financial situation in the EU, employment policy, social policy of the EU, modern policy of the EU in the field of scientific activity. The paradigm of “new regionalism” in the European Union deserves special attention, as well as the problem of implementing the idea of “enlarging Europe” without expanding the EU in the context of the neighborhood with Eastern European countries. It is also important to consider the historical background and reasons for the UK’s exit from the EU.

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Soloviova A., Fomin A. (2025) Ukraine and the EU: Prospects and Challenges on the Road to Integration. Acta de Historia &Politica: Saeculum XXI, Volume IX, 58-68.

C. 60-62. «The European Union (EU) stands now at a crossroads, faced with the dual imperatives of deepening integration among its existing members and expanding its membership to include aspiring nations. The strategic vision for the EU's future is underpinned by a commitment to maintaining stability, promoting prosperity, and reinforcing its values of democracy, rule of law, and human rights across the continent.

At the heart of the EU's strategic vision is the goal of deepening integration among its current member states. This involves enhancing economic, political, and social cohesion through various mechanisms and policies. The economic integration process aims to complete the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) by addressing remaining vulnerabilities and ensuring the stability of the Eurozone. Efforts are underway to establish a more robust banking union, including a common deposit insurance scheme and a strengthened European Stability Mechanism (ESM) to provide financial assistance to member states in distress (European Stability Mechanism, 2020). Additionally, the Capital Markets Union (CMU) seeks to mobilize capital across Europe, fostering investment and growth.

Political integration is equally critical, with the EU focusing on strengthening its governance structures and decision-making processes. Reforms aimed at increasing the efficiency and democratic legitimacy of EU institutions are essential for addressing the growing scepticism and Euroscepticism within member states. Enhancing the role of the European Parliament, improving the transparency of the European Council's decision-making, and ensuring greater involvement of national parliaments in EU affairs are pivotal steps towards a more democratic Union.

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Moreover, fostering a European identity and solidarity among citizens through education, cultural exchange, and civic engagement is a key component of the integration process.

The EU's strategic vision also includes plans for further enlargement, particularly towards the Western Balkans and the Eastern Partnership countries. The accession of these countries is seen as a means to promote stability, democracy, and economic development in the region, as well as to strengthen the EU's geopolitical influence. The Western Balkans, comprising countries like Serbia, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo, are at various stages of the accession process. The EU has reiterated its commitment to the Western Balkans' integration, recognizing that their future lies within the Union. This is reflected in the 2018 EU-Western Balkans Strategy (Strategy for the Western Balkans..., 2018), which outlines concrete steps and support for reforms in these countries.

The Eastern Partnership, which includes countries such as Ukraine, Georgia, and Moldova, represents another significant dimension of the EU's expansion strategy. These countries have made substantial progress in aligning their policies and standards with the EU through Association Agreements and Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Areas (Association Agreement..., 2023). The EU's engagement with these countries aims to promote political stability, economic development, and resilience against external pressures, particularly from Russia. The EU's Eastern Partnership policy emphasizes support for governance reforms, economic modernization, and the strengthening of democratic institutions.

However, the path towards deeper integration and expansion is fraught with challenges. The EU must navigate complex political dynamics both within and beyond its borders. Internally, the rise of populist and nationalist movements poses a significant challenge to the integration agenda. These movements often exploit economic disparities, migration issues, and sovereignty concerns to garner support, thereby undermining the unity and coherence of the EU. To counter this, the EU needs to address the root causes of discontent by promoting inclusive growth, social cohesion, and effective governance.

Externally, geopolitical tensions and security threats, particularly from Russia, present significant obstacles to the EU's expansion plans. The on-going war in Ukraine and the assertive foreign policy of Russia in Eastern Europe necessitate a robust and coherent EU foreign policy. Strengthening the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and enhancing cooperation with NATO are critical for addressing these security challenges. The EU's strategic autonomy, which aims to bolster the Union's ability to act independently in defence and security matters, is a key aspect of this effort.

Moreover, the economic disparities between current and prospective member states pose significant integration challenges. Ensuring that new member states can meet the economic criteria for accession and effectively integrate into the single market requires substantial support from the EU.

