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Vilnius Eastern Partnership Summit: A Milestone in EU-Russia Relations – not just for Ukraine

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Introduction

The Vilnius Eastern Partnership Summit on 28-29th November represents a milestone in EU relations not just with respect to the six Eastern Partnership countries (EaP: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and particularly Ukraine), but also with the EU's 'strategic partner' Russia. The turbulence and numerous speculations regarding expectations about the signature of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement (comprising a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement - AA/DCFTA), as well as progress in initialling similar future agreements with Georgia and Moldova, have been escalating before the summit. The association agreements would bring EaP signatory countries closer to the EU: not really closer to EU membership, but closer to the application of various EU norms and standards (takeover of the 'acquis communautaire') and significantly - out of the Russian orbit, for the beginning at least symbolically. The postponement of the EU-Ukraine AA/DCFTA signature – Ukraine's government stopped the related preparations just one week before the summit - represents a serious setback for the EU while Russia has gained another strategic point, at least for a while.² Though the EU has no 'Plan B' and EU High Representative Catherine Ashton expressed her disappointment immediately after Ukraine's announcement, life will continue after the summit and new initiatives will have to be started.

What are the relevant issues and challenges and what is at stake? This note briefly discusses the positions of the key individual parties (the European Union, Ukraine and Russia), presents details on foreign trade and tariff data and attempts to evaluate the consequences (economic and otherwise) of alternate decisions following the Vilnius Eastern Partnership Summit. It also reviews some of the disputed arguments and discusses selected relevant economic issues.

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Ukraine's government proposed to establish a tripartite commission with the EU and Russia in order to discuss jointly trade and economic issues – see www.gazeta.ru, 21 November 2013. The interruption of the AA/DCFTA process was presented as a 'tactical decision' driven solely by economic reasoning by Ukraine's Prime Minister Mykola Azarov.

Tug-of-war over Ukraine

In its present form, the conclusion and implementation of an AA/DCFTA between Ukraine and the EU has been presented by both the EU and Russia as incompatible with the participation of EaP countries in the Russian-led Customs Union (BRK-CU: other members being Belarus and Kazakhstan) and especially with Ukraine's joining the envisaged 'deeper and wider' post-Soviet integration project in the framework of the Eurasian Union and the Single Economic Space (SES).3 Until compromise solutions regarding tariff regimes have been negotiated, the two integration directions - either with the EU or a participation in the BRK-CU/SES - are indeed incompatible. The Russian 'success' to lure Armenia into the BRK-CU instead of opting for an AA/DCFTA with the EU announced on 3rd September 2013 was initially interpreted by some in the EU as incompatible with Armenia's prospective conclusion of an AA/DCFTA. Later on, European Commissioner for Enlargement and Neighbourhood Policy Štefan Füle attempted to de-escalate the tensions and tried to dismiss such fears by stating in October at a conference in Kyiv that the AA/DCFTA should 'not be seen as a threat but as an opportunity, a contribution to creating the area of free trade between Lisbon and Vladivostok'. Furthermore, he explained that the European Commission is 'working on the issue of legal incompatibility between the Association Agreement and Customs Union' while requiring once again from Ukraine to show 'determined action' and deliver 'tangible progress on all European Union benchmarks'.4 Ukraine, for its part, would opt for signing the AA/DCFTA agreement (a corresponding decision was adopted by Ukraine's government already in September 2013) while, ideally, desiring to 'pick up the cherries' and preferring to maintain and develop good relations with both Russian-led Customs Union and the EU. One of the EU's key demands - to cease the application of 'selective justice' and in particular to release former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko from prison – will obviously not be fulfilled, at least not before the Vilnius Summit.5

Russia's bullying pays-off

EU experience.

Starting with Russia, there has been some history in this country's use of economic sanctions in order to retaliate for perceived unwelcome political developments in the 'near abroad'. Russian sanctions ranged from import bans on Georgian wine and mineral water

The Eurasian Union (EurAz) currently includes, apart from Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, also Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. The future Eurasian Union and SES envisages a common market entailing 'four freedoms' modelled on the

See Füle (2013a, 2013b). The latter requirement was spelled out by Mr Füle in a speech before the Ukrainian parliament in Kyiv on the same day (Füle, 2013c).

EU foreign affairs ministers reiterated conditions for signing the AA/DCFTA agreement at their meeting on 18 November 2013 in Brussels as follows: 'Determined action and tangible progress is needed in three areas: the compliance of the parliamentary elections with international standards, addressing the issue of selective justice and preventing its recurrence, and the implementation of the reforms jointly agreed in the Association Agenda' (http://www.euractiv.com/specialreport-ukraine-way-reform/analysts-slam-germany-ukraine-po-news-531768).

in 2004-2006 after the 'Rose Revolution' in Georgia, the interruption of gas deliveries to Ukraine and Belarus related to disputes over pricing and access to pipelines, restricting imports of wine and spirits from Moldova, imposing import restrictions on dairy products and chocolate from Ukraine, on dairy products imports from Lithuania, etc.⁶ The latest sore point in Russian external relations with potentially severe economic consequences has been Russia's concentrated efforts in bullying Ukraine (as well as Georgia and Moldova) related to the envisaged AA/DCFTA signature at the forthcoming Eastern Partnership Summit in Vilnius. The frequency and intensity of Russia's rather crude attempts to prevent Ukraine from signing the AA/DCFTA prior to the Vilnius Summit and to 'explain the adverse consequences of the signature', together with simultaneous efforts to 'lure' Ukraine into joining the Russian-led Customs Union with Belarus and Kazakhstan, escalated before the Vilnius Summit.8 Repeatedly, Sergey Glazyev, one of President Putin's economic advisors, lectured Ukraine on the alleged adverse consequences of signing the 'discriminative' AA/DCFTA agreement while simultaneously threatening with Russian sanctions. Indeed, Russian border controls on Ukrainian exports were briefly introduced (on a 'trial' basis, but still violating the CIS FTA agreements where Ukraine participates) while simultaneously praising the economic benefits of Ukraine's joining the Customs Union. Similar warnings were spelled out by Russian Ambassador to the EU Vladimir Chizhov and reiterated, albeit in a more polite form, by Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Igor Shuvalov, who is in charge of EurAz economic relations in Russia.⁹ Last but not least, the Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev warned his Ukrainian colleague Mykola Azarov that after signing the AA/DCFTA Ukraine will have 'zero chances' of a full-scale CU membership while Russian Foreign Affairs Minister Sergey Lavrov mentioned the possibility to tighten border controls between the two countries. 10 The latest serious and immediate threat was expressed by Mr Medvedev at the beginning of November in connection with Ukraine's payment arrears for Russian gas deliveries (amounting to nearly USD 900 million as of August 2013). Prime Minister Medvedev required a prompt debt repayment, rejected new Russian credit and required a prepayment for additional gas deliveries (which is envisaged by the existing contract with Gazprom) while suggesting that if needed Ukraine should ask the EU for financial

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It must be added, for the sake of completeness, that Russia also employed trade sanctions – with varying justification – with respect to imports of US poultry, Polish pork, Dutch flowers, etc.

See Moldova's Foreign and European Integration Minister (who is also chief AA negotiator) Natalia Gherman at Euractiv.com published on 30 October 2013, and the interview with newly elected Georgian President Giorgi Margvelashvili in Kommersant Vlast', No. 41, October 2013, respectively.

There was even a 'secret' (yet leaked) strategy for preventing Ukraine from signing the AA/DCFTA agreement published in August by the Ukrainian paper *Zerkalo Nedely* – see http://gazeta.zn.ua/internal/o-komplekse-mer-po-vovlecheniyu-ukrainy-v-evraziyskiy-integracionnyy-process-_.html.

See http://www.euractiv.com/europes-east/rop-envoy-russia-offer-ukraine-e-news-530890 and http://www.euractiv.com/europes-east/russia-reiterates-warnings-ukrai-news-530671.

