

# CONVERSATIONS IN VILLA DECIUS

## WEIMAR TRIANGLE AND UKRAINE

European Models of Integration  
and Regional Cooperation

  
VILLA  
DECIUS



## WEIMAR TRIANGLE AND UKRAINE



*Conversations in Villa Decius 3*

**WEIMAR TRIANGLE AND UKRAINE**

Models of Cooperation between East and West

October 25-26, 2002

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WEIMAR TRIANGLE AND UKRAINE



**I n t r o d u c t i o n**



The presence of Ukraine in the European and Euro-Atlantic structures is not necessarily a question of the future shape of the United Europe. The presence of Ukraine in Europe and Euro-Atlantic structures should result from an elementary sense of solidarity. For the Polish people it means solidarity with our neighbours and friends with whom we have strong historical ties.

The presence of Ukraine in the common cultural, historical, economic, political and emotional space was the subject of our international conference. We discussed these subjects in the context of models of cooperation between the East and the West of Europe, and specifically between the Weimar Triangle and Ukraine. We wanted to reflect on the question whether Germany, France, Poland and Ukraine, four countries with comparable economic and social potential, can create forms of cooperation alongside those existing within EU structures.

The European Union lacks political motivation for taking a greater interest in Ukraine. Europe has forgotten how difficult and crucial its beginnings were. We, almost EU members, overwhelmed by directives, recommendations and instructions, may also forget how it was in 1981 or 1989 when Western Europe gave us its support. We think that one of the ways to pay back our debt is to help create a democratic Ukraine.

This publication would not be possible without the financial support of the Office of the Committee for European Integration for which we would like to express our gratitude. Editing the conference material, we aimed at preserving some of the atmosphere of the debate, and we retained some questions and comments from the audience.

I would like to thank all the staff of the Villa Decius Association for their excellent work and commitment. I hope that the Villa, a venue of European meetings, will have the honour and pleasure of receiving again our partners and friends from Ukraine, alongside our friends from the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, France and Germany.

Danuta Glondys  
Director of Villa Decius Association



**Part One**



**The Weimar Triangle as a Model  
of Cooperation with Ukraine  
and Support for its Integration  
into Euro-Atlantic Structures  
(Panel Discussion  
with International Experts)**



*Chaired by Hermann Bünz*

**Hermann Bünz, Chairman:**

I can speak in my mother tongue in Kraków. That makes me very happy and I am inviting you kindly to our morning round of discussion. The organizers and the panel are very ambitious. The Weimar Triangle and Ukraine: at first glance there is not so much concealed here. But if we look at the title carefully enough we can see ambition, and ambition is good. Hooray for ambition. We can never be ambitious enough when trying to predict political future. The Weimar Triangle and its experience: a very good subject for a conference. The Weimar Triangle and its experience as a model: we could ask so many questions here. The Weimar Triangle as a model of integration policy concerning Ukraine: that is also an important problem which has just emerged. But it is also natural that we question our own policy. That is why I am really glad that experts from the countries which participate in this great experiment came here to have a discussion with us. I would like to begin by saying how happy I am that we have such an excellent panel together in the morning: Danuta Hübner has been given mark B by the Polish press, which I believe to be unjust, as she is much better considering what she has done in the last two years. It is enormous. So mark A? She deserves even more. We are really happy that she is with us today. She is the best expert on instruments of the European Union. We have also our Western neighbour, Consul General Michel Rainieri of France, whom I would like to welcome. We all know how valuable it is to have the General Consulate here in Kraków in the context of this kind of problems, which are not so easy to be discussed seriously. And last but not least, there are some Germans at the table. Doctor Dieter Bingen, director of the Deutsches Poleninstitut in Darmstadt, came to give us an idea as to what would be said on this subject in Germany. I am really happy to have him with us as he is one of the most expert persons in this field. Ladies and Gentlemen, I hope that it was my longest speech. However, I would like to stop here as we have people at the table who are really more intelligent, more prominent, and wiser than me. So, I would like to ask Minister Hübner to make her remarks on the subject of the Polish position on West-East cooperation.

**Danuta Hübner:**

Maybe I will begin by admitting that as an inhabitant of Warsaw I assumed arrogantly that in Kraków we would speak about this type of cooperation in English. That is why the notes I have are in this language. I will speak Polish as I was asked to do so. I would like to start by saying that as usual it is a great pleasure to be in Kraków and moreover to be in Kraków dealing with such a matter as the one today, the matter so extraordinarily important for all of us in this part of Europe, and generally in Europe. Nowadays we live in a world where peace, stability and security in Europe are guaranteed by well-guarded borders, by a proper equilibrium of forces.