The cohesion policy, which aims to reduce regional disparities and promote balanced development across the Union, will play a crucial role in this regard. Investment in infrastructure, education, and innovation in both current and prospective member states is essential for fostering convergence and ensuring that the benefits of integration are widely shared.

The EU's strategic vision for expansion and integration has broader implications for global governance and international relations. A more integrated and expanded EU can serve as a powerful advocate for multilateralism, free trade, and global cooperation. The EU's commitment to tackling global challenges such as climate change, digital transformation, and migration can be reinforced through a more cohesive and influential Union. Furthermore, the EU's model of regional integration and cooperation can serve as an inspiration for other regions seeking to enhance their stability and prosperity through collective action.

The EU's strategy also highlights the importance of maintaining strong transatlantic relations. The partnership with the United States remains a cornerstone of the EU's foreign and security policy. Continued cooperation on issues such as security, trade, and climate change is essential for addressing global challenges. Additionally, strengthening ties with other global partners, including China, India, and Japan, is crucial for promoting a rules-based international order».

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

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3.6. Ukraine and the processes of European integration.

The subject of the unit is the goal, strategy, and implementation of Ukraine's European integration policy. This includes regulatory and legal support for the European course, institutional frameworks for integration, and public awareness on European integration issues. It is worth emphasizing the priority of the European integration vector of Ukraine. Special attention should be paid to the legal basis of cooperation between Ukraine and the European Union and the main directions of cooperation between Ukraine and the EU. The chronology of Ukraine –EU relations is indicative: trade and economic cooperation, cooperation in the sphere of security and defence, cooperation in the energy “sphere.

Suggested Readings:

- ✓ Hibernau, M. (2012) *Identychnist natsii*. – Kyiv: Tempora.
- ✓ Hlosarii terminiv Yevropeiskoho Soiuzu. <http://europa.dovidka.com.ua>
- ✓ Kamyshev, O. S. (Ed.). (2010). *Ukraina-Yevropeyskyi Soiuz: zibrannia mizhnarodnykh dohovoriv ta inshykh dokumentiv (1991-2009)*. Kyiv: Yustynian.
- ✓ Kostylieva, S. O. (Ed.). (2021). *Ukraina v konteksti istorychnoho rozvytku Yevropy*. Kyiv: Art Ekonomi.
- ✓ Kremen, V. (2013) *Ukraina: identychnist u dobu hlobalizatsii*. Kyiv: Znannia.
- ✓ Kudriachenko, A. I. (Ed.). (2012). *Kulturno-tsyvilizatsiyni prostir Yevropy i Ukraina: osoblyvosti stanovlennia ta suchasni tendentsii rozvytku: kolektyvna monohrafiia*. – Kyiv: Universytet Ukraina.
- ✓ Kudriachenko, A. I. (Ed.). (2011) *Ukraina v Yevropi: kontekst mizhnarodnykh vidnosyn*. Kyiv: Feniks.
- ✓ Mysliuk, Yu. (2012) *Model intehratsii krain Tsentralno-Skhidnoi Yevropy do Yevropeiskoho Soiuzu. Panorama politolohichnykh studii. Naukovyi visnyk Rivnenskoho derzhavnoho humanitarnoho universytetu*, 9.
- ✓ Official website of the EU Representation in Ukraine. <http://eeas.europa.eu>
- ✓ Shulha, M. (2010) *Kryterii yevropeiskoi identychnosti. Politychnyi menedzhment*, 2, 139–147.
- ✓ Soloviova A., Fomin A. *Ukraine and the EU: Prospects and Challenges on the Road to Integration // Acta de Historia & Politica: Saeculum XXI. 2025. Volume IX*, 58-68.
- ✓ Tereshchenko, Yu. I. (1996). *Ukraina i yevropeyskyi svit: Narys istorii vid utvorennia Starokyivskoi derzhavy do kintsia XVI st.* Kyiv: Perun.