See report from the meeting of the two Prime Ministers in Kaluga on 15 October 2013 (www.gazeta.ru/business/2013/10/15). For Lavrov's speech see http://www.gazeta.ru/politics/2013/10/28_a_5727929.shtml.

assistance instead.¹¹ Meanwhile Ukraine is squeezed also by the IMF which urges the government to reduce budgetary expenditures and to raise domestic gas tariffs, as well as to implement a number of other unpopular reforms before resuming new financing.¹²

Russia's bullying attempts to pressure its neighbours to 'integrate' with Russia instead of with the EU was seen as counterproductive not only by many Ukrainians and most outside observers, but even by a number of commentators in Russia. 13 On the other hand, a negative view regarding the consequences of an AA/DCFTA signature is shared by Ukraine's communists who claim – probably correctly – that the country has no perspective to join the EU in the next 20-30 years and that the implementation of EU regulations would be too costly while EU integration is allegedly supported by just 40% of Ukrainians. 14 Last but not least, there have been tensions among current BRK-CU members as neither Belarus nor Kazakhstan – the two other members of BRK-CU – are particularly happy with the current Russian dealings related to the CU stance. For example, at the recent BRK-CU summit in Minsk (end-October 2013), Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev complained about the 'excessive politicisation' of the CU Commission's decisions pursued by Russian representatives who are 'not independent enough' from the government (which contradicts CU Commission statutes). Furthermore, Belarus President Alexander Lukashenko complained at the same summit about increased bureaucratic obstacles in BRK-CU customs procedures and delays in other integration steps. 15 On the sidelines, Mr Nazarbayev also suggested to invite Turkey to join the BRK-CU. 16

EU's failed Eastern Partnership

Following a number of resolute previous 'either/or' statements regarding direction of integration by various EU representatives, European Commissioner for Enlargement and Neighbourhood Policy Štefan Füle attempted to de-escalate the situation while declaring that this issue 'is not a choice between Moscow and Brussels' and promised Ukraine a speedier AA/DCFTA implementation after Vilnius summit. Mr Füle also declared that the European Commission is 'working on overcoming the issues of legal compatibility between the AA and CU' in order to 'prevent new walls in Europe', ¹⁷ and sharply rebuked claims

¹¹ See www.gazeta.ru, 4 November 2013.

See IMF Mission Statement to Ukraine, Press Release No. 13/419, 31 October 2013.

See, for instance, http://www.vedomosti.ru/opinion/print/2013/10/29/18070451, K.Sonin and Financial Times, 4 November 2013, p. 9.

See http://www.euractiv.com/europes-east/ukrainian-communists-expose-myth-news-531359. It must be added that the high costs and the rationality of the request to take over the 'acquis' and other provisions of the DCFTA without prospects for EU accession is criticised by other observers as well (Dreyer, 2012). Earlier experience of CEE NMS suggests that 'acquis takeover' is indeed costly and problematic (Havlik, 2003).

¹⁵ See http://www.vedomosti.ru/politics/print/2013/10/25/17942981.

¹⁶ Ibid. Note that Turkey is in the customs union with the EU already since mid-1990s.

¹⁷ See Mr Füle's speech at the conference in Yalta, Ukraine, on 20 September 2013.

regarding the adverse effects of an AA/DCFTA.¹⁸ On the same day, Mr Füle announced a 'post-Vilnius agenda' for Ukraine which would include financial assistance to support the implementation of the Association Agreement amounting to EUR 186 million and to move ahead with a macro-financial assistance of EUR 610 million, 'once the conditions are in place' (ibid). The current EU stance with respect to both Eastern Partnership countries and the 'partnership for modernisation' with Russia, as well as the lack of a corresponding longer-term strategy, have long been criticised by numerous observers and experts.¹⁹

Economic integration effects

Available studies dealing with the (economic) effects of alternative integration agreements provide widely conflicting results, depending on methods, assumptions and data sources. One of the common findings of these studies is that (economic) effects on Russia (or the EU for that matter) are asymmetric: they are rather small compared to effects on smaller prospective integration partners such as Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia or Moldova – owing to the sheer size of the Russian/EU economy (see, among others, Astrov et al., 2012; EDB, 2012, 2013; Vinokurov and Libman, 2012; Dabrowski and Taran, 2012; Dreyer, 2012; Movchan and Shportyuk, 2012; EBRD, 2012). Another common finding of most integration studies is that (mostly short-term) tariff reduction effects are relatively small compared to the effects from the abolishment of non-tariff barriers and the expected medium- and long-term efficiency gains from capital inflows and related restructuring. This applies not only to the post-Soviet integration or the AA/DCFTA but, for example, to the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) under negotiation between the EU and USA as well (see Francois et al., 2013).

Regarding the effects of alternative integration scenarios, there is a plethora of different evaluation approaches, applying various methodologies, assumptions and data sets (see references for a selection of the relevant literature). Not surprisingly, the evaluation results differ by wide margins and the issue – economic effects of alternate integration directions – is excessively politicised. Ukraine has so far rejected a full-fledged BRK-CU membership and acquired 'observer status' instead. Apart from tricky geo-political aspects, important reasons for Ukraine's reluctant position are its WTO-related commitments and questions of BRK-CU compatibility with the prospective AA/DCFTA with the EU. While there seems to be little (economic) justification for Russia prompting Ukraine to join the BRK-CU

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See the above quoted speeches by Mr Füle at the international conference in Kyiv and before the Ukrainian Parliament on 11 October 2013 at http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-13-808_en.htm and 13-810 (ibid).

See, for example, Wallace (2009), Grant (2011), Emerson (2011a) and recent statements by German Bundestag MP Karl-Gerog Wellmann and former EU Enlargement Commissioner Gunter Verheugen during a panel discussion in Berlin on 18 November 2013 (http://www.euractiv.com/specialreport-ukraine-way-reform/analysts-slam-germany-ukraine-po-news-531768). Similar views have recently been expressed also by French diplomats (http://www.euractiv.com/europes-east/france-supports-association-agre-news-531726as), as well as by Youngs and Pishchikova (2013) and Wisniewski (2013).

(economic impacts on Russia are rather small, partly owing to its size), for Ukraine, on the other hand, the economic (and other) linkages to Russia are rather important.

Box 1

What is the content of the EU-Ukraine DCFTA?

The EU-UA DCFTA represents a part of the Association Agreement and consists of 15 Chapters, 14 Annexes and 3 protocols - altogether more than 900 pages of text which was published in November 2012, and few experts have probably actually read it. According to Chapter 1 (Market Access for Goods) the vast majority of customs duties (99.1% by Ukraine and 98.1% by the EU) will be removed as soon as the Agreement enters into force after the ratification process is completed. Few sectors will obtain transition periods for removing customs duties (e.g. the automotive sector in Ukraine for 15 years and some agriculture products in the EU for up to 10 years); WTO rules will be generally applied to non-tariffs barriers. According to EC estimates, Ukrainian exporters will save EUR 487 million annually due to reduced EU import duties while Ukraine will remove around EUR 390 million in duties on imports from the EU.20 Ukraine will progressively adapt its technical regulations and standards to those of the EU.21 Chapter 6 (which deals with services) aims at the expansion of the EU internal market 'once Ukraine effectively implements the EU-acquis'. Similar wording is used in relation to financial services, telecom, postal and maritime services. Chapter 8 (Public procurement) provides exceptions for the defence sectors in both Ukraine and the EU. For the first time, Ukraine's DCFTA includes specific provisions on trade-related energy issues (Chapter 11; Ukraine is already a member of the Energy Community Treaty which imposes an obligation to implement the EU energy acquis on electricity and gas). These include rules on pricing, prohibition of dual pricing and transport interruption to third countries as well as rules on non-discriminatory access to the exploration and production of hydrocarbons.²² Importantly, Protocol I of the DCFTA deals with rules of origin and defines the 'economic nationality' of products needed to determine the duties applicable to traded goods.²³ Future EU-Ukraine relations will include EU-Ukraine summits and the Association Council with the power to take binding decisions. Last but not least, Article 39 of the agreement explicitly stipulates that the DCFTA 'shall not preclude the maintenance or establishment of customs unions, free trade areas or arrangements for frontier traffic except insofar as they conflict trade arrangements provided for in this agreement' and consultations regarding these matters will take place within the Trade Committee.

Source: European Commission, DG Trade and Industry. For the English version of the text see EU Ukraine Association Agreement English - 2012_11_19_EU_Ukraine_Association_Agreement_English.pdf published on 19 November 2012 (a concise summary was published on the European Commission DG Trade website on 26 February 2013).

The net effect on Ukraine would thus be a gain of some EUR 100 million. In contrast, at a recent conference in Kharkiv, Sergey Glazyev predicted a deterioration of Ukraine's trade balance in case of DCFTA signature by USD 5 billion owing to the abolishment of customs duties on 75% of imports (see www.gazeta.ru from 1 November 2013).

²¹ Ibid., Chapter 3, Technical barriers to trade. There is no available EC estimate for Ukraine's acquis takeover costs but, according to Ukrainian sources, these costs are doubtlessly considerable (see also Dreyer, 2012). Commissioner Füle, in his speech on 11 October 2013, mentioned the intention to help with an 'indicative amount of EUR 186 million'. For an earlier experience of NMS see Havlik (2003).

Note the similar above-quoted conditionality required by the IMF.

The latter is one of Russia's major complaints regarding incompatibility of the DCFTA and the BRK-CU (and the existing CIS-wide FTA where Ukraine is a member) and is used as an argument for the erection of trade barriers.