To my mind the only safeguard of peace, stability and security in Europe nowadays is good international and European cooperation. Thirteen years ago, when the absurd division of Europe had come to an end, an opportunity emerged to begin a really close, good and necessary regional and subregional cooperation and to use this European cooperation as the main mechanism of change and the main mechanism of the development of nations. I certainly must repeat what everybody has been saying for years, and what we have been gradually filling with content: that the coming enlargement of the EU must not create a new line of division in Europe. Today we simply cannot afford it. Almost every day presents us with new arguments for such an attitude regarding European cooperation and therefore we in Poland appreciate very much these undertakings which the Danish presidency and the Commission expressed lately in the name of the European Union. We appreciate enormously the involvement of the EU member states in modelling a vision of a new approach to the cooperation with the new, Eastern neighbours of the enlarged European Union. I believe that we can create the European cooperation in such a way that some common framework for the cooperation will appear. We will certainly have to fill this framework with individual character, depending on the type and intensity of relations between particular states. The member states of the European Union have already expressed their will to involve Poland as well as other candidates in the creation of the framework of European cooperation with the new Eastern neighbours. In our declarations, also in the Convent in Brussels, we never miss an opportunity to highlight the



significance of the European relations in the enlarged Union with respect to the new Eastern neighbours. Undoubtedly, it is in the interest of both sides, and only when this cooperation is good and dynamic, we will be able to react properly to all urgent problems.

Among these problems are organized crime, illegal immigration, drugs and the security problem in general. When considering the question which areas should be included in the new formula for cooperation with the new Eastern neighbours of the Union, we must first of all intensify political dialogue. I think that already in the present official structures there is a large scope for the development of political dialogue. It should embrace not only purely political areas, but also economy, energy, transport and internal relations. There are many areas which need not interest all member states of the enlarged Union, but should be considered as important. We can, within the framework of this general cooperation, develop closer, bilateral, trilateral or any other forms of relations in the areas of interest. One of the most important areas of cooperation should be supporting the aspirations of our Eastern neighbours to join the World Trade Organization.

Besides energy and transport, which I already mentioned, another area of development in which Poland will be interested, will take active part in and will support, is the European cooperation in the field of security and defence. I think we could go much further than simple meetings, discussions and political dialogue, we could also think about the involvement of the European Union in the missions aiming at resolving crises in a military and policing sense. A great challenge for the enlarged European Union will be harmonizing Schengen with the position which we all, I would say, accept: to make new borders friendly, not dividing or separating, but such as will enable the march of what is good further towards the East. A great challenge for us in the coming years will be to do everything possible to avoid long queues at the borders and in consulates. The Polish people, who overcame this stage, remember it as a nightmare. We would not like anybody else to have reminiscences of this kind, and even less to identify them with Poland. I think that a very important matter for Poland is close cooperation in the field of judiciary and home affairs. We must not forget a crucial thing, namely what we could call the human element in the regional

cooperation. I mean here the exchange of young people, cooperation in preparing educational programmes, various initiatives alongside official and governmental ones.

I would like to bring up the subject of responsibility, responsibility for your own country, your own politicians, your own system; work done by state and local governments, non-governmental organizations and so on must in fact involve everybody. Thinking about cooperation with our Eastern neighbours from the point of view of the enlarged Union, thinking about our Polish cooperation with Ukraine, thinking specifically about the cooperation of the Weimar Triangle with Ukraine, we must keep this objective in mind. We must make use of what we have learned. This is extremely important: all the good experiences and good practices, everything that we have learned must be transmitted in such a way that others can use it for their own benefit. It is really difficult to adapt lessons of others, it is really hard to avoid making our own mistakes. We all prefer learning by our own mistakes. I believe that nobody has enough time for it nowadays. That is why we have to adapt the best examples, the best experiences. Our cooperation with Ukraine in fact started some years ago, based on the Polish-Ukrainian Permanent Conference concerning the European cooperation and we strongly support this choice: our partner's choice of Europe. We appreciate everything that has been done until now and we are preparing more meetings, and other forms of contact. We want to continue our assistance for our partners, our colleagues from Ukraine, in all the areas where they need assistance in the process of realizing their European choice, which, we hope, will be continued in Ukraine. We hope that regardless of the future configuration in Europe the contacts established until now will be used in order to help Ukraine achieve its European goal. We really want to make full use of Euroregions, the activities in which we are involved together. Sometimes, however, we think we could do more to make Euroregional cooperation more intensive. We hope that what was initiated in the Visegrad Group will be extended to cooperation with Ukraine. All states belonging to the Visegrad Group declared their will to cooperate with Ukraine and they have been doing it. To sum up, I would like to say that everything should be done to make the process of building external borders of the enlarged Europe, the borders which

must exist, a gentle one. We have to help our Eastern friends on their road to membership in the organizations which establish global standards. It is crucial to enter Europe being fully conscious of these global standards, which are observed, respected and put in practice by Europe. I mean especially the WTO. The process of accession of our Eastern neighbours into all these conventions and protocols, which already regulate international as well as European cooperation, should be intensified because all of it aims in the same good direction. We must continue the development of regional and Euroregional cooperation. We must also remember that in the present world we need not only a Europe of states and a Europe based cooperation of states, but we also need a Europe where networking, that is a net of cooperation in all areas of non-governmental organizations, media and so on, will be very strong. This cooperation does not depend upon governments and does not need governments but can flourish and facilitate the process of change in Europe. We must create such nets of cooperation in all fields, because it is in our interest. We must aim at a situation where our Ukrainian neighbours will have the feeling that security and welfare are growing, that Ukraine is bordering a territory where security and welfare are the main objectives. We must consider the enlargement of the EU not only as a process full of barriers, fears and new obstacles. We must see that the area of democracy is moving ahead, that it is coming nearer, and that this fact itself is much better than the time when the border was far away from Ukraine.