- ✓ Vidnianskyi, S. (2009) Obiednana Yevropa: vid mrii do realnosti. Istorychni narysy pro batkiv-zasnovnykiv Yevropeiskoho Soiuzu. Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy.
- ✓ Veb-portal Merezhi tsentriv yevropeiskoi informatsii v Ukraini. <http://ukrcei.org/lincs/>
- ✓ Voiakovskiy, D. (2012) Mentalni kordony v Yevropi bez kordoniv. Kyiv: Nika-Tsentr.
- ✓ Zhyty razom: poiednannia riznomanittia i svobody v Yevropi XXI stolittia. Dopovid Hrupy vydatnykh osib Rady Yevropy (2011). Lviv: Litopys.

Sources:

Soloviova A., Fomin A. Ukraine and the EU: Prospects and Challenges on the Road to Integration // Acta de Historia & Politica: Saeculum XXI. 2025. Volume IX, 58-68.

C. 65-66. «Ukraine's aspiration to join the European Union (EU) represents a strategic vision for its future, symbolizing a commitment to democratic values, economic development, and integration into the European community. However, the path to EU membership is complex and requires meeting a series of stringent benchmarks across political, economic, legal, and social dimensions.

Immediate to Short-Term (1-3 Years).

1. Submission and Approval of Membership Application:

Ukraine has formally submitted its application for EU membership. The initial phase involves the European Council and the European Commission assessing Ukraine's readiness and the potential impact on the EU.

Upon positive assessment, the European Council may grant Ukraine candidate status, marking the official start of the accession process. This status acknowledges Ukraine's eligibility and commitment to reforms.

2. Political and Institutional Reforms:

– Strengthening the independence and efficiency of the judiciary, including transparent judicial appointments and anti-corruption measures.

– Establishing robust anti-corruption institutions and laws, ensuring enforcement and reducing bureaucratic corruption (On the prevention of threats..., 2023).

– Implementing merit-based recruitment and training programs for civil servants to enhance public service delivery and governance.

3. Alignment with EU Acquis:

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The European Commission conducts a comprehensive screening process to identify areas where Ukraine's laws and regulations need alignment with the EU acquis.

It is also necessary to continue developing detailed roadmaps for adopting and implementing EU laws across various sectors.

Medium-Term (3-7 Years).

4. Economic Reforms and Market Integration:

- Ensuring that Ukraine's economy can cope with competitive pressures within the EU. This involves liberalizing markets, reducing state intervention, and enhancing competition.*

- Fully implementing the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA) agreement with the EU, harmonizing trade regulations, and removing barriers to investment (Priority Action Plan..., 2022).*

- Maintaining sound fiscal policies, reducing budget deficits, and ensuring stable monetary policy to control inflation and support economic growth.*

5. Legal and Regulatory Alignment:

- Aligning specific sectors such as agriculture, energy, transport, and environment with EU standards. This involves adopting and enforcing EU regulations and policies in these areas.*

- Enhancing the capacity of regulatory bodies and public institutions to implement and enforce EU laws effectively.*

6. Social and Human Rights Reforms:

- Ensuring robust legal frameworks to protect human rights, including the rights of minorities, and implementing these protections effectively.*

- Improving education and healthcare systems to meet EU standards, including investment in infrastructure and training.*

7. Monitoring and Evaluation:

The European Commission provides regular progress reports assessing Ukraine's adherence to benchmarks and the implementation of required reforms. Member states and EU institutions may provide technical assistance and conduct peer reviews to support Ukraine's reform process.

Long-Term (7-10+ Years).

8. Advanced Economic and Social Convergence:

- Achieving economic indicators comparable to those of existing EU member states, including GDP per capita, employment rates, and productivity levels.*

- Reducing disparities in income, social services, and quality of life between Ukraine and EU countries.*

9. Full Legal and Institutional Integration:

- *Ukraine must fully adopt and implement the entire body of EU law (acquis communautaire), demonstrating the capability to function within the EU framework.*

- *Ensuring all national institutions are capable of operating within EU structures, including the ability to contribute to and participate in EU decision-making processes.*

10. Pre-Accession Negotiations:

- *Detailed negotiations on specific chapters of the acquis, addressing any remaining issues and finalizing the terms of membership.*

- *Drafting and ratifying the Accession Treaty, which formally outlines Ukraine's obligations and rights as an EU member state. This treaty must be ratified by all EU member states and Ukraine.*

Final Phase.