Notwithstanding the above incompatibilities which would have to be re-negotiated and doubtlessly leave room for compromises, the polarisation of Russian and EU standpoints regarding these issues is not only endangering future Russian-EU relations, but it is also counterproductive with respect to Ukraine which remains sandwiched between the two and would be ultimately adversely affected by EU-Russia frictions most. As far as foreign trade volumes are concerned. Russia and the EU are of about the same importance for Ukraine: Ukraine's exports to each of the destinations amounted to some USD 17 billion in 2012. Russia accounted for 26% of Ukraine's exports and the BRK-CU (together with Belarus and Kazakhstan) for 33% of Ukraine's exports in 2012. The enlarged EU(28) accounted for 25% of Ukraine's exports in 2012 (see Annex for additional trade statistics). As regards imports, the situation is similar: 32% of Ukraine's imports originated from Russia in 2012 (and more than 40% from the BRK-CU), whereas imports from the EU(28) accounted for 31% of the total. However, there are important structural aspects of Ukraine's trade to either destination: the structure of exports to Russia is more 'advanced' since Ukraine's exports of transport equipment and machinery play a much bigger role. Some Ukrainian estimates reckon with an additional export and GDP growth potential from exports to Russia especially in aircraft, shipbuilding and railway machinery industries.²⁴

With respect to the EU, Ukraine's exports are specialised on vegetable products, mineral products (partly refined from Russian oil imports) and base metals. Ukraine's imports from Russia are traditionally dominated by mineral products whereas imports from the EU consist mostly of chemicals, machinery and transport equipment (Figure 1).

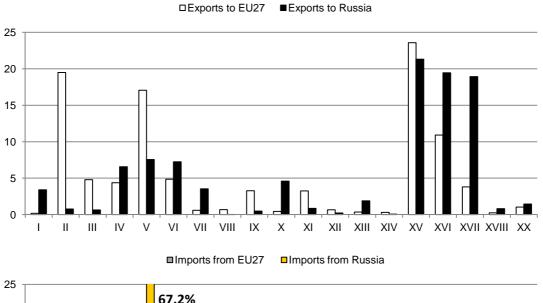
Russia and the EU are thus nearly equally important trading partners for Ukraine. From a purely trade importance point of view the either-or decision regarding the direction of Ukraine's trade integration is rather meaningless: both directions are important. Restricted access to the Russian market – if trade barriers are introduced by Russia as a punishment in case of Ukraine's 'European integration' choice – would hit a more advanced part of Ukraine's economy (located largely in the eastern part of the country) immediately and disproportionally, irrespective of the fact that a large part of these exports may represent remnants of cooperation links from the Soviet past (and are largely not competitive on EU markets). A BRK-CU-oriented integration of Ukraine would help to maintain and develop existing technological cooperation linkages, though probably without much modernisation and restructuring pressures (unless Russia itself embarks on a more radical reform path). On the other hand, the implementation of the AA/DCFTA with the EU would bring benefits to Ukraine only in the medium and long run – especially regarding the expected pressure on modernisation and reforms which would eventually lead to a significant restructuring of the Ukrainian economy and higher FDI inflows. There is little doubt that the EU as a more

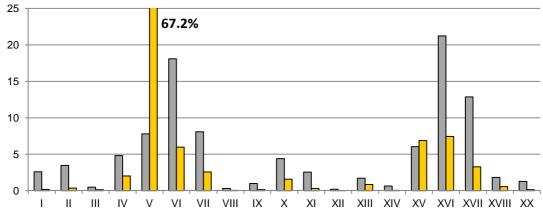
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²⁴ Calculations by L. Shinkaruk, Institute for Economics and Forecasting, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (mimeo).

developed economy would introduce more competition, modernisation and reform pressures on Ukraine; the EU market is also much bigger than the Russian one.

Figure 1 Structure of Ukraine's foreign trade (in % of total, year 2012)





Note:

- I Live animals, animal products;
- II Vegetable products
- III Animal or vegetable fats, oils, waxes, prepared edible fats
- IV Prepared foodstuffs, beverages, tobacco and substitutes
- V Mineral products
- VI Products of the chemical or allied industries
- VII Plastics and articles thereof, rubber and articles thereof
- VIII Raw hides and skins, leather, furskins and arcticles, etc.
- IX Wood and articles of wood, wood charcoal, cork, etc.
- X Pulp wood, paper or paperboard (incl. recovered) and articles
- XI Textiles and textile articles
- $\ensuremath{\mathsf{XII}}$ Footwear, headgear, umbrellas, walking sticks, etc.
- XIII Articles of stone, plaster, cement, ceramic products, glassware
- XIV Natural or cultured pearls, precious stones and metals, etc.
- XV Base metals and articles of base metal
- XVI Machinery, mech. Appliances, electr. equipment
- XVII Vehicles, aircraft, vessels and associated transport equipment
- XVIII Optical, measuring, medical instrum., clocks, musical instr., etc.
- XX Miscellaneous manufactured articles

Source: State Statistics Committee of Ukraine; own calculations.

As far as customs tariffs are concerned, Ukraine and Russia have formally a free trade agreement (with some important exceptions for agricultural products such as sugar) while in trade with the EU 70.6% of the value of Ukrainian agricultural products and 90.8% of the value of non-agricultural products were exported duty-free already in 2011. Russia faced similar tariff protection in the EU for agriculture products like Ukraine while nearly all Russian non-agricultural exports to the EU were duty-free (in value; in terms of the number of duty free-tariff lines, Ukraine's agricultural products face greater trade barriers in the EU – see Table 1 and Annex). Ukraine's (as well as Russian) exports face the highest tariff protection in dairy products, cereals, sugar, beverages and tobacco whereas industrial products generally enjoy more tariff protection in both Ukraine and Russia. In fact, average final bound duties in both Ukraine and Russia are very similar (except for animal products, beverages and tobacco, and wood and paper where Russian tariffs are higher and the harmonisation of tariff lines should not, given the negotiating will, pose a too big problem – with the above-quoted few exceptions, see Table 1).

Table 1

Ukraine Tariffs and imports by product groups

UKI ali le	raillis allu	imports by pr	oduct group	J3								
		Final bour	nd duties		MF	N applied duti	es	Impo	orts	Differences in	final bound d	uties AVG
Product groups	AVG	Duty-free	Max	Binding	AVG	Duty-free	Max	Share	Duty-free	EU-RU	EU-UA	RU-UA
		in %		in %		in %		in %	in %			
Animal products	13.0	0	20	100	11.0	9.0	20	0.5	15.0	0.3	10.4	10.1
Dairy products	10.0	0	10	100	10.0	0	10	0.2	0	39.8	44.7	4.9
Fruit, vegetables, plants	13.1	10.2	20	100	9.9	18.9	20	1.4	54.6	1.5	-2.9	-4.4
Coffee, tea	5.8	35.4	20	100	5.8	35.4	20	1.3	42.0	-0.2	0.4	0.6
Cereals & preparations	12.7	3.3	20	100	12.6	3.8	20	0.9	27.1	12.1	9.5	-2.6
Oilseeds, fats & oils	10.7	11.0	30	100	8.3	20.1	30	0.9	89.9	-1.5	-5.1	-3.6
Sugars and confectionery	17.5	0.6	50	100	17.5	0	50	0.3	0	18.3	13.5	-4.8
Beverages & tobacco	7.9	25.7	64	100	12.2	26.2	424	1.2	23.9	-2.3	13.4	15.7
Cotton	1.4	40.0	5	100	1.4	40.0	5	0.0	61.3	0	-1.4	-1.4
Other agricultural products	7.6	23.9	20	100	5.5	45.2	20	0.5	19.3	-1.2	-3.5	-2.3
Fish & fish products	3.7	61.7	20	100	2.6	68.2	20	0.7	68.0	3.4	7.2	3.8
Minerals & metals	4.5	42.4	20	100	3.0	47.6	20	32.8	79.0	-6	-2.5	3.5
Petroleum	1.5	72.0	10	100	0.9	84.3	10	13.7	97.3	-3	0.5	3.5
Chemicals	5.1	16.1	10	100	3.2	39.3	65	12.7	55.4	-0.6	-0.5	0.1
Wood, paper, etc.	0.4	95.8	10	100	0.3	95.8	10	3.1	99.1	-7	0.5	7.5
Textiles	4.1	33.7	13	100	3.8	35.6	13	2.1	25.6	-1.3	2.4	3.7
Clothing	11.4	1.0	12	100	11.3	1.1	12	0.6	0.1	-0.3	0.1	0.4
Leather, footwear, etc.	7.2	14.9	25	100	5.4	27.0	25	1.9	20.3	-2.2	-3	-0.8
Non-electrical machinery	4.2	38.7	12	100	2.1	51.3	10	8.8	62.4	-4.1	-2.5	1.6
Electrical machinery	5.3	33.0	25	100	3.8	39.1	25	6.8	34.2	-3.8	-2.9	0.9
Transport equipment	7.5	15.8	20	100	5.1	39.6	20	7.5	21.4	-4.8	-3.4	1.4
Manufactures, n.e.s.	6.4	31.9	25	100	5.5	32.0	25	2.1	68.6	-5.9	-3.9	2

Source: WTO; own calculations.

