

**THE FOUNDATION'S PUBLICATIONS  
ON THE TOPIC OF UKRAINE**



Since its creation the Robert Schuman Foundation has been interested in Ukraine, its relations to the European Union and its geopolitical stakes. The Foundation makes a compilation of studies available that it has published on this neighbouring country of the Union.

## **The Greeks of the Black Sea, an important but highly threatened diaspora**

Alexia Kefalas  
*22<sup>nd</sup> March 2022*

Since the beginning of the conflict, despite its historical ties with Russia, the Greek Foreign Ministry has condemned the invasion. Ukraine is the only country in Europe with such a large Greek community. Between 100,000 and 150,000 Greeks are believed to live in Ukraine. Who are they? Where do they live? Alexia Kefalas traces their history.

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## **Has Europe's Hour Come?**

Antoine Cibirski  
*21st March 2022*

In the aftermath of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, Europeans responded quickly, firmly and unitedly: an unprecedented sanctions regime was adopted; funds were released to provide lethal weapons to Ukrainian forces and to assist refugees; Germany, Denmark, Finland and Sweden changed their approach to defence. While the Versailles Summit may have taken these advances on board, it is now a question of making them permanent.

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## **The jerrycan or freedom**

Editorial by Jean-Dominique Giuliani  
*20 mars 2022*

Only force, defeat or the fear of defeat can make Putin back down. Since we refuse to use military means, the most effective course of action would be to stop all purchases of energy from Russia, whose budget and weapons are financed by gas and oil revenues, writes Jean-Dominique Giuliani. In this case, the price of our freedom is the price of hardship.

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## **The Eastern Partnership under the test of war in Ukraine**

Pierre Mirel  
*14<sup>th</sup> March 2022*

Faced with the invasion of Ukraine, the European Union has responded quickly and forcefully by imposing the largest sanctions package in its history, says Pierre Mirel. However, recent upheavals have made the Eastern Partnership more hostage to Russia than ever before. The author revisits the question of Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine's accession to the European Union, insisting on the risks it represents, and proposes the organisation of a new "Helsinki Conference" to rethink the security of the European continent.

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## **Alone, Europe faces its fate**

Editorial by Jean-Dominique Giuliani  
*13<sup>th</sup> March 2022*

NATO and its allies have renounced to dissuade Putin from attacking his Ukrainian neighbour. It is now up to Europeans to show determination and unity to stop a tragedy that may lead to others, writes Jean-Dominique Giuliani.

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## **"Russia's invasion of Ukraine is a moment of truth for Europe"**

Elina Valtonen  
*7<sup>th</sup> March 2022*

"The responses to the Russian aggression have shown that the European Union can definitely speak the language of power, and these events are a key moment to take further steps towards integration", says Finnish MP Elina Valtonen. She believes that Ukrainians are fighting to defend their freedom and their lives, but also to defend democracy and the shared values of the European Union.

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## **A few truths about Ukraine and Russia. By a seasoned diplomat.**

Interview with Jacques Faure

*28<sup>th</sup> February 2022*

Vladimir Putin's invasion of Ukraine on 24 February has been based on a long-standing rewriting of history according to which Russia, Ukraine and Belarus are one people. This tragedy, a real turning point for the continent, is a test for the cohesion of the European Union, while Ukrainians are massively turning towards the European model, notes the former French ambassador, Jacques Faure.

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## **As we face the nightmare**

Editorial by Jean-Dominique Giuliani

*28<sup>th</sup> February 2022*

The invasion of Ukraine by the Russian army is a senseless criminal act that no one could reasonably foresee. But Vladimir Putin has comforted, encouraged and probably transformed the European Union, which is acting with determination and speed, writes Jean-Dominique Giuliani. The cause of a militarily and diplomatically powerful Europe has made more progress in three days than in thirty years.

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## **How to stop the war?**

Editorial by Jean-Dominique Giuliani

*24<sup>th</sup> February 2022*

Europeans have learned from their history that Putin will not stop there, and his threats to the world should enlighten us. Putting a stop to this aggression is an imperative, dissuading the continuation of this mad enterprise is a priority, whatever the means to be used, writes Jean-Dominique Giuliani.