11. Membership Approval and Transition:

The European Commission and European Council conduct final assessments to ensure all criteria and benchmarks have been met.

On transition period the implementing transitional arrangements will take place to facilitate smooth integration, which may include temporary measures in areas like migration and labour markets.

12. Full Membership:

Upon successful completion of all requirements, Ukraine formally joins the EU as a full member state, participating fully in the EU's political, economic, and social systems. Continued efforts to integrate into EU structures and policies will take place, with ongoing support and collaboration from other member states and EU institutions.

Challenges on this path include political resistance, as domestic political challenges and resistance to reforms can slow progress, making broad political and public support essential. Economic disparities also present a challenge, with significant gaps between Ukraine and existing EU member states that require sustained efforts to bridge. Security concerns are another major issue, with ongoing security threats, particularly the conflict with Russia, posing significant obstacles that require coordinated international efforts for stability.

Opportunities for Ukraine include the potential for economic growth, as EU membership can stimulate economic expansion, attract investment, and enhance trade opportunities for Ukraine. Political stability is also an opportunity, as integration into the EU provides a framework for governance reforms and stability. Lastly, regional influence is a key opportunity, as Ukraine's membership could strengthen the EU's influence in Eastern Europe, supporting stability and development throughout the region».

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Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

3.7. European integration prospects of Ukraine. Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU.

The subject of the unit is the EU bilateral agreements, as well as Association agreements as a practice of the European Union. At this stage of development, the EU acts as one of the most important investors and trade partners of Ukraine. The main stages of signing the Association Agreement between the European Union and Ukraine are considered. Particular attention is paid to the EU's approach to signing association agreements and the importance of the Agreement for the development of civil society in Ukraine. Important for consideration is the structure of the Agreement, as well as its historical significance of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU. The prospects of Ukraine's European integration, as well as the further development of the partnership between Ukraine and the EU, will depend on the irreversible and gradual fulfillment of the commitments, which must be based on clear goal setting and an understanding of the mutual benefits of cooperation.

Suggested Readings:

- ✓ Association Agreement between the European Union and Ukraine. <https://www.kmu.gov.ua/en/yevropejska-integraciya/ugoda-pro-asociacyu>
- ✓ Hlosarii terminiv Yevropeiskoho Soiuzu. <http://europa.dovidka.com.ua>
- ✓ Kamyshev, O. S. (Ed.). (2010). *Ukraina-Yevropeyskyi Soiuz: zibrannia mizhnarodnykh dohovoriv ta inshykh dokumentiv (1991- 2009)*. Kyiv: Yustynian.
- ✓ Kostylieva, S. O. (Ed.). (2021). *Ukraina v konteksti istorychnoho rozvytku Yevropy*. Kyiv: Art Ekonomi.
- ✓ Kremen, V. (2013) *Ukraina: identychnist u dobu hlobalizatsii*. Kyiv: Znannia.
- ✓ Kudriachenko, A. I. (Ed.). (2012). *Kulturno-tsyvilizatsiyni prostir Yevropy i Ukraina: osoblyvosti stanovlennia ta suchasni tendentsii rozvytku: kolektyvna monohrafiia*. – Kyiv: Universytet «Ukraina.
- ✓ Kudriachenko, A. I. (Ed.). (2011) *Ukraina v Yevropi: kontekst mizhnarodnykh vidnosyn*. Kyiv: Feniks.
- ✓ Official website of the EU Representation in Ukraine. <http://eeas.europa.eu>
- ✓ Shimmelfennih, F. (2010) *Yevropeizatsiia Tsentralnoi ta Skhidnoi Yevropy*. Kyiv: Yunivers.
- ✓ Shulha, M. (2010) *Kryterii yevropeiskoi identychnosti*. *Politychnyi menezhment*, 2, 139–147.