Conclusions: cooperation and integration, not confrontation

The earlier (both positive and negative) integration experiences of the new EU Member States (NMS) may provide a useful reference point for Ukraine. NMS trade integration with the EU was advancing rapidly after they had signed association agreements and inflows of FDI to the region accelerated already before the EU accession. FDI inflows have brought new technologies, higher quality standards, and better know-how in management and marketing (Hunya, 2008). Last but not least, FDI inflows have facilitated access to EU markets and fostered modernisation; they even contributed to a revival of intra-NMS trade (Richter, 2011). FDI-induced modernisation was crucial also in raising the energy efficiency of the recipient countries' economies (which remains an important challenge for Ukraine – see Astrov et al., 2012). In this way, the former COMECON countries have successfully restructured their industrial sector, which in many cases became competitive on the European scale and has been gaining global market shares (Havlik, 2008). But the experience of the NMS in the recent crisis has also taught important lessons regarding negative effects of capital flows and integration – neither being a panacea with respect to growth and convergence (see, for example, Gligorov et al., 2012).

In the case of Ukraine – unlike in the above-mentioned NMS countries – one important factor behind the success restructuring story, namely the 'carrot' of prospective EU membership, is missing and is unlikely to be in place any time soon. Theoretically, Ukraine (just as Russia) could still try to emulate these developments via closer EU integration even without a formal accession anchor, as the Baltic States did in the early 1990s. 25 The latter does not rule out that Ukraine maintains close economic links with Russia, e.g. via a preservation of the current free trade regime (albeit with exemptions and limitations). The BRK-CU members – and first of all Russia – should also advance their integration with the enlarged EU, at least to the stage of a free trade area. A closer EU-BRK-CU integration which would include Ukraine is a potentially preferred option in the future which, if accompanied by a parallel integration of other EaP countries, would lay the foundation for a broader Pan-European Economic Space and a wider Eurasian integration 'from Lisbon to Vladivostok'. This could be part of the new inclusive strategy for the EU Eastern Partnership which would refrain from the strategic rivalry with Russia and revitalise the Partnership for Modernisation, especially in order to avoid trade wars and raising new walls in Europe (Samson, 2002; Havlik, 2010; Emerson, 2011a; Havlik, 2013; Wisniewski, 2013; etc.).

Summarising, both Russia and the EU should abstain from counterproductive geopolitical games over the influence in the EaP region that have adverse consequences especially for the EaP countries concerned. EU-Russia negotiations should not be about Ukraine or

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lt is questionable whether this incentive is sufficient for truly sustained reform efforts. WTO membership is definitely not a sufficient 'reform anchor' – see O. Havrylyshyn in Grinberg et al. (2008).

other EaP countries but involve the latter in the process. All parties should also continue/resume FTA negotiations – perhaps with a lesser and selective focus on costly harmonisations of norms and regulations. Last but not least, the progress in visa liberalisation procedures and other confidence-building measures should be decisively speeded up and here it is the EU which should deliver. Apart from confidence building measures, a closer integration of the enlarged EU, Russia and the Eastern Partnership countries – from 'Lisbon to Vladivostok' – would boost trade and investment thus fostering the badly needed economic growth and stability in Europe.

Tables from the wiiw Handbook of Statistics. Countries in Transition 2013:

Statistical Annex

Table A1 Kazakh	stan: Foreign trade b	y country	, groupir	ıgs		
	2000	2005	2009	2010	2011	2012
EUR mn ¹⁾²⁾	2000	2000	2000	20.0	20	
Exports, fob						
Total	9319	22371	30977	45387	62929	6724
EU-28	2400	9034	15164	23203	30738	3536
EU-15	2181	7752	12705	20391	27253	3066
Other countries 3)	6919	13337	15813	22185	32191	3188
Imports, cif						
Total	5330	13939	20373	23440	26619	3602
EU-28	1253	3453	5588	5482	5271	727
EU-15	1074	2995	4805	4567	4355	606
Other countries 3)	4077	10486	14785	17958	21348	2875
Trade balance						
Total	3989	8432	10604	21947	36310	3122
EU-28	1147	5581	9576	17721	25467	2809
EU-15	1108	4757	7900	15824	22898	2459
Other countries 3)	2842	2851	1028	4226	10843	313
Annual growth in %						
Exports, fob						
Total	72.6	38.3	-36.0	46.5	38.6	6
EU-28	62.1	59.5	-27.0	53.0	32.5	15
EU-15	87.0	52.7	-32.1	60.5	33.7	12
Other countries 3)	76.6	26.9	-42.7	40.3	45.1	-1
Imports, cif						
Total	58.6	35.5	-20.9	15.1	13.6	35.
EU-28	26.9	22.6	-4.3	-1.9	-3.8	37.
EU-15	29.1	25.9	-3.2	-5.0	-4.6	39.
Other countries 3)	71.8	40.4	-25.7	21.5	18.9	34.
Shares in %						
Exports, fob						
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.
EU-28	25.8	40.4	49.0	51.1	48.8	52.
EU-15	23.4	34.7	41.0	44.9	43.3	45.
Other countries 3)	74.2	59.6	51.0	48.9	51.2	47.
mports, cif						
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100
EU-28	23.5	24.8	27.4	23.4	19.8	20.
EU-15	20.1	21.5	23.6	19.5	16.4	16.
Other countries 3)	76.5	75.2	72.6	76.6	80.2	79
Officially registered trade.						
2) Values in EUR converted from USD to	NCU to EUR at the average	e official exc	hange rate.			
3) Refers to total minus EU-28 from 2000	Э.					

Table A2						
	Russia: Foreign trade by	country (grouping	S		
	2000	2005	2009	2010	2011	2012*
EUR mn ¹⁾						
Exports, fob						
Total	111449	193709	216560	299354	371071	408182
EU-28	60780	111619	116080	160210	192189	216319
EU-15	39870	80255	88564	121657	142915	164148
Other countries 2)	50668	82090	100480	139143	178882	191863
Imports, cif						
Total	36613	79190	120136	172579	219576	246447
EU-28	14617	35375	53962	71947	91606	96044
EU-15	12044	29283	43287	56998	74154	79421
Other countries 2)	21996	43815	66174	100632	127970	150403
Trade balance						
Total	74836	114519	96424	126775	151495	161735
EU-28	46164	76245	62119	88263	100583	120275
EU-15	27827	50972	45278	64659	68761	84727
Other countries 2)	28672	38275	34306	38511	50912	41460
Annual growth in %						
Exports, fob						
Total	63.0	32.6	-32.0	38.2	24.0	10.0
EU-28	80.1	46.2	-36.4	38.0	20.0	12.6
EU-15	71.0	51.2	-34.2	37.4	17.5	14.9
Other countries 2)	46.3	17.7	-26.2	38.5	28.6	7.3
Imports, cif						
Total	28.9	30.3	-34.0	43.7	27.2	12.2
EU-28	17.9	27.8	-32.0	33.3	27.3	4.8
EU-15	14.9	28.0	-32.3	31.7	30.1	7.1
Other countries 2)	37.4	32.3	-35.5	52.1	27.2	17.5
Shares in %						
Exports, fob						
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
EU-28	54.5	57.6	53.6	53.5	51.8	53.0
EU-15	35.8	41.4	40.9	40.6	38.5	40.2
Other countries 2)	45.5	42.4	46.4	46.5	48.2	47.0
Imports, cif						
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
EU-28	39.9	44.7	44.9	41.7	41.7	39.0
EU-15	32.9	37.0	36.0	33.0	33.8	32.2
Oth an account (2)	00.4	0	4		500	04.0

60.1

1) Values in EUR converted from USD to NCU to EUR at the average official exchange rate.

55.3

55.1

58.3

61.0

58.3

Other countries $^{2)}$

2) Refers to total minus EU-28 from 2000.