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## **Russia, Ukraine and international Law**

*21<sup>st</sup> February 2022*

Russian actions in Ukraine since 2014, and the tensions to which they have led, obscure the legal aspects of these attacks thereby opening the way to propaganda and approximations. To

contribute to a better understanding of what is at stake, this contribution is limited to the legal aspects of an otherwise eminently political issue. This in fact heralds a spectacular break in the international order and a violation of commitments and treaties signed by a member of the Security Council of the United Nations that have not been witnessed since the Second World War.

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### **Europe and Russian Blackmail**

Editorial by Jean-Dominique Giuliani

*23<sup>rd</sup> January 2022*

Contrary to its propaganda, it is not military threats that worry Russia. Nobody wants to attack it. But it is the presence on its western borders of a large, peaceful, wealthy and democratic entity that highlights its failures. In the face of the pathetic gesticulations of Putin's regime, Europeans must show unity and get engaged with their common defence.

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### **The 23rd EU-Ukraine Summit at a time of changes**

Milàn Czerny

*11th October 2021*

On August 24th, Ukraine celebrated the 30th anniversary of its independence. This offered a window of opportunity for the country's president, Volodymyr Zelensky, to mobilise the population domestically around patriotic rhetoric and, internationally, to engage in diplomatic initiatives. However, on both fronts, the Ukrainian leader faces important challenges: mounting Covid-19 cases, intensification of Russian pressure, and Western states' refusal to meet Kyiv's expectations. The EU-Ukrainian summit planned on October 12th 2021 represents the occasion for both sides to reflect on these difficulties and for the EU to clarify its position *vis-à-vis* its eastern neighbour.

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### **Stakes and Outlook for the Ukrainian presidential election**

Iris Muraz

*25<sup>th</sup> March 2019*

Just one week before the Ukrainian presidential election of 2019, this article aims to highlight the main issues at stake in this vote in a country undergoing fundamental political change and

marked by five years of undeclared war with Russia. After setting the scene in which the election is taking place, the aim will be to understand the main security, political, social and economic stakes (influence of armed conflict in the Donbass, social reform and expectations, power games between oligarchs) at the heart of the candidates' electoral strategies. This will help us expose the complex set of interests of both economic and political stakeholders, bearing witness to a highly corrupt political system, which is impeding the implementation of reform in Ukraine initiated in 2014, and contributing to increasing mistrust amongst the population as far as their political elites are concerned. The aim will also be to place this election in the context of wider international mechanisms by analysing the view the EU and Russia have of this election. Finally, particular attention will be given to the role played by Ukrainian civil society in the next electoral cycle (legislative elections in October 2019 and local elections in 2020), and to the initiative of new dynamics in the country since the Revolution of Dignity of 2013-2014.

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### **Russia and the West: ten disputes and an inevitable escalation?**

Maxime Lefebvre

*25<sup>th</sup> January 2016*

At the end of the Cold War one might have thought that the collapse of the communist bloc and the disintegration of the USSR, concomitant to the defeat in 1991 of Saddam Hussein to the then unanimous "international community", indeed heralded the coming of a "new world order" (George Bush Sr), the triumph of western values of democracy and the liberal economy (Fukuyama's end of History), and the unification of the European continent (Gorbachev's "common home"). The wars which went with the collapse of Yugoslavia rapidly brought us back to reality and to the "return of history" (Guillaume Parmentier).

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### **Russia, Ukraine and international law**

Jean-Dominique Giuliani

*16<sup>th</sup> February 2015*

Due to Russia's intervention interpreting recent events in Ukraine has led to real confusion which has far too often enabled propaganda, inaccuracy and references to the past to prevail over a rational analysis. In a bid to provide a better understanding of the issues at stake this paper will restrict itself to the legal aspects only of the question, which is also an eminently political one. It does not aim to ignore Russian resentment or the Ukrainians' will to free themselves of the tutelage of their powerful neighbour or the national interests in question, it simply analyses the impact on international law.

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## **The European Neighbourhood Policy put to the test by the Ukrainian crisis**

Gilles Lepasant  
*6<sup>th</sup> October 2014*

One month after the signature of the Eurasian Economic Union between Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus in Astana, on 27th June the European Union signed an Association Agreement with Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia. Although the former President of the Commission, Romano Prodi, who launched the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) saw in this an opportunity to create a "circle of friends" the European continent is in fact divided between two regional, competing and incompatible integration processes. The Ukrainian crisis— 10 years after the Orange Revolution - triggered off by the sudden response of civil society indeed caused not only a renewal in terms of the regime in place in Kiev, but also intervention by Russia in Crimea and the Donbass. Whatever the conclusion of this crisis might be Russia's goal of strengthening its grip on its "near abroad" is being challenged by its neighbours' attachment to their independence and invites us to question about the purpose and means available to the European Neighbourhood Policy.