**Olexandr Chalyi:**

First of all I would like to express my gratitude for inviting me to your conference, it is a great honour for me, especially knowing that Kraków is the cultural capital of Poland. This is also a great responsibility for me, since the subject of today's conference refers to my country, to its future. It gives me faith in the future, because there are many interesting participants today. These are mainly experienced experts and young people. And I am positive that these young people will get to live in the United Europe. The organizers of the conference asked me to prepare a paper on the subject: "Ukraine and its international relations." I will do my best to fit in this framework and be very precise and structured.

In my opinion, in two years' time Ukraine will find itself in a new geopolitical situation. Ukraine will turn out to be in-between two great geopolitical centres: the European Union on one side, and the Eurasian Union on the other; in-between NATO as an organization of common security, and the Agreement of Tashkent. I am not dramatizing the situation, this is a purely geopolitical factor. For Ukraine there will be three options, in theory at least: to be integrated into the European Union and NATO, to try to retain its neutral status, or be reintegrated into the Eurasian Union and the Agreement of Tashkent, which means to get reintegrated back into Russia. And again, I am not dramatizing the situation, I am stating this as a fact. The Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian state have clearly made their choice. After having gained our independence, our course has been towards the integration into the European Union and into the Euro-Atlantic Union. The goal is simple: to create conditions for such a society that would enable us to become a member of the EU and NATO in the future. If you asked me why we have chosen this course, I would offer you the following answer: first of all, because this course is the best warranty of our independence. By following this course, we can fulfil our independence and safeguard our independence. Secondly, because we wish to renew our European identity. We want to get rid of the burden of Eurasian history of Ukraine. And the third reason is connected with something that only we, the Ukrainians, are able to understand - we do not want to live in the Empire any more, we want to live in the united Europe, where there are no "big brothers" and where the idea of democracy and equality are present. I do not know whether you can see it in Kraków, Paris or Berlin, but our course towards the European integration has undergone some important changes. Above all, for the first time it has been supported by all the agencies of power in Ukraine. Whatever we would say about the inadequacy or lack of democracy of our executive organ, still, after the Proclamation of Independence, especially for the last 5-6 years, it has been the executive organ that has been promoting the European integration and the Euro-Atlantic course. However, two years ago the process of consolidation started and the government supported the course towards the European integration, having discussed it during the proceedings of the Parliament. The new Parliament, as the results of the election show, is clearly supporting the integration. I think this is

going to be discussed in a more detailed way by my colleague, the former Foreign Minister of Ukraine, Borys Tarasyuk, now a member of Parliament. The election proved that the Ukrainian nation had made a clear choice, the choice for Europe. I would like to inform you that three days ago another historic event took place - for the first time in the history of Ukrainian parliamentarism, the Ukrainian Parliament had a debate on our integration into NATO. We are now waiting for Parliament's resolution, and we are convinced that it is going to be positive. That is, the present course towards European integration has the consensus of all the structures of power, and this is a new element. Moreover, in recent years we have obtained our society's support. Mostly this is the support for our membership in the European Union, less so for our membership in NATO, although the latter is growing. I think that the idea of the European integration now has some elements of the national idea - it unites the Ukrainian people, it gives them hope for the future and it is supported by the majority of the Ukrainian nation. Now we have a precise programme for what we want to achieve in our policy concerning European integration. I will say very specifically that after Gerhard Schröder presented in Kiev the possibility of an associate membership for Ukraine, in the context of Germany helping us to achieve this status, we have built a programme "The European Choice." This programme contains an approximate schedule: the year 2007 - signing the European Association Agreement; 2011 - creating conditions for starting membership negotiations. In the meanwhile, we are waiting for entering the World Trade Organization, and also, approximately in the years 2005-6, the Free Trade Agreement. It is possible that history will verify our programme. But the fact that we have a schedule, that we get consolidated and rally the society to carry it out, the fact that we have made it known, so that society could discuss it - this is a new, different moment of the Ukrainian integration into Europe. Integration becomes public policy. Today this is a policy not for the intellectuals, and not for the authorities - this is a public policy. The third specific point of the policy of European integration is that it is more focused on the internal transformation of the Ukrainian society. If for the last 10 years only external policy was the engine of the idea of the European integration, today we have introduced structural changes in the country's apparatus.