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- ✓ Tereshchenko, Yu. I. (1996). Ukraina i yevropeyskyi svit: Narys istorii vid utvorennia Starokyivskoi derzhavy do kintsia XVI st. Kyiv: Perun.
- ✓ The Center for European Policy Studies. <http://www.ceps.be> ENERPI
- ✓ Vidnianskyi, S. (2009) Obiednana Yevropa: vid mrii do realnosti. Istorychni narysy pro batkiv-zasnovnykiv Yevropeiskoho Soiuzu. Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy.
- ✓ Veb-portal Merezhi tsentriv yevropeiskoi informatsii v Ukraini. <http://ukrcei.org/lincs/>
- ✓ Voiakovskiy, D. (2012) Mentalni kordony v Yevropi bez kordoniv. Kyiv: Nika-Tsentr.
- ✓ Zhyty razom: poiednannia riznomanittia i svobody v Yevropi XXI stolittia. Dopovid Hrupy vydatnykh osib Rady Yevropy (2011). Lviv: Litopys.

Sources:

Association Agreement between the European Union and Ukraine.
[https://www.kmu.gov.ua/en/yevropejska-integraciya/ugoda-pro-](https://www.kmu.gov.ua/en/yevropejska-integraciya/ugoda-pro-asociacvyu)
asociacvyu

PREAMBLE «...the Parties,

TAKING ACCOUNT of the close historical relationship and progressively closer links between the Parties as well as their desire to strengthen and widen relations in an ambitious and innovative way;

COMMITTED to a close and lasting relationship that is based on common values, namely respect for democratic principles, the rule of law, good governance, human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the rights of persons belonging to national minorities, non-discrimination of persons belonging to minorities and respect for diversity, human dignity and commitment to the principles of a free market economy, which would facilitate the participation of Ukraine in European policies;

RECOGNISING that Ukraine as a European country shares a common history and common values with the Member States of the European Union (EU) and is committed to promoting those values;

NOTING the importance Ukraine attaches to its European identity;

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT the strong public support in Ukraine for the country's European choice;

CONFIRMING that the European Union acknowledges the European aspirations of Ukraine and welcomes its European choice, including its commitment to building a deep and sustainable democracy and a market economy;

RECOGNISING that the common values on which the European Union is built – namely democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law – are also essential elements of this Agreement;

ACKNOWLEDGING that the political association and economic integration of Ukraine with the European Union will depend on progress in the implementation of this Agreement as well as Ukraine's track record in ensuring respect for common values, and progress in achieving convergence with the EU in political, economic and legal areas;

COMMITTED to implementing all the principles and provisions of the United Nations Charter, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), in particular the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the concluding documents of the Madrid and Vienna Conferences of 1991 and 1992 respectively, the Charter of Paris for a New Europe of 1990, the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights of 1948 and the Council of Europe Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of 1950;

DESIROUS of strengthening international peace and security as well as engaging in effective multilateralism and the peaceful settlement of disputes, in particular by closely cooperating to that end within the framework of the United Nations (UN), the OSCE and the Council of Europe;

COMMITTED to promoting the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of borders; ...

COMMITTED to reaffirming the international obligations of the Parties, to fighting against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery, and to cooperating on disarmament and arms control;

DESIROUS of moving the reform and approximation process forward in Ukraine, thus contributing to the gradual economic integration and deepening of political association;

CONVINCED of the need for Ukraine to implement the political, socio-economic, legal and institutional reforms necessary to effectively implement this Agreement and committed to decisively supporting those reforms in Ukraine...

HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS

Article 1

Objectives

1. An association between the Union and its Member States, of the one part, and Ukraine, of the other part, is hereby established.

2. The aims of this association are:

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(a) to promote gradual rapprochement between the Parties based on common values and close and privileged links, and increasing Ukraine's association with EU policies and participation in programmes and agencies;

(b) to provide an appropriate framework for enhanced political dialogue in all areas of mutual interest;

(c) to promote, preserve and strengthen peace and stability in the regional and international dimensions in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, and of the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the objectives of the Charter of Paris for a New Europe of 1990;

(d) to establish conditions for enhanced economic and trade relations leading towards Ukraine's gradual integration in the EU Internal Market, including by setting up a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area as stipulated in Title IV (Trade and Trade-related Matters) of this Agreement, and to support Ukrainian efforts to complete the transition into a functioning market economy by means of, inter alia, the progressive approximation of its legislation to that of the Union;

(e) to enhance cooperation in the field of Justice, Freedom and Security with the aim of reinforcing the rule of law and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;

(f) to establish conditions for increasingly close cooperation in other areas of mutual interest».