Table A3						
	Ukraine: Foreign trade by	country	grouping	js –		
	2000	2005	2009	2010	2011	2012*
EUR mn ¹⁾						
Exports, fob						
Total	15764.6	27455.0	28457.9	38729.2	49129.8	53536.7
EU-28	5215.2	8256.5	6820.9	9858.6	12945.4	13321.2
EU-15	2811.6	4578.1	3906.7	5474.5	6787.7	7371.1
Other countries 2)	10549.4	19198.5	21637.0	28870.6	36184.3	40215.5
Imports, cif						
Total	15097.7	28985.3	32571.0	45763.8	59340.2	65867.2
EU-28	4378.8	9794.8	11067.9	14428.9	18536.3	20404.6
EU-15	3116.9	6755.8	7225.0	8921.6	11938.4	13168.3
Other countries 2)	10718.9	19190.5	21503.1	31334.9	40803.9	45462.6
Trade balance						
Total	667.0	-1530.3	-4113.1	-7034.6	-10210.4	-12330.5
EU-28	836.4	-1538.3	-4247.1	-4570.3	-5590.9	-7083.5
EU-15	-305.3	-2177.7	-3318.3	-3447.1	-5150.6	-5797.2
Other countries 2)	-169.5	8.0	133.9	-2464.3	-4619.5	-5247.1
Annual growth in %						
Exports, fob						
Total	44.8	4.4	-37.8	36.1	26.9	9.0
EU-28	51.4	-7.3	-45.4	44.5	31.3	2.9
EU-15	41.2	-4.7	-40.7	40.1	24.0	8.6
Other countries 2)	41.7	10.4	-35.0	33.4	25.3	11.1
Imports, cif						
Total	35.6	24.2	-44.3	40.5	29.7	11.0
EU-28	34.6	27.3	-44.0	30.4	28.5	10.1
EU-15	38.2	23.7	-42.7	23.5	33.8	10.3
Other countries 2)	36.0	22.7	-44.4	45.7	30.2	11.4
Shares in %						
Exports, fob						
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
EU-28	33.1	30.1	24.0	25.5	26.3	24.9
EU-15	17.8	16.7	13.7	14.1	13.8	13.8
Other countries 2)	66.9	69.9	76.0	74.5	73.7	75.1
Imports, cif						
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
EU-28	29.0	33.8	34.0	31.5	31.2	31.0
ELL 45	20.0	22.2	20.0	40.5	20.4	00.0

20.6

71.0

1) Values in EUR converted from USD to NCU to EUR at the average official exchange rate.

23.3

66.2

22.2

66.0

19.5

68.5

20.1

68.8

20.0

69.0

EU-15

Other countries $^{2)}$

2) Refers to total minus EU-28 from 2000.

¹⁵

Table A4

Kazakhstan: Exports to the top thirty partners

		2000	2005	2009	2010	2011	2012*
Total exports, fob, EUR mn 1)		9319.0	22370.9	30977.2	45387.1	62928.6	67248.6
Shares in % (ranking in 2012)							
Italy	1	10.41	15.05	15.48	15.89	17.17	17.77
China	2	7.65	8.70	13.63	16.79	18.60	16.46
Netherlands	3	2.57	3.15	5.15	6.90	7.58	8.43
Russia	4	19.87	10.51	8.21	9.48	7.99	7.09
France	5	0.18	9.57	7.83	7.36	6.18	6.52
Austria	6	0.01	0.00	2.77	4.20	4.43	5.73
Switzerland	7	5.15	19.78	6.18	2.05	5.66	5.69
Canada	8	0.08	1.90	3.21	4.06	3.00	3.56
Romania	9	0.01	1.65	1.95	2.13	2.59	3.51
Turkey	10	0.71	0.56	1.83	2.05	2.94	3.13
Ukraine	11	2.88	0.72	2.98	1.11	3.05	2.76
United Kingdom	12	2.58	1.15	2.86	2.30	1.85	1.94
Poland	13	0.64	1.32	1.93	2.02	1.49	1.87
Israel	14			2.60	2.12	1.62	1.78
Germany	15	6.25	1.47	2.08	2.90	1.84	1.61
Uzbekistan	16	1.51	0.87	2.06	1.82	1.35	1.36
Portugal	17		1.14	0.64	1.22	1.30	1.18
Spain	18	0.07	1.67	1.34	1.53	1.30	0.77
Greece	19	0.01	0.50	1.26	1.65	0.66	0.76
Kyrgyzstan	20	0.66	0.81	0.90	0.70	0.58	0.74
Iran	21	2.31	3.18	2.96	1.81	1.23	0.70
Japan	22	0.11	0.49	0.57	0.89	1.19	0.64
Finland	23	0.79	0.64	1.04	0.45	0.67	0.60
Tajikistan	24	0.60	0.54	0.56	0.43	0.41	0.54
United States	25	2.38	2.39	1.42	1.46	1.17	0.46
Bulgaria	26	0.02	0.00	0.42	0.28	0.55	0.41
Azerbaijan	27	0.53	0.46	0.21	0.57	0.27	0.40
Afghanistan	28	0.66	0.59	0.95	0.60	0.38	0.34
Cyprus	29	0.02	1.03		0.01	0.10	0.26
Korea Republic	30	0.41	0.67	0.30	0.39	0.32	0.25
1) Officially registered trade.							

Table A5

Russia: Exports to the top thirty partners

		2000	2005	2009	2010	2011	2012*
Total exports, fob, EUR mn		111449	193709	216560	299354	371071	408182
Shares in % (ranking in 2012)							
Netherlands	1	4.22	10.19	12.07	13.59	12.13	14.64
China	2	5.09	5.40	5.53	5.12	6.78	6.81
Germany	3	8.95	8.17	6.20	6.46	6.61	6.78
Italy	4	7.03	7.89	8.32	6.92	6.32	6.18
Turkey	5	3.00	4.49	5.43	5.12	4.91	5.23
Ukraine	6	4.87	5.14	4.59	5.83	5.90	5.18
Belarus	7	5.40	4.19	5.54	4.55	4.82	4.68
Poland	8	4.32	3.57	4.14	3.76	4.14	3.79
Japan	9	2.68	1.55	2.40	3.23	2.83	2.97
Kazakhstan	10	2.18	2.71	3.03	2.69	2.73	2.87
United Kingdom	11	4.53	3.43	3.01	2.85	2.71	2.86
Korea Republic	12	0.94	0.98	1.88	2.63	2.59	2.63
United States	13	4.50	2.62	3.03	3.10	3.18	2.47
Finland	14	3.01	3.17	3.04	3.06	2.55	2.29
Switzerland	15	3.74	4.46	2.06	2.20	2.22	2.05
France	16	1.85	2.53	2.89	3.13	2.88	2.01
Latvia	17	1.58	0.49	1.37	1.48	1.43	1.70
India	18	1.05	0.96	1.97	1.61	1.18	1.51
Belgium	19	0.73	1.02	1.34	1.24	1.45	1.30
Hungary	20	2.33	2.07	1.29	1.35	1.50	1.27
Sweden	21	1.68	0.96	1.06	0.90	0.99	1.18
Slovakia	22	2.06	1.32	0.98	1.15	1.37	1.17
Greece	23	1.23	0.80	0.77	0.72	0.91	1.13
Spain	24	1.04	1.17	0.96	1.02	1.19	1.09
Lithuania	25	2.01	1.66	1.13	0.89	1.40	1.03
Czech Republic	26	1.69	1.58	1.47	1.39	1.05	1.00
Bulgaria	27	0.57	0.79	0.73	0.86	0.68	0.83
Estonia	28	1.20	0.88	0.38	0.43	0.55	0.70
Taiwan	29	0.39	0.60	0.26	0.45	0.41	0.63
Egypt	30	0.44	0.43	0.60	0.48	0.45	0.61