Where do we find ourselves now? First of all, we think that, unfortunately, nowadays, we are not getting a clear message from the European Union. I can also say that neither do we get it from NATO, concerning our integration into these structures. We know very well what we want. On the basis of our relations with these structures we want to transform our relations of cooperation, on which these structures agree, into relations of integration. We want to transform our relations based on the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement with the EU into the European Association Agreement. In the same way, we would like to change our relations of special membership in NATO into an intense dialogue and prepare a "membership action plan." Unfortunately, we do not see clear signals from Brussels that this would be possible for Ukraine in the foreseeable future. We accept this with calm and do not panic. We understand the reasons behind it. First of all, we understand what the European Union and its enlargement means. I would like to congratulate my Polish colleagues, because yesterday quite important decisions were taken in Brussels, decisions which, in my opinion, opened the way for Poland to become a member of the EU in 2004. Still, the expansion puts many challenges before the EU and its new members. And we understand that until all the new mechanisms are worked out, it is hard - from the political point of view - to give new signals for enlargement. That means that possibly for Ukraine this time has not yet come. Another challenge is the role of Russia, which has changed in recent years, especially after September 11. We can see Brussels' careful attitude, from the point of view of the EU and NATO, towards Russia's position on the possible Ukrainian integration into the EU and NATO. In some cases we do not even understand certain decisions, we think they have a purely political motivation. For instance, giving Russia the status of a market economy while energy prices there are 5-6 times lower than in Ukraine. We are refused this status. And the third, probably the most important reason for not having got any signal until now, are ourselves. We understand very well that we have not yet transformed our society and our mindset enough to be ready for transformation and integrate into the EU and NATO. We know our main problems very well - these are the problems with the press, problems with corruption, problems with implementation of judicial decisions, problems with transformation of the

political system. This is our task for the next two or three years. On the other hand, although there are no clear signals from the European Union, we are getting very clear signals from Russia. Russia not only offers us openly to join the Eurasian Union, but also says how much they are willing to pay us for it. President Putin and Prime Minister Kasyanov openly talk about it in their press-conferences. They say that they are willing to pay half a billion a year, without any additional conditions, if Ukraine integrates into Eurasia. In this context the role of Poland increases for us. Poland has always, constantly and consistently, supported our desire of integrating into Europe. But, like never before, we need Poland's public support for our desire for integration, and not only support. We need to see that Warsaw is an alternative for us, we need to see its presence in the Ukrainian society. That is why we cannot underestimate the role of the last conference in Warsaw where the Ukrainian authorities had a debate with the opposition.<sup>1)</sup> It has started, in my opinion, a new process, and has made Poland a crucial factor in the political life of Ukraine. And this is very important for us. I will put it very simply: until recently in Kiev two ambassadors were well-known figures: the Ambassador of Russia and the Ambassador of the United States. Now the Ambassador of Poland is also recognized in Kiev. And this is a relevant factor in supporting our desire for integration into the European Union.

What shall we do? We can see that we are facing a very difficult task. First, we should continue our course towards European integration. But I must make it clear that we are going to continue it only as a course towards integration with Europe, since Brussels has not given us the go-ahead. Last time, when we were preparing for the 2002 summit in Copenhagen, a funny thing happened: we offered to include a final statement that Ukraine wants to meet the Copenhagen criteria<sup>2)</sup>. Our offer was turned down. Why? Because from the point of view of the bureaucrats from Brussels, only the candidate countries are

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<sup>1)</sup>*The conference entitled "Ukraine in Europe" and initiated by the Polish Prime Minister Leszek Miller and President Aleksander Kwaśniewski, with Ukrainian authorities and opposition taking part, was held on October 15-16, 2002, in Warsaw (editors' note).*

<sup>2)</sup>*The summit of the Council of Europe, held in June, 1993, defined the so-called Copenhagen criteria, a set of conditions to be met by countries aspiring to EU membership (editors' note).*

able to meet these criteria. At the same time, one of the things required from us is nothing else but transforming the country according to the Copenhagen criteria. That is why our first problem is to continue the course without getting any positive feedback. Our second problem is to stay the course. The next two years will not be easy in the political life of Ukraine. Especially, if we take into consideration the threat of Ukraine being isolated, the threat very much present in the political life of the world.

“The Weimar Triangle and Ukraine” - I suppose that Ukraine, like never before, needs to cooperate with the Weimar Triangle. Why? Because for you everything went well. You have proven that you have reached the goals that you had set before you 10 years ago. France and Germany like an invisible force have literally driven Poland to the European Union and NATO. That is why any cooperation with you will make the Ukrainian elite and society feel that for us too everything will go well.