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

3.8. The basics of relaying European values in Ukrainian society and politics. Adaptation of national legislation to the requirements of the European Union.

The subject of the unit is the consideration of the specifics of the reflection of European values in Ukrainian society and politics. Today, respect and adherence to democratic values allow us to create a space of freedom, security and justice based on democracy and the rule of law, placing the individual with his unique identity at the centre of this space. Now, we see that Ukraine demonstrates to the world its commitment to democratic values, not with words, but by deeds. Every day of the Ukrainian nation's struggle for survival is a struggle for key democratic values – freedom, dignity, rule of law.

Also, the problem of adapting national legislation to the requirements of the European Union is becoming extremely important today. Special attention should also be paid to the management aspects of the adaptation of national legislation to the requirements of the Community and the free trade zone with the EU, as well as to the adaptation of national legislation to ensure the “four freedoms” of the EU.

Suggested Readings:

- ✓ Kamyshev, O. S. (Ed.). (2010). *Ukraina-Yevropeyskyi Soiuz: zibrannia mizhnarodnykh dohovoriv ta inshykh dokumentiv (1991- 2009)*. Kyiv: Yustynian.
- ✓ Kostylieva, S. O. (Ed.). (2021). *Ukraina v konteksti istorychnoho rozvytku Yevropy*. Kyiv: Art Ekonomi.
- ✓ Kremen, V. (2013) *Ukraina: identychnist u dobu hlobalizatsii*. Kyiv: Znannia.
- ✓ Kudriachenko, A. I. (Ed.). (2012). *Kulturno-tsyvilizatsiinyi prostir Yevropy i Ukraina: osoblyvosti stanovlennia ta suchasni tendentsii rozvytku: kolektyvna monohrafiia*. – Kyiv: Universytet «Ukraina.
- ✓ Kudriachenko, A. I. (Ed.). (2011) *Ukraina v Yevropi: kontekst mizhnarodnykh vidnosyn*. Kyiv: Feniks.
- ✓ Official website of the EU Representation in Ukraine. <http://eeas.europa.eu>
- ✓ Ryndiuk, V.I., Kuchynska, O.Iu. (2024) *Adaptatsiia natsionalnoho zakonodavstva do prava YeS: dosvid derzhav-chleniv ta derzhav-kandydativ dlia Ukrainy*. Naukovyi visnyk Uzhhorodskoho Natsionalnoho Universytetu, 1(82), 120-126.
- ✓ Shimmelfennih, F. (2010) *Yevropeizatsiia Tsentralnoi ta Skhidnoi Yevropy*. Kyiv: Yunivers.
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- ✓ Tereshchenko, Yu. I. (1996). Ukraina i yevropeiskyi svit: Narys istorii vid utvorennia Starokyivskoi derzhavy do kintsia XVI st. Kyiv: Perun.
- ✓ The Center for European Policy Studies. <http://www.ceps.be> ENERPI
- ✓ Vidnianskyi, S. (2009) Obiednana Yevropa: vid mrii do realnosti. Istorychni narysy pro batkiv-zasnovnykiv Yevropeiskoho Soiuzu. Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy.
- ✓ Veb-portal Merezhi tsentriv yevropeiskoi informatsii v Ukraini. <http://ukrcei.org/links/>
- ✓ Voiakovskiy, D. (2012) Mentalni kordony v Yevropi bez kordoniv. Kyiv: Nika-Tsentr.

Sources:

Ryndiuk, V.I., Kuchynska, O.Iu. (2024) Adaptatsiia natsionalnoho zakonodavstva do prava YeS: dosvid derzhav-chleniv ta derzhav-kandydativ dlia Ukrainy. Naukovyi visnyk Uzhhorodskoho Natsionalnoho Universytetu, 1(82), 120-126.