Table A6

Ukraine: Exports to the top thirty partners

		2000	2005	2009	2010	2011	2012*
Total exports, fob, EUR mn		15764.6	27455.0	28457.9	38729.2	49129.8	53536.7
Shares in % (ranking in 2012)							
Russia	1	24.12	21.88	21.40	26.12	28.98	25.62
Turkey	2	5.96	5.92	5.36	5.89	5.48	5.36
Egypt	3	1.52	2.33	2.55	0.43	1.95	4.21
Poland	4	2.87	2.95	3.04	3.48	4.09	3.74
Italy	5	4.38	5.53	3.09	4.69	4.44	3.60
Kazakhstan	6	0.53	1.95	3.57	2.53	2.72	3.57
India	7	1.15	2.15	2.90	0.97	3.31	3.33
Belarus	8	1.87	2.60	3.17	3.69	2.81	3.27
China	9	4.32	2.08	3.61	0.91	3.19	2.58
Germany	10	5.09	3.75	3.14	2.92	2.58	2.39
Spain	11	1.12	1.68	1.44	0.80	1.42	2.24
Hungary	12	2.25	2.01	1.84	1.67	1.96	2.19
Lebanon	13	0.42	0.30	1.75	0.58	1.99	2.07
Iran	14	0.62	1.69	1.90	0.55	1.65	1.69
United States	15	4.98	2.79	0.63	1.58	1.63	1.47
Saudi Arabia	16	0.25	1.13	1.26	0.16	1.19	1.35
Netherlands	17	0.95	1.51	1.50	1.10	1.22	1.21
Moldova	18	1.21	1.98	1.75	1.39	1.28	1.20
Israel	19	0.73	0.85	0.99	0.31	0.75	1.16
Azerbaijan	20	0.28	0.85	1.38	1.19	1.04	1.11
Czech Republic	21	1.30	1.10	0.86	1.22	1.23	1.03
Slovakia	22	1.58	1.48	1.09	1.11	1.23	0.98
Syria	23	1.10	1.96	1.90	0.36	1.35	0.84
Bulgaria	24	2.62	1.59	1.00	0.88	1.10	0.83
Romania	25	1.13	1.43	0.80	1.37	1.39	0.80
United Kingdom	26	0.94	1.05	0.87	0.99	0.71	0.80
France	27	0.77	0.58	1.11	0.93	0.83	0.80
Georgia	28	0.26	0.58	1.00	1.03	0.96	0.79
Jordan	29	0.31	0.53	1.20	0.20	0.66	0.78
Turkmenistan	30	1.02	0.55	0.82	0.41	0.35	0.77

Table A7

Kazakhstan: Imports from the top thirty partners

		2000	2005	2009	2010	2011	2012*
Total imports, cif, EUR mn 1)		5329.9	13939.0	20372.8	23440.1	26618.5	36021.2
Shares in % (ranking in 2012)							
Russia	1	48.40	37.98	31.32	39.38	41.38	36.59
China	2	3.00	7.21	12.56	12.73	13.55	16.08
Germany	3	6.66	7.50	7.19	5.93	5.62	8.26
Ukraine	4	1.61	4.87	7.50	4.37	4.68	6.33
United States	5	5.50	6.94	4.90	4.24	4.63	4.60
Italy	6	3.09	3.91	6.74	5.10	3.09	2.11
Korea Republic	7	1.66	1.48	1.32	1.69	1.68	2.09
Japan	8	2.09	3.45	2.24	1.80	1.74	1.97
Turkey	9	2.86	2.30	2.01	1.99	1.97	1.74
Uzbekistan	10	1.40	1.47	1.07	1.52	2.08	1.74
Belarus	11	0.78	1.20	1.29	1.70	1.60	1.43
France	12	1.50	1.68	1.62	1.60	1.86	1.41
United Kingdom	13	4.43	2.44	2.47	2.34	1.42	1.30
Poland	14	1.16	1.14	1.48	1.22	1.06	1.04
Kyrgyzstan	15	0.60	0.68	0.41	0.53	0.65	0.79
India	16	0.91	0.58	0.55	0.64	0.66	0.72
Czech Republic	17	0.67	0.55	0.63	0.54	0.44	0.70
Brazil	18	0.55	0.96	0.71	0.75	0.92	0.65
Netherlands	19	1.30	0.81	1.12	0.97	0.79	0.62
Austria	20	0.36	0.90	0.89	0.71	0.60	0.58
Sweden	21	0.51	1.51	0.92	0.67	0.84	0.54
Finland	22	1.14	1.14	1.09	0.67	0.67	0.54
Spain	23	0.18	0.44	0.42	0.32	0.40	0.50
Switzerland	24	1.08	1.16	0.55	0.58	0.42	0.48
Canada	25	0.46	0.73	0.87	0.70	0.47	0.45
Belgium	26	0.66	0.83	0.55	0.57	0.48	0.44
Lithuania	27	0.19	0.16	0.38	0.35	0.27	0.41
Turkmenistan	28	0.86	0.29	0.22	0.03	0.18	0.39
Hungary	29	0.51	0.40	0.35	0.41	0.44	0.31
Ireland	30			0.23	0.27	0.28	0.27
1) Officially registered trade.							

Table A8

Russia: Imports from the top thirty partners

		2000	2005	2009	2010	2011	2012*
Total imports, cif, EUR mn		36613	79190	120136	172579	219576	246447
Shares in % (ranking in 2012)							
China	1	2.80	7.36	13.62	17.02	15.78	15.40
Germany	2	11.51	13.45	12.69	11.66	12.32	12.09
Ukraine	3	10.78	7.92	5.46	6.14	6.58	5.68
Japan	4	1.69	5.91	4.33	4.48	4.91	4.95
United States	5	7.95	4.62	5.48	4.85	4.77	4.83
France	6	3.50	3.72	5.04	4.39	4.34	4.35
Italy	7	3.58	4.47	4.72	4.39	4.38	4.24
Belarus	8	10.95	5.79	4.01	4.35	4.48	3.56
Kazakhstan	9	6.49	3.27	2.21	1.94	2.34	2.72
United Kingdom	10	2.54	2.81	2.12	2.00	2.35	2.59
Korea Republic	11	1.06	4.06	2.91	3.18	3.79	2.17
Turkey	12	1.03	1.75	1.92	2.13	2.08	2.16
Poland	13	2.11	2.78	2.52	2.55	2.18	2.13
Netherlands	14	2.18	1.97	2.14	1.94	1.94	1.61
Finland	15	2.83	3.14	2.36	2.00	1.85	1.51
Spain	16	0.92	1.24	1.36	1.33	1.41	1.24
Belgium	17	1.42	1.50	1.52	1.43	1.35	1.18
Czech Republic	18	1.08	1.00	1.39	1.27	1.47	1.12
Brazil	19	1.14	2.38	2.08	1.78	1.44	1.03
Austria	20	1.24	1.23	1.23	1.08	1.02	0.99
Sweden	21	1.37	1.88	1.22	1.25	1.32	0.94
India	22	1.64	0.79	0.91	0.94	0.91	0.93
Hungary	23	1.19	1.11	1.57	1.37	1.09	0.88
Switzerland	24	0.80	0.89	1.17	1.05	0.97	0.86
Vietnam	25	0.11	0.18	0.41	0.49	0.56	0.71
Slovakia	26	0.31	0.51	1.08	1.09	0.97	0.66
Denmark	27	1.02	0.93	0.82	0.74	0.67	0.63
Canada	28	0.57	0.52	0.72	0.65	0.60	0.61
Taiwan	29	0.26	0.50	0.55	0.67	0.67	0.60
Norway	30	0.46	0.76	0.67	0.62	0.62	0.56

Table A9

Ukraine: Imports from the top thirty partners

		2000	2005	2009	2010	2011	2012*
Total imports, cif, EUR mn		15097.7	28985.3	32571.0	45763.8	59340.2	65867.2
Shares in % (ranking in 2012)							
Russia	1	41.74	35.54	29.13	36.54	35.27	32.39
China	2	0.94	5.01	6.02	2.03	7.59	9.33
Germany	3	8.13	9.36	8.48	7.58	8.31	8.04
Belarus	4	4.31	2.60	3.73	4.23	5.10	5.99
Poland	5	2.24	3.89	4.78	4.59	3.85	4.21
United States	6	2.58	1.96	2.83	2.91	3.14	3.43
Italy	7	2.48	2.85	2.51	2.29	2.43	2.64
Turkey	8	1.15	1.68	2.10	2.14	1.79	2.31
France	9	1.69	2.21	2.14	1.82	1.82	1.97
Korea Republic	10	0.79	1.79	1.25	0.46	1.50	1.83
Kazakhstan	11	2.96	0.52	4.48	1.26	2.03	1.77
Czech Republic	12	1.17	1.64	1.37	1.23	1.43	1.47
Japan	13	0.71	1.52	1.14	1.32	1.23	1.41
Hungary	14	1.19	1.79	1.49	2.00	1.61	1.37
United Kingdom	15	1.45	1.39	1.43	1.35	1.37	1.36
Netherlands	16	1.05	1.28	1.49	1.38	1.44	1.33
India	17	0.54	0.89	1.05	0.28	0.98	1.21
Romania	18	0.35	0.59	1.07	1.12	1.36	1.10
Lithuania	19	0.97	0.55	0.90	1.05	1.00	1.08
Singapore	20	0.03	0.05	0.06	0.01	0.05	0.97
Switzerland	21	1.55	0.70	0.96	0.84	0.96	0.90
Spain	22	0.72	0.65	0.82	0.77	0.83	0.88
Austria	23	1.33	1.27	1.35	1.15	0.86	0.87
Belgium	24	0.97	0.87	1.02	0.97	0.80	0.84
Slovakia	25	0.89	0.84	0.67	0.73	0.73	0.69
Brazil	26	0.67	0.86	0.83	0.17	0.66	0.68
Sweden	27	1.08	1.51	0.99	0.59	0.77	0.64
Finland	28	0.69	0.97	0.93	0.71	0.63	0.57
Indonesia	29	0.20	0.34	0.57	0.20	0.64	0.49
Norway	30	0.32	0.35	0.57	0.43	0.33	0.45