This is very important to us, because as you are joining the EU and Schengen is reaching our borders, it creates a certain feeling of isolation in the Ukrainian society. Another problem is that while Russia is actively carrying out its Western policy and its policy towards Ukraine, we need the EU to strengthen its Eastern policy like never before. We need the EU's focus and a clear Eastern policy on its part. In this context our joining the Weimar Triangle, in my opinion, would give us an opportunity to use this organization as a key factor for developing the Eastern policy of the EU towards Ukraine. What are the possible solutions? I looked into what our students' workgroup has prepared and I support their recommendations - cooperation on the level of the society. I have underlined that today we understand our policy of the European integration first of all as a public policy, as a policy of the civil society. It is really important. We also think that we need to develop international forms of relations between the Weimar Triangle and Ukraine. The best way for Ukraine would be to join the Triangle and have it transformed into a Weimar Quadrangle. For us it would be a very positive sign. It would be a sign that would give us a real European perspective. If it is not possible, on our part we are going to welcome any actions that would intensify our cooperation. I want to close with the following statement: we are convinced that the historic pro-



cesses which are taking place on the European continent will prove to be beneficial for Ukraine, for the Ukrainian idea. I also hope that we will not repeat the mistake from the early 20th century (after World War I the Ukrainian national idea was lost) and that with your help we will be able to integrate Ukraine into Europe.

**Hermann Bünz, Chairman:**

I am thinking about the tiny Weimar now. Maybe, looking at things geometrically, we should consider the idea of the Kraków Rectangle. Must it forever be Weimar? It could just as well be Kraków.

**Michel Rainieri:**

I would be delighted to speak in Polish, but as I am the Consul General of France, please allow me to speak in French. It seems important to draw your attention to presenting our position in respect to the subject of our today's meeting. First, allow me to thank and congratulate the Villa Decius Association for this fantastic conference. I would like to stress here that priority was given to young people expressing their opinions and that should be really appreciated. It is worth mentioning that although relations between the East and the West of Europe have been somewhat complicated, the exchange of young people has always been one of the most important factors, if not the most important factor in the dialogue between civil societies. As you know, it was the will to overcome the conflicts and the difficult heritage of the past, which led France, Poland and Germany to create the Weimar Triangle, providing the framework for active cooperation. There is no need to go over the history of this initiative. But there is a detail which seems to be particularly striking: although the Weimar Triangle was created on the government level, now it is mostly lower level institutions that keep it going. I assumed my post only two months ago, but I can see now how much the Polish communities are involved permanently in the development of the idea and look at their integration into Europe in the context of the Triangle. If cooperation between a French municipality and a Polish town is established, or between Polish and German villages, or at the level of a Polish province and a German Land, or between a

French region and a Polish province, Polish local communities consider it one of their objectives to involve a third partner: from the Baltic countries. I came to this conclusion in Wrocław, Opole, Katowice, Kraków, where such an idea often appears. I observed it even in small villages. European programmes should accompany these trilateral operations. Such a position seems to be, in my opinion, an objective sign of the relevance of the Weimar Triangle and its activities on the governmental level. It is the best way to approach a better future, although not neglecting history, and it would be good if Ukraine were involved in that. Since Ukraine regained its independence, it has had good neighbourly relations with Poland. Both countries have established a strategic partnership contributing to stability and security on the regional level or even on the European level. Poland has become the best advocate of Ukraine, supporting its efforts to enter European and Atlantic structures. The conference devoted to Ukraine in Europe, held in Warsaw on October 16-17, 2002, with participation of Ukrainian authorities and opposition, confirms it. Both countries are going through a rather delicate stage in their policy of transition. France followed the conference attentively. We know that in diplomacy the best intentions can be misunderstood, but here it does not seem to be the case.

Ukraine is an important neighbour of the Weimar Triangle. I would not like to preclude the results of the Copenhagen Summit, or of the European referendum in Poland in 2003, but it seems very likely that Ukraine is going to be a neighbour of the European Union. In this respect Ukraine becomes a subject of growing attention of the Weimar Triangle. That is why foreign ministers of the Weimar Triangle states addressed an open letter to the Ukrainian nation, dated August 24, 2001, which was the tenth anniversary of the Ukrainian independence, congratulating Ukraine on this achievement and stressing the necessity of democratic transformations and structural reforms in the economy. Our wish is that the Triangle could help to establish stronger relations within the framework of our enlarged European family. It should make more efforts to develop relations between the European Union and Eastern Europe, especially Ukraine. In the near future Poland will face a completely new situation. One of the challenges is that a considerable part of its border will become the external border of the European Union. As you know, you can rely on the

European institutions and on your European partners, especially Germany and France, and you can count on their assistance in this situation. But we are all convinced that this new problem can only be dealt with on the basis of close cooperation of the countries involved, namely Ukraine and Poland. Their common border should be considered an opportunity rather than a challenge. We support Ukraine's European choice and follow this country's efforts towards integration. We are happy that Ukraine takes an interest in the Weimar Triangle. Ukraine's strategic position, its size and its contribution to the stability of the region prove that its accession would be in the interest of the Weimar Triangle members. It seems to me, however, that France, Germany and Poland are likely to preserve the present structure of the Triangle. We are in favour of Ukrainian membership on an informal, practical basis rather than on the basis of a formal accession. We welcome concrete proposals of cooperation especially in the domain of culture and other fields of common interest. Some non-governmental initiatives, for example exchange of young people, have already been pointing in this direction.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we are going to take all possible measures to make Warsaw an intermediary between the European Union and Ukraine. At the same time we are aware that Poland is facing a very intense stage in its European negotiations and is channelling all its efforts in this direction. That, however, should not influence Poland's relations with its Eastern partner. In this context we might stress again the importance of dialogue and exchange of ideas as a source of inspiration for other initiatives. And here the Weimar Triangle proves its usefulness.