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**«Everything indicates that the "uprising" in Crimea, then in the Russian-speaking regions in the east in April, was the work of a well organised activist minority supported by external forces.»**

Interview with Maxime Lefebvre  
*5<sup>th</sup> May 2014*

As the OSCE observers were released on 3 May 2014 after eight days in captivity, the Robert Schuman Foundation publishes an interview with Maxime Lefebvre, French Ambassador to the OSCE. Taking stock of the Russian-Ukrainian crisis, he explains that "everything shows that the "uprising" in Crimea, and then in the Russian-speaking regions of the east in April, was the work of a minority of well-organised activists supported from outside".

## **Ukraine: after the Geneva Conference, the issue of sanctions remains**

Olivier Marty  
*22<sup>nd</sup> April 2014*

In April 2014, the situation in Ukraine is still unstable and could - in the event of a clear non-respect of the commitments made in Geneva by those involved - lead to further sanctions. Although the USA have been on the offensive since the beginning on this issue, the European countries will in all likelihood adopt a more cautious approach due to their many and varying economic interests. In the meantime, European aid to Ukraine in the financial and gas sectors remains significant however.

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## **"There was no 'referendum' in Crimea, it was just a parody."**

Interview with Mykola Riabchu  
*24<sup>th</sup> March 2014*

The Robert Schuman Foundation has published a European Interview with Mykola Ryabchuk, a researcher at the Institute of Political and Nationality Studies in Kiev on the situation in Ukraine.

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## **Cold War II**

Editorial by Jean-Dominique Giuliani  
*23<sup>rd</sup> March 2014*

Jean-Dominique Giuliani reacts to Russia's hostile attitude in Ukraine and especially in Crimea and writes that, "Europe, which is the leading economic and commercial power on the planet must also be aware that it is "everyone's neighbour", in other words its interests are global. It has to understand that in answer to the brutal use of force we cannot just respond with dialogue; we have to understand that diplomacy is only credible when it is backed by resolute determination, which is lent credibility by a strong military machine in order to guarantee peace."

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## **Ukraine: Europe and Russia?**

Editorial by Jean-Dominique Giuliani

*3<sup>rd</sup> March 2014*

Jean Dominique Giuliani analyses the tensions between Europe and Russia over Ukraine and urges the Franco-German couple to take joint action with a stronger impact than the privileged "diplomatic route" which does not seem to be bearing fruit.

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## **"It is up to the Europeans to be more coherent regarding their vital and all the more difficult partner (Russia), since it is not as confident as it appears to be."**

Interview with Philippe de Suremain

*9<sup>th</sup> December 2013*

The failure of the negotiations with Europe at the Vilnius summit provoked very large demonstrations in Ukraine and, in response, a brutal repression. The Robert Schuman Foundation interviews the former French Ambassador to Kiev who was present in the region during the Orange Revolution and who is now member of the Foundation's Scientific Council, Philippe de Suremain who along with his western colleagues played an essential role in preserving peace in the country. In this interview, Philippe de Suremain explains how the situation could evolve in the coming days.

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## **EU-Ukraine: beyond a fair and transparent election**

Ildar Gazizullin

*15<sup>th</sup> October 2012*

The future of the EU-Ukraine cooperation is dependent not only on how parliamentary elections are conducted, but also on Ukraine's progress with implementing reforms based on Association Agenda. It appears that the only positive scenario for Ukraine is to start unilateral implementation of the Association Agreement (AA) even before it is signed by the parties. This step would yield practical benefits for the country's weak economy and become an evidence of Kyiv's persistence in European integration.

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## **The Instrumentalisation of the judiciary in Ukraine: authoritarian excesses of one man or an approach to political development?**

Alla Lazareva

*23<sup>rd</sup> July 2012*

In its 21 years of independence Ukraine has lived through several periods: post-Soviet stagnation under Leonid Kravchuk, pseudo reform under Leonid Kuchma, anarchy during Viktor Yushchenko's period in office and finally the time of arbitrary justice and the emergence of political prisoners under Viktor Yanukovich.