C. 125. «...як врахування досвіду адаптації національного законодавства до права ЄС накопиченого державами-членами ЄС, так і координація спільних зусиль на шляху євроінтеграції з державами-кандидатами допоможе Україні прискорити адаптацію законодавства до права ЄС та можливо уникнути зайвих помилок. Слід погодитися з думкою, що перспективи інтеграції України до ЄС, в першу чергу, будуть залежати від наявності політичної волі, внутрішніх можливостей знайти рішення існуючих проблем та імплементувати ці рішення у державній політиці, діяльності внутрішньополітичних акторів (тих, хто приймає рішення в політиці, урядовців, політиків, бізнесменів, медіа, громадських інтелектуалів, активістів громадянського суспільства).

Разом з тим, швидкість адаптації законодавства України до права ЄС буде визначатися на-явністю ефективних правових та інституційних механізмів взаємодії Верховної Ради України, Президента України та Кабінету Міністрів України, взаємодії України з інституціями ЄС та державами-членами щодо методичної допомоги та обміну досвідом з питань євроінтеграції, а також належного методичного, організаційного, кадрового, фінансового забезпечення діяльності з адаптації національного законодавства. Закон України “Про Загальнодержавну програму адаптації законодавства України до законодавства Європейського Союзу” від 18.03.2004 р. (з наступними змінами) був прийнятий ще на основі Угоди про партнерство і співробітництво між Україною і Європейськими співтовариствами

та їх державами-членами від 14 червня 1994 року, яка на сьогодні вже втратила чинність, а отже цей Закон потребує оновлення відповідно до сучасно-го реального стану процесу адаптації законодавства. Або, наприклад, Регламент Верховної Ради України на сьогодні не містить вимоги про те, що законопроект пов'язаний з зобов'язаннями України у сфері європейської інтеграції повинен вноситися з інформацією про його відповідність (постатейною таблицею відповідності) праву ЄС. Така вимога щодо всіх нормативно-правових актів передбачена Законом України “Про правотворчу діяльність” від 24.08.2023 р., однак цей Закон буде введений в дію через один рік з дня припинення або скасування воєнного стану в Україні (п. 1 розділу XIV “Прикінцеві положення” Закону).

Таким чином, правові та інституційні механізми адаптації законодавства України до права ЄС потребують упорядкування та чіткого нормативного закріплення, зокрема, з врахуванням досвіду досягнень й невдач держав-членів ЄС на шляху євроінтеграції. Адаптації законодавства України до права ЄС є окремим самостійним напрямом правотворчості, який має бути чітко врегульованим законодавством (зокрема, через уточнення повноважень суб'єктів правотворчості та чітку координацію їх прав та обов'язків у сфері адаптації законодавства до права ЄС; оновлення механізму адаптації законодавства України до права ЄС та розробку єдиних детальних методичних рекомендацій щодо адаптації законодавства України до права ЄС тощо)».

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

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3.9. European values for democracy in Ukraine.

Inadequate implementation of democratic values in the public consciousness of Ukrainian society is a threat to the development of the constitutionally proclaimed democracy of the European type. Ukraine needs to get closer to Europe not by procedural, but by final standards and indicators. The goal of Ukraine's European integration course – full membership in the EU – requires deep internal transformation processes in favour of European values, reforming the institutional system of our country into European-style institutions, and establishing European standards of socio-economic and political development of the appropriate level and quality of life of the population. The democratization of political processes in Ukraine in the value aspect involves the implementation in the public consciousness of the basic civil and political values of democracy through the formation and implementation of a national program for the formation of a new value system of social outlook and democratic political culture as the basic principles of the national idea of Ukraine.