**Janusz A. Majcherek**

We heard an interesting proposal of developing the Weimar Triangle into Kraków Rectangle. I would like to ask both speakers to comment on this initiative. Should we understand that the Triangle would change into a Rectangle or that a new model of rectangular cooperation would appear alongside the Weimar Triangle? I would also like Minister Hübner to answer this question.

**Michel Rainieri:**

For my part I have clearly stated my belief that although extending the Triangle to a “Rectangle” or some other polygon may be considered, the most important thing, as Minister Hübner said, is the content of the activities of the Weimar Triangle in its present form.

**Olexandr Chalyi:**

From the Ukrainian perspective, any “quadrangle” would satisfy us. However, the name has a slightly different meaning, it sounds a little more formal. To us the most important thing would be the real meaning of it, which is the fact that we would be able to start cooperating with France, Germany and Poland in accordance with the policy of the European integration. In this context German-French cooperation has always been the force driving Europe. Today Polish faith in Ukraine will become a part of this force and I am certain that Ukraine, using this force and this faith, will integrate into Europe.

**Włodzimierz Mokry:**

I would like to start with expressing my gratitude to the organizers and to Minister Hübner for her presentation as well as to the Office of President Aleksander Kwaśniewski and the President himself. President Kwaśniewski and the Polish government have done so much in so many ways for Ukraine that, according to an opinion shared by Prime Minister Victor Yushchenko, one could say that Poland has done more for Ukraine than the governing party in Ukraine. It is very nice to hear that. Let me remember the late Jerzy Milewski, who when speaking about Moscow and the Russian reaction to Polish ambitions to join NATO, reminded us that the Russians at least four times a day voiced their NYET. As he explained later, three of those were meant to be heard by Ukraine and only one was addressed to Poland. Today Minister Chalyi has clearly described the European policy of his country. I would also like to say thank you to France, which until today has not been seen as a country really interested in Ukraine. And a question to Mr Chalyi: can one really divide Ukraine into a European and a Euro-Asiatic part? Shouldn't we rather start thinking about bringing Russia into association with Europe? Nowadays,

Russia is speaking to America and Europe. I am afraid of the scenario with two options: Euro-Asiatic and American, because this scenario would mean the weakening of Europe. One should think of bringing Russia closer to Europe, which would be in the interest of Ukraine as well. Russian-Ukrainian relations are of utmost importance for Europe. Polish-Ukrainian relations are already taking good shape. Ukraine belongs to European culture. Is Russia undergoing a process of democratization and Europeanization? I am addressing this question mainly to Olexandr Chalyi.

**Andrzej Szeptycki:**

The idea of cooperation is very useful and beautiful, but I have a specific question. We have spoken about it a little. Namely, we can cooperate, travel, especially on the governmental level, but the situation looks different when it comes to an individual who has to travel and cross the borders. Crossing our Eastern border even now is not simple. I personally have heard many concerns about what will happen after the enlargement of Europe and adopting Schengen regulations. And so I would like to ask minister Hübner for a short comment and information about the measures which will be taken to minimize discomfort and damage. I would also appreciate other speakers' opinion on possible visa solutions. Our Ukrainian friends complained that although they still can travel to Poland, they face many restrictions from the West. This is a very concrete barrier which does not facilitate cooperation.

**Olexandr Chalyi:**

I will start with the last issue: the visas. Our first point is that we accept Schengen without reservations and we do not want any exceptions for Ukraine. That is, we understand that Poland should introduce this regime because it is getting integrated into the EU. But we would like the visa regime that is going to be introduced to be as favourable as possible for Ukraine within the framework of Schengen requirements. We think that we are carrying out a cooperative policy with Brussels. We have started talks on readmission with Brussels. We already have an agreement on readmission with Poland. We are trying to persuade Brussels that it will not be an external border of the European Union,

but a common border and a common responsibility of Brussels, Warsaw and Kiev. It would be a much more cooperative approach. To be precise, we have agreements on the political level with Poland, that Ukraine will be given the simplest possible visa regime within Schengen requirements. We are also considering the idea of asymmetric approach. This means that we are not excluding the possibility of offering a non-visa regime to certain categories of Polish citizens (it would depend on the type of visa regime for Ukrainian citizens). We will be very flexible and we have already scheduled meetings with our Polish colleagues in the near future. We believe in dialogue.

Now I will answer the second question. The Russian factor, as we feel it, will play a very important role in our desires to be integrated into Europe. When you are saying that Russia is moving towards Europe, it is true, and we can see it clearly in the Putin era. Nevertheless, the goal of the European policy of Russia is totally different from the Ukrainian goal. Russia has never intended to be a member of the EU or to get integrated into the EU. Russia has always planned just to make closer ties with the EU. It is a big country, and as I was once told in Moscow, "Big countries make unions themselves, they never become members of other unions." In this context we are facing a difficult task. In my opinion, it is a foremost task of the Ukrainian foreign policy: to convince Russia that joining the EU and NATO by Ukraine in the future is in the strategic and national interest of Russia. We should carry on this policy, together with you, by means of dialogue.