Table A10

Kazakhstan: Exports and imports by SITC commodity groups

	2000	2005	2009	2010	2011	2012*
Exports 1)						
Total exports, fob, EUR mn	9319.0	22370.9	30977.2	45387.1	62928.6	67248.6
Shares in %						
0 Food and live animals	6.7	2.2	3.5	3.1	1.8	2.9
1 Beverages and tobacco	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
2 Crude materials, inedible, except fuels	7.5	6.7	6.0	5.4	6.9	6.2
3 Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials	52.8	70.1	69.5	71.7	72.0	69.9
4 Animal and vegetable oils, fats and waxes	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1
5 Chemicals and related products, n.e.s.	1.1	1.9	4.5	4.4	3.3	3.8
6 Manufactured goods classified chiefly by material	26.9	16.7	13.7	13.0	13.7	14.0
7 Machinery and transport equipment	2.2	1.2	0.9	0.6	0.8	1.4
8 Miscellaneous manufactured articles	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.7
9 Commodities not classified elsewhere in the SITC	2.0	0.7	1.5	1.5	1.1	1.0
Imports 1)						
Total imports, cif, EUR mn	5329.9	13939.0	20372.8	23440.1	26618.5	36021.2
Shares in %						
0 Food and live animals	7.1	5.7	6.8	8.0	8.7	7.8
1 Beverages and tobacco	1.3	1.1	1.2	1.0	1.1	1.1
2 Crude materials, inedible, except fuels	2.8	2.0	1.2	1.3	1.4	2.3
3 Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials	11.4	11.9	10.0	9.9	12.8	10.8
4 Animal and vegetable oils, fats and waxes	0.8	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4
5 Chemicals and related products, n.e.s.	10.2	9.3	10.0	11.9	10.4	10.3
6 Manufactured goods classified chiefly by material	18.8	21.6	26.5	18.1	17.3	19.7
7 Machinery and transport equipment	39.7	41.5	37.0	40.3	35.8	38.0
8 Miscellaneous manufactured articles	6.4	6.5	6.8	9.0	11.8	9.4
9 Commodities not classified elsewhere in the SITC	1.4	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.4
1) Officially registered trade.						

Table A11

Russia: Exports and imports by SITC commodity groups

	2000	2005	2009	2010	2011	2012*
Exports						
Total exports, fob, EUR mn	111449	193709	216560	299354	371071	408182
Shares in %						
0 Food and live animals	0.9	1.3	2.5	1.6	1.8	2.5
1 Beverages and tobacco	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2
2 Crude materials, inedible, except fuels	4.5	4.4	3.1	3.1	3.3	2.4
3 Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials	50.6	61.8	63.0	65.6	67.0	70.3
4 Animal and vegetable oils, fats and waxes	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.4
5 Chemicals and related products, n.e.s.	6.0	4.2	4.1	4.0	4.2	4.7
6 Manufactured goods classified chiefly by material	17.8	14.8	12.3	11.2	9.8	9.5
7 Machinery and transport equipment	6.2	4.1	3.6	2.8	2.3	2.7
8 Miscellaneous manufactured articles	2.0	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.6
9 Commodities not classified elsewhere in the SITC	11.8	8.4	10.1	10.8	10.8	6.6
Imports						
Total imports, cif, EUR mn	36613	79190	120136	172579	219576	246447
Shares in %						
0 Food and live animals	15.6	12.8	13.1	11.6	10.1	10.2
1 Beverages and tobacco	3.3	2.4	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.4
2 Crude materials, inedible, except fuels	7.2	3.7	3.0	2.2	2.1	2.2
3 Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials	4.1	1.6	1.4	1.2	1.6	1.3
4 Animal and vegetable oils, fats and waxes	1.1	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.5
5 Chemicals and related products, n.e.s.	11.8	12.7	13.1	12.8	11.7	12.1
6 Manufactured goods classified chiefly by material	13.9	13.0	11.5	11.9	11.6	12.8
7 Machinery and transport equipment	24.5	39.9	37.1	39.0	41.9	31.5
8 Miscellaneous manufactured articles	7.2	7.0	10.2	11.0	10.0	11.3
9 Commodities not classified elsewhere in the SITC	11.2	6.2	8.0	8.2	9.1	16.7

Table A12

Ukraine: Exports and imports by SITC commodity groups

	2000	2005	2009	2010	2011	2012*
Exports						
Total exports, fob, EUR mn	15764.6	27455.0	28457.9	38729.2	49129.8	53536.7
Shares in %						
0 Food and live animals 1)	6.3	10.3	16.8	12.2	11.7	17.4
1 Beverages and tobacco						
2 Crude materials, inedible, except fuels	12.7	7.2	9.6	10.4	11.0	10.3
3 Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials	5.5	9.8	5.4	7.1	8.3	5.3
4 Animal and vegetable oils, fats and waxes	1.6	1.7	4.4	5.0	4.8	6.0
5 Chemicals and related products, n.e.s.	9.0	9.0	6.2	6.7	7.9	7.3
6 Manufactured goods classified chiefly by material	45.6	44.1	36.1	37.1	33.3	28.8
7 Machinery and transport equipment	12.3	12.6	16.6	17.3	12.9	14.4
8 Miscellaneous manufactured articles	4.5	3.8	4.0	3.5	3.0	2.8
9 Commodities not classified elsewhere in the SITC	2.4	1.6	8.0	0.7	7.1	7.6
Imports						
Total imports, cif, EUR mn	15097.7	28985.3	32571.0	45763.8	59340.2	65867.2
Shares in %						
0 Food and live animals 1)	5.9	6.5	9.5	8.2	6.3	7.2
1 Beverages and tobacco						
2 Crude materials, inedible, except fuels	5.6	3.9	3.4	3.7	2.8	2.6
3 Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials	43.0	29.5	32.2	32.3	34.6	30.9
4 Animal and vegetable oils, fats and waxes	0.3	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.4
5 Chemicals and related products, n.e.s.	8.8	11.7	15.3	14.3	11.9	12.1
6 Manufactured goods classified chiefly by material	12.8	14.6	13.7	14.4	12.5	11.6
7 Machinery and transport equipment	17.5	25.0	18.5	19.6	16.6	19.5
8 Miscellaneous manufactured articles	3.6	5.4	5.8	6.0	3.9	5.1
9 Commodities not classified elsewhere in the SITC	2.6	2.9	0.9	1.0	11.0	10.4
1) Including beverages and tobacco.						

Table B1

Russian Federation

Part A.1	Tariffs and in	nports: Summa	ry and duty range	es			
Summary		Total	Ag	Non-Ag	WTO member since		2012
Simple average final bound		7.8	11.2	7.2	Binding coverage:	Total	100
Simple average MFN applied	2012	10.0	13.3	9.4		Non-Ag	100
Trade weighted average	2011	9.9	16.7	8.8	Ag: Tariff quotas (in %)	_	3.2
Imports in billion US\$	2011	277.6	37.4	240.2	Ag: Special safeguards (in %)		0

Frequency of	distribution		Duty-free	0 <= 5	5 <= 10	10 <= 15	15 <= 25	25 <= 50	50 <= 100	> 100	NAV
i requericy (uistribution		Tariff lines and import values (in %)								
Agricultural products											
	Final bound		3.0	43.3	21.5	24.5	4.2	0.8	2.3	0.3	22.9
	MFN applied	2012	8.2	36.9	7.8	30.2	10.7	3.8	2.1	0.3	28.2
	Imports	2011	9.0	24.8	7.2	27.9	18.6	8.0	4.4	0.0	54.7
Non-agricultural produ	ucts										
	Final bound		3.4	50.0	30.4	14.9	1.2	0.1	0.0	0	7.0
	MFN applied	2012	14.2	34.4	19.9	20.6	8.9	1.5	0.3	0.1	10.1
	Imports	2011	32.6	21.9	17.8	12.9	8.5	6.0	0.1	0.0	9.6