Suggested Readings:

- ✓ Kostylieva, S. O. (Ed.). (2021). *Ukraina v konteksti istorychnoho rozvytku Yevropy*. Kyiv: Art Ekonomi.
- ✓ Kremen, V. (2013) *Ukraina: identychnist u dobu hlobalizatsii*. Kyiv: Znannia.
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- ✓ Shulha, M. (2010) *Kryterii yevropeiskoi identychnosti*. *Politychnyi menedzhment*, 2, 139–147.
- ✓ Soloviova A. (2024) *Narratives of Russian Propaganda in the Ukrainian Media Space in the Context of Implementation of European Values*. *Acta de Historia & Politica: Saeculum XXI, Volume VIII*, 31-44.
- ✓ Tereshchenko, Yu. I. (1996). *Ukraina i yevropeyskyi svit: Narys istorii vid utvorennia Starokyivskoi derzhavy do kintsia XVI st.* Kyiv: Perun.
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- ✓ Zhyty razom: poiednannia riznomanittia i svobody v Yevropi XXI stolittia. Dopovid Hrupy vydatnykh osib Rady Yevropy (2011). Lviv: Litopys.

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Soloviova A. (2024) Narratives of Russian Propaganda in the Ukrainian Media Space in the Context of Implementation of European Values. Acta de Historia & Politica: Saeculum XXI, Volume VIII, 31-44.

C. 33-34. «To minimize the impact of Russian propaganda, it is essential to consider adequate responses from Ukrainian media. Primarily, this may involve fact-checking and exposing disinformation. Some Ukrainian media actively engage in these practices, striving to provide citizens with accurate information. Also, undoubtedly, the creation of content with an alternative point of view is important, which will arouse the viewers' interest and provide different perspectives on on-going events. Some media actively involve experts and civic activists to comment on and analyse events, offering viewers diverse viewpoints.

It can be noted that the media space in Ukraine remains an arena of active struggle between various informational influences. Therefore, it is crucial to emphasize the importance of developing media literacy and supporting independent media to ensure access to objective information, free exchange of ideas in society, as well as resilience to misinformation and the promotion of European values. So, the relevance of the proposed research topic is determined by a range of factors, with the main ones including:

Geopolitical position of Ukraine: Our country is situated at the intersection of Russian and European influences, making it particularly vulnerable to the clash of ideas and values. Russian propaganda is used to strengthen influence and create dissonance within society.

European integration as a strategic goal of state development: Ukraine's aspiration for European integration is a strategic goal, attracting active interest from Russian propaganda, which seeks to discredit this direction and undermine citizens' trust in European values.

Confrontation in the conditions of information warfare: Modern information warfare involves the collision of different narratives and influential forces. Researching the narratives of Russian propaganda helps uncover the methods and strategies of hostile influence.

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The importance of shaping civic identity: Attempts to form civic identity in Ukraine and strengthen support for European values encounter informational resistance from Russian propaganda, demanding in-depth study and understanding.

Impact on civil society: Researching the narratives of Russian propaganda in the context of European values helps understand how these narratives can influence the opinions and beliefs of citizens, shaping their behaviour and electoral preferences.

The overall relevance lies in the necessity to uncover the mechanisms of Russian propaganda and identify opportunities and strategies to strengthen trust in European values within Ukrainian society. This research has the potential for significant impact on the development of information security, civic awareness, and democracy in Ukraine.

The implementation of democratic values into the public and societal consciousness of our society is a necessary condition for the further development of a genuine European democracy. The fundamental values of the European Union are enshrined in the Lisbon Treaty. In particular, Article 2 of this Treaty specifies that “The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail.” (Consolidated versions of the Treaty on EU and the Treaty on the functioning of the EU).

In the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, it is defined that the Union must exist on the principles of dignity (basic rights to life and physical and spiritual protection of the individual), freedom (freedom of thought and religion, protection of freedom, security, and privacy), equality (equal opportunities, non-discrimination, respect for all forms of diversity), solidarity (labour rights, health protection, and environmental protection), respect for the rights of citizens (political and civil rights and freedoms), and justice (the right to fair judicial protection, presumption of innocence, etc.) (Charter of fundamental rights of the European Union).

To successfully progress on the path of further democratization of our society, joint efforts of its various groups are necessary. In this process, it is undeniable that the basic European values of democracy and the rule of law must be gradually implemented into the social and public consciousness. As a result, a new value system for Ukrainian society will be formed, leading to the cultivation of a high level of democratic political culture in our state».

Notes

(Use this space to write your own reflections, key points, or discussion questions.)

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