Now, concerning the first question. We can really understand quite clearly now what we should do in our progress towards European integration. There is a programme, a schedule, and I always say that specific points can be debated, but we do have a general understanding. The way I define it, we are now approximately at the stage Poland was at in 1991-1993. The most essential issue that we have to solve now is the transformation of the political system, not so much its institutional part, but political culture and standards, which differ greatly from these observed in Europe. In the sphere of economics we must fight against corruption and black economy. Without it we will not be able to increase our Gross National Product per capita. Indisputably, another key question for us now is to form an active civil society. In my opinion, there are

two basic issues here: freedom of the press and effective functioning of the judicial system, especially implementation of judicial decisions. The only thing that we lack - "we" being the Ukrainian elite represented here, young and old - is not having any confirmation that integration is possible for us. We are forced to mobilize our society and lead them to a place from which we still do not have an answer that we will be accepted there. To us, it is one of the main conceptual problems now.

But we have found an answer to this question, too. Today we understand the European idea as the idea of transformation of the Ukrainian society that is very valuable to us, irrespective of whether we will become a member of the EU or not. It is valuable to us because we are changing on the basis of the European idea, and because we need it, not Europe. But Europe needs it, too, Europe needs a stable, democratic Ukraine. But to us it poses certain problems. As to the alternatives, I would like to add that today, like never before, the authorities and the society support the European way of development. I think Borys Tarasyuk will comment on it later. But the situation of Ukraine today and a certain vagueness of the position of the European Union does not exclude some alternative solutions. That is why I have said that for the next two years sustaining the European course, or staying the course is one of the basic tasks for our experts and for the whole society.

You perceive Ukraine in terms of "government" and "opposition." As far as the European direction is concerned, they all agree: the opposition, the President, and the Prime-Minister - they all support the idea of European integration, but they cannot agree on some other political issues. And while they cannot agree, someone in Ukraine, in spite of all, should straighten up this course and carry it on in the European direction. And this issue is very important for us today: to stay the course.

**Frédéric Plasson:**

I will speak French today as you have simultaneous translation. First, I would like to thank for the invitation because it is a great pleasure and honour to be here with you today. Thanks to Madame Hübner, Monsieur Chalyi arrived yesterday in Kraków. Madame Hübner, I would like to express my appreciation for

your involvement in this project. Yesterday you were in Brussels and it was a great pleasure to see you today in the morning taking part in this event. It proves your interest in our project. I would also like to thank Consul Rainieri for his speech showing his profound insight into the Weimar Triangle problems. I would like to thank Villa Decius for this opportunity and organization of this event, and for what could be expressed by a German word used today by Hermann Bünz: "Gemütlichkeit," the comfort so characteristic for some initiatives of the Weimar Triangle. Why? We have brought up today the subject of a grey zone; something between completely white and completely black. We have brought up the European-Ukrainian relations. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that if we speak about long-term undertakings, we have in mind the idea of Ukraine in the European Union. This idea was expressed by Olexandr Chalyi, so we thank him once more for his so clear and precise lecture on this subject. The objective of our conference gives us an opportunity to sum up what has been done, to find out what experiences could be useful for Poland supported by its French and German partners. France and Germany could promote the idea of the Polish accession to the European Union among other European partners. They could also help Poland and its authorities to promote this idea among other nations as well as political elites of the European Union. I would like you to help us to apply this experience in our cooperation with Ukraine. Let me remind you of two dates: the date of the creation of the Weimar Triangle in 1991 and the date when the Polish accession negotiations started in 1998. Between these dates a number of efforts were made by the Weimar Triangle partners and from the very beginning the negotiations turned out to be more efficient than it would be possible without the existence of the Triangle. That is why I would like to remind you of its considerable role, leaving aside somewhat utopian character of this idea, and ask you to try to reapply it as a basis of similar cooperation with Ukraine. That is the reason why we wanted you to work in groups. We will come back to these issues after you finished your discussions in working groups.



**Danuta Hübner:**

A member of the audience asked a very specific question connected with Schengen borders which I would like to address now. This question was dealing with visa regulations for Russia, Ukraine and Belorussia, which will be imposed in the middle of next year. We have decided (and have good arguments for it) that all regulations of the Schengen treaty will be introduced into Polish law and administrative practice, as protection of borders is not disputable or negotiable. We want to be in the EU and we cannot function with borders as they are now. What we discussed during the negotiations was the pace at which we would be introducing visas for our Eastern neighbours and the possibility of testing the system so that it did not slow down our joining Schengen. The deadline is July 31, 2003, and we have spoken to our Eastern neighbours about making the regime as simple, friendly and supportive of our mutual interests as possible. For Poland the Schengen system also means big investment in infrastructure - opening new consulates, purchase of land and buildings. I can assure you that it was not easy to find "for sale" real estate in Minsk, Kiev or in smaller cities. Now we have reached the point from which all should go well. At the same time the EU side also understands very well that the Schengen visa regime should be flexible. What we are hoping for is achieving "reasonable borders" and not dividing borders.