imperts zori		21.0	17.0	12.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	5.0
Part A.2	Tariffs and in	ports by prod	duct groups						
		Final b	oound duties		M	IFN applied duties		Impo	rts
Product groups	AVG	Duty-free	Max	Binding	AVG	Duty-free	Max	Share	Duty-free
		in %		in %		in %		in %	in %
Animal products	23.1	7.4	80	100	23.7	14.8	90	2.5	3.6
Dairy products	14.9	0	21	100	18.4	0	50	0.8	0
Fruit, vegetables, plants	8.7	0.2	45	100	11.7	4.6	134	4.1	8.6
Coffee, tea	6.4	4.2	13	100	9.1	20.8	23	1.1	34.1
Cereals & preparations	10.1	1.3	77	100	12.9	3.5	77	0.9	1.6
Oilseeds, fats & oils	7.1	8.2	25	100	8.5	10.9	48	0.8	22.1
Sugars and confectionery	12.7	0	48	100	12.9	0	39	0.7	0
Beverages & tobacco	23.6	0	292	100	29.2	5.2	292	1.6	2.7
Cotton	0.0	100.0	0	100	0.0	100.0	0	0.1	100.0
Other agricultural products	5.3	0	10	100	5.6	7.4	20	0.8	7.0
Fish & fish products	7.5	0	77	100	12.4	0.4	77	0.9	2.6
Minerals & metals	8.0	0.1	20	100	9.9	6.4	90	9.5	12.8
Petroleum	5.0	0	5	100	4.5	10.0	5	1.1	1.3
Chemicals	5.2	0.4	10	100	6.4	5.8	21	13.8	13.2
Wood, paper, etc.	7.9	5.0	15	100	12.8	6.1	30	3.3	9.8
Textiles	7.8	0	18	100	10.9	0.6	37	2.1	2.7
Clothing	11.8	0	42	100	19.6	0	100		0
Leather, footwear, etc.	6.4	0	15	100	10.3	8.7	176	3.2	7.7
Non-electrical machinery	5.8	7.9	15	100	3.4	66.2	21	18.7	73.6
Electrical machinery	6.2	23.3	16	100	7.3	25.2	27	11.1	37.8
Transport equipment	8.9	2.5	20	100	10.6	17.7	35	16.1	29.9
Manufactures, n.e.s.	8.4	7.9	20	100	11.4	17.2	190	4.4	39.7

Part B	Exports to major trading partners and duties faced
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	Bilateral imports				MFN	AVG of	Pref.	Duty-free ir	mports
Major markets		in million	95% trade	in no. of	trade	ed TL	margin	TL	Value
	l	JS\$	HS 2-digit	HS 6-digit	Simple	Weighted	Weighted	in %	in %
Agricultural products									
Kazakhstan	2011	1,569	22	120	20.8	24.5	24.5	100.0	100.0
2. European Union	2011	1,510	22	55	14.6	7.9	1.3	21.8	67.7
3. Egypt	2011	1,386	2	2	112.0	0.5	0.0	25.0	97.4
4. Turkey	2011	863	6	13	29.5	85.4	0.0	14.2	3.7
5. Ukraine	2011	679	12	49	9.8	10.4	8.8	96.1	80.8
Non-agricultural products									
1. European Union	2011	241,503	16	62	4.1	0.3	0.2	69.5	97.1
2. China	2011	40,298	18	46	7.7	1.4	0.0	17.1	73.3
3. United States	2011	33,383	19	49	2.3	0.2	0.1	87.7	33.4
4. Ukraine	2011	28,386	45	347	3.7	0.9	0.9	100.0	100.0
5. Belarus	2011	23,958	50	540	9.5	3.3	3.3	100.0	100.0

Source: WTO (http://stat.wto.org/TariffProfiles/).

Table B2

Ukraine

Part A.1	Tariffs and imp	orts: Summary ar	nd duty ranges				
Summary		Total	Ag	Non-Ag	WTO member since		2008
Simple average final bound		5.8	11.0	5.0	Binding coverage:	Total	100
Simple average MFN applied	2012	4.5	9.5	3.7		Non-Ag	100
Trade weighted average	2011	2.7	9.1	2.2	Ag: Tariff quotas (in %)	_	0.1
Imports in billion US\$	2011	82.2	5.8	76.3	Ag: Special safeguards (in %)		0

Frequency di	iotribution		Duty-free	0 <= 5	5 <= 10	10 <= 15	15 <= 25	25 <= 50	50 <= 100	> 100	NAV
Frequency di	istribution			Tariff lines and import values (in %)							in %
Agricultural products											
	Final bound		12.6	19.6	27.5	13.9	25.5	0.8	0.1	0	1.0
	MFN applied	2012	21.1	22.0	26.3	12.1	17.5	0.8	0.2	0.1	0
	Imports	2011	39.3	20.4	28.4	5.8	1.6	3.8	0.7	0.0	0
Non-agricultural products											
	Final bound		33.8	16.8	43.0	5.8	0.5	0	0	0	0.0
	MFN applied	2012	43.1	29.9	21.3	5.4	0.3	0	0.0	0	0
	Imports	2011	66.4	18.1	14.7	0.9	0.1	0	0	0	0
Part A 2			Tariffs and impo	rte by product o	aroune						

Part A.2	raritts and impo	orts by product	groups							
	Final bound duties				M	FN applied duties	Imports			
Product groups	AVG	Duty-free	Max		Binding	AVG	Duty-free	Max	Share	Duty-free
		in %			in %		in %		in %	in %
Animal products	13.0	0		20	100	11.0	9.0	20	9.0	5
Dairy products	10.0	0		10	100	10.0	0	10	0.3)

		,0		/ 0		/0		/0	, 0
Animal products	13.0	0	20	100	11.0	9.0	20	0.5	15.0
Dairy products	10.0	0	10	100	10.0	0	10	0.2	0
Fruit, vegetables, plants	13.1	10.2	20	100	9.9	18.9	20	1.4	54.6
Coffee, tea	5.8	35.4	20	100	5.8	35.4	20	1.3	42.0
Cereals & preparations	12.7	3.3	20	100	12.6	3.8	20	0.9	27.1
Oilseeds, fats & oils	10.7	11.0	30	100	8.3	20.1	30	0.9	89.9
Sugars and confectionery	17.5	0.6	50	100	17.5	0	50	0.3	0
Beverages & tobacco	7.9	25.7	64	100	12.2	26.2	424	1.2	23.9
Cotton	1.4	40.0	5	100	1.4	40.0	5	0.0	61.3
Other agricultural products	7.6	23.9	20	100	5.5	45.2	20	0.5	19.3
Fish & fish products	3.7	61.7	20	100	2.6	68.2	20	0.7	68.0
Minerals & metals	4.5	42.4	20	100	3.0	47.6	20	32.8	79.0
Petroleum	1.5	72.0	10	100	0.9	84.3	10	13.7	97.3
Chemicals	5.1	16.1	10	100	3.2	39.3	65	12.7	55.4
Wood, paper, etc.	0.4	95.8	10	100	0.3	95.8	10	3.1	99.1
Textiles	4.1	33.7	13	100	3.8	35.6	13	2.1	25.6
Clothing	11.4	1.0	12	100	11.3	1.1	12	0.6	0.1
Leather, footwear, etc.	7.2	14.9	25	100	5.4	27.0	25	1.9	20.3
Non-electrical machinery	4.2	38.7	12	100	2.1	51.3	10	8.8	62.4
Electrical machinery	5.3	33.0	25	100	3.8	39.1	25	6.8	34.2
Transport equipment	7.5	15.8	20	100	5.1	39.6	20	7.5	21.4
Manufactures, n.e.s.	6.4	31.9	25	100	5.5	32.0	25	2.1	68.6

Part B	Exports to major trading partners and duties faced

	Bilateral i		Diversific	cation	MFN	AVG of	Pref.	Duty-free	imports
Major markets		in million	95% trade	in no. of	trad	ed TL	margin	TL	Value
		US\$	HS 2-digit	HS 6-digit	Simple	Weighted	Weighted	in %	in %
Agricultural products									
1. European Union	2011	3,627	15	25	13.7	4.5	0.9	27.3	70.6
2. Russian Federation	2011	2,093	17	77	15.6	20.9	20.9	99.7	100.0
3. Turkey	2011	1,183	4	11	30.6	46.7	0.0	12.7	2.2
4. Egypt	2011	997	3	5	4.6	0.2	0.0	24.3	95.3
5. India	2011	903	1	1	40.2	2.2	0.0	15.6	95.9
Non-agricultural products									
Russian Federation	2011	17,846	45	514	9.6	7.9	7.9	100.0	100.0
2. European Union	2011	14,866	37	249	4.0	0.9	0.6	71.5	90.8
3. Turkey	2011	3,564	14	50	5.0	7.3	0.7	66.1	39.6
4. China	2011	3,174	11	17	8.0	0.9	0.0	16.1	77.7
5. Belarus	2011	1,615	43	477	9.4	7.3	7.3	100.0	100.0

Source: WTO (http://stat.wto.org/TariffProfiles/).

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