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## **Is Ukraine falling victim to Russian economic "colonisation"?**

Sophie Lambroschini

*17<sup>th</sup> October 2011*

Ukraine's position in regard to Russia has been shaken further with the conviction of former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, sentenced to seven years in prison for abuse of power during her appointment as Prime Minister of Ukraine – a decision that was condemned both by Moscow and the European Union. Given that the Kremlin perceives Ukraine as being in Russia's geopolitical sphere, (orbit) Ukraine harbours concern over its powerful neighbour's growing ascendancy in their economic relations – a bilateral (mutual?) tension that has been illustrated by a hardening in tone by both parties, the outcome of which is still uncertain. This study offers an overview of Russian economic influence in Ukraine beyond the customary theme of the gas sector, and attempts to assess its impact on Ukraine and its relations with the European Union.

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## **EU-Ukraine Relations: what developments have there been since the election of Viktor Yanukovich?**

Emmanuelle Armandon

*26<sup>th</sup> September 2011*

After Viktor Yanukovich's election as president of the Ukraine in February 2010 he distinguished himself immediately from his predecessor by taking up close links again with Russia. But the new Ukrainian president did not neglect his relations with the EU however. Bilateral relations have moved forwards and may lead, at the end of 2011, to the signature of an association agreement. The deepening of the partnership between Kyiv and Brussels may however now be in danger because of the authoritarian excesses of the Ukrainian regime.

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## **Viktor Yanukovich winner of the presidential election in Ukraine**

Mathilde Goanec

*15<sup>th</sup> February 2010*

The 2010 Ukrainian presidential election sounded the death knell of the "orange" era. Viktor Yushchenko, the president elected in 2004, was eliminated in the first round, while Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, a former Maidan muse, lost to the leader of the opposition, Viktor Yanukovich. The election, considered rather democratic, highlighted the lack of long-term strategy and the populism of the main players, who did not say much about their solutions to get the country out of the economic crisis and the chronic instability from which it suffers. On the geopolitical level, the victory of Viktor Yanukovich means the certain resumption of cordial relations with Russia, without condemning Ukraine's European ambitions.

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## **The remains of the Berlin Wall, twenty years later: what is at stake for Russia and Ukraine?\***

Miroslav Popovitch

*11th January 2010*

In this study, published twenty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the authors look back at the fall of the Wall, the consequences of the collapse of the Soviet bloc, Russia's status and its relationship with Ukraine.

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## **The Ukraine-Russia gas crisis: a major challenge for Europe\***

Marc-Antoine Eyl-Mazzega

*26th January 2009*

This crisis deserves to be examined in depth because it is serious, unprecedented and complex, as it combines commercial, economic and geopolitical issues and raises the question of gas relations with Russia, the EU's energy security, but also its stability in relation to its direct and indirect neighbours on its eastern flank. It is the result in particular of the opacity of the negotiations between Ukraine and Russia, the stakes of which are difficult to grasp as much as the role, interests and influence of shadowy men. Far from being merely commercial, this highly politicised crisis serves interests that are not compatible with the partnership that the EU wishes to develop with Russia, which is based on cooperation and not on power struggle.

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## **Russian degassing**

Editorial by Jean-Dominique Giuliani

*6<sup>th</sup> January 2009*

On 1st January 2009 Gazprom decided to suspend its deliveries to the Ukraine which is accused of not having paid its debts and has demonstrated its disagreement with the prices put forward to renew the contract. On 5th January, saying that the Ukraine was using some of the gas that transits across its territory towards the countries of the EU for its own requirements Russian Prime Minister asked Gazprom to reduce its deliveries to Europe. A new gas crisis was starting in the same manner as in 2006. The European Union, which at first felt safe in the knowledge that it held major reserves, dismissed the complainants asking them to settle what they considered a commercial disagreement. But the effect on the EU's most eastern members has forced it to act. It is too early to see what can be learned from the ongoing crisis but three points certainly seem to be evident.

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## **The EU-Ukraine Summit on 9 September 2008: Towards a historic and strategic turning point?\***

Marc-Antoine Eyl-Mazzega

*8th September 2008*

Almost 4 years after the "Orange Revolution", this study aims to examine the state of Ukraine's political and economic transformation, taking stock of Ukraine's gas policies and developments in relations with Russia. It aims to analyse the strategic challenges facing the country and its ability to overcome them. As the European Union and Ukraine prepare to conclude a new cooperation agreement, there are still many serious uncertainties about Ukraine's stability, which could affect not only its political and economic future, but also the energy security and stability of the European Union.

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## **Ukraine, Belarus: Two elections for two transitions\***

Alexandra Goujon

*6th March 2006*

Since their independence in 1991, Ukraine and Belarus have embarked on two distinct paths of political transition. The question of democratisation is at the heart of the public debate in Ukraine, while in Belarus, the arrival in power of Alexander Lukashenko in 1994 led to the establishment of an authoritarian regime. The elections in these two states in March therefore raise different issues. The presidential election on 19 March 2006 in Belarus will allow the

regime in power to be confirmed or challenged, in a context where the choice of voters is reduced by the media monopoly of the outgoing president and the repression carried out against the opposition. The legislative elections of 26 March 2006 in Ukraine should allow, a little more than a year after the Orange Revolution, to confirm or reject the political alternation of 2004 built around Viktor Yushchenko, by granting or refusing him a majority in Parliament.

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### **Ukraine one year after the Orange Revolution. What is at stake for the March 2006 legislative elections?\***

Sophie Lambroschini  
*28th November 2005*

The first anniversary of the "Orange Revolution" coincides with the beginning of the campaign for the election of 450 deputies to the "Supreme Council" (Verkhovna Rada) on 26 March 2005. The outcome of these legislative elections is uncertain for President Yushchenko. At least since the dismissal of his Prime Minister, Yulia Tymoshenko, in September, the 2004 "Orange" electorate has been divided. The most radicals blame the president for having bowed to the economic influence of the oligarchs. Moreover, these elections will be held in a new context, that of the entry into force of a constitutional reform which reduces the powers of the president to the benefit of parliament.

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### **The political stakes of the change of power in Ukraine\***

Alexandra Goujon  
*21st February 2005*

The 2004 presidential election was seen in Ukraine, but also in Europe and the United States, as decisive for the country's political development. The two main candidates in the election, Viktor Yushchenko, leader of the opposition since 2001, and Viktor Yanukovich, the outgoing Prime Minister supported by the presidential majority, represented two different political alternatives that were nevertheless caricatured by the political struggle.

While Yanukovich represented a certain continuity with the previous regime, allowing the oligarchic clans to remain in power and developing privileged relations with Russia, Yushchenko symbolised a break with the Kuchma era by proposing a programme centred on the implementation of economic reforms, the affirmation of Ukraine's independence and its accession to the European Union.

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## **Ukraine in Europe's energy security\***

Ilya Gamaliy  
*27th May 2002*

The country that seemed to be the best prepared of the USSR republics at independence in August 1991 has deceived the expectations of foreign observers and its own population. The loss of half of the GDP between 1991-99 and the resulting fall in living standards, as well as problems with state transparency and the limits of the rule of law, have left Ukraine in trouble.

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## **Ukraine/NATO relations: Achievements, problems and prospects\***

Camille Roux  
*6th May 2002*

In the system of relations between Ukraine and NATO, a system based on democratic principles, three main actors can be identified: The official decision-making structures of Ukraine and NATO, which are directly in charge of the cooperation process. The partner countries concerned by this cooperation. Finally, the civil society relays that establish a link between the population and the authorities, monitor the latter and form public opinion, particularly in the case of cooperation between Ukraine and NATO.

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## **Ukraine and its regions\***

Camille Roux  
*25th March 2002*

Like many other former Soviet states, Ukraine is in the process of building its identity, while at the same time dealing with the economic and political problems associated with the transition to democracy and a market economy. After ten years of independence, Ukraine has not experienced any regional uprisings or conflicts between a majority and a minority group, despite the fears expressed by some analysts in the aftermath of the break-up of the USSR. However, as a result of demands from certain regions to reduce economic disparities or the perception of cultural and linguistic differences, it is questionable whether this apparent calm will continue, which could then threaten the stability of the country.

The question is therefore whether these different regions are tending to become more homogenous in terms of political choices, thereby helping to build a genuine Ukrainian political community, or whether, on the contrary, these regional divisions persist.

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\*These studies are only available in French.