The border question involves many issues. For over 10 years, we have witnessed the development of legal and sometimes illegal cross-border cooperation, which had its impact on economic growth and friendly cooperation between people on both sides of the border. The introduction of new regulations would restrict and slow down the present cross-border cooperation. Let us hope that after a while everything will come back to normal and the cooperation will be built on a new sound basis.

I have just received a report from Professor Joanna Kurczewska (who is a participant of this conference): "The Consequences of Introducing Schengen Treaty. Results of a Survey Made in Eastern Borderlands," prepared by the Institute of Public Affairs in Warsaw. According to the report, problems appear on both sides of the borders and a lot must be done by local authorities to minimize, as quickly as possible, the consequences of introducing new regulations.

At first it will not be easy especially for people whose income depends so much on this cooperation but in the long term, new regulations will serve us all.

Another thing I would like to refer to are remarks on the Weimar Triangle cooperation, made by an expert, not a politician. I always envy those who can still address issues as experts. A politician who is also an expert has many doubts and if a politician is not an expert, it is much easier. I am in a difficult position today. If I were to evaluate the Weimar Triangle today, I would give it a positive mark. To justify my opinion I would point to the fact that we cannot judge this particular cooperation according to such formal criteria as we use in the case of “institutionalized cooperation” where we can speak of institutions, aims, structures of implementation or funds. You are right in saying that the strength of the Weimar Triangle lies in the weak level of its institutionalization. I think this model of cooperation should not be changed now, since cooperation has been going on for many years on the level of presidents, ministers of foreign affairs, industry, trade, and so on. We needed all these meetings on the political level and held them when there was a need or necessity. There were also numerous and very valuable meetings of intellectuals and poets, for example. What we will be facing very soon is a big test of cooperation between member states within the EU. The Triangle may survive unless it transforms itself into something which it has never been, that is a body looking after its own interests. As long as it cares for common action for the benefit of the EU, as it has been doing so far, it is OK.

I would like to say that, although some people were saying that Poland is going to be admitted by the EU thanks to the Triangle, the facts were different - in the 90s Germany and France were the most difficult partners in negotiations. Many chapters could not be closed because until the very end there were still French or German interests which should be taken into consideration. I could illustrate it with many examples, even from this year. We should remember it also because we are often an object of disparaging remarks like: „You, Poles, have nothing to fear because you have both the Germans and the French on your side, you have the Triangle and that is why you are joining the EU, thanks to that political cooperation.” This is not true and I would like all of us to remember it.

Looking at the Weimar Triangle from the EU perspective, I think it is a good idea to make the Weimar Triangle into a leading force in developing external relations with the East of Europe. It means much more than simply an Eastern dimension of EU policy. It means working for the development of cooperation between East and West and developing models of cooperation. This leads me to the final issue of how we understand such terms as Western and Eastern, and to my concern that we attribute these “dimensions” to a particular interest of EU countries depending on their geographical location. I think it is a mistake. Eastern policy of the EU should be equally important to Spain, Portugal or Greece as well as to Poland. That is why while creating new dimensions, we should understand that there are those who can make a valuable contribution, and we certainly understand better our colleagues from Ukraine. It should not be only our Polish interest, but the interest of the whole EU.

**Hermann Bünz, Chairman:**

I believe that Professor Menudier is eager to say something as the question of France has emerged.

**Henri Menudier:**

Thank you very much, Mister Chairman, for allowing me to speak. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Frédéric Plasson, who initiated this conference, which, in my opinion, is a very promising event. I would like to say that I have always been interested in the cooperation of our three countries, which seems to be really essential. I have participated in a number of conferences on this subject, also as an organizer. I could even say that I am the only person who published a review entirely devoted to the subject of the Weimar Triangle after the conference held last summer in Berlin, where also Mr. Bünz took part. Being an academic, I also encourage research in this field. There have already been some reports and university degrees devoted to this question.

To understand the importance of the cooperation within the Weimar Triangle, some fundamental questions must be answered; two basic aspects should never be forgotten when speaking about European issues. First, that

European integration is determined by a number of regulations from Brussels. Now, our Polish friends are trying to find their way through this enormous legislation. One should not forget that European integration is based on the role of the member states as well. Bilateral and trilateral relations are absolutely essential in the European Union. It means that the policy of the European Union is not determined uniquely by Brussels. It is also to a large extent determined by the member states, and the crucial problem to be dealt with, at present as well as in the future, is to maintain a certain equilibrium. The second aspect, a really essential one, which I would like our Ukrainian friends not to forget, is that the European Union now, and the European Community initially, has never considered itself as a fortress. The European Union has been always open to its surroundings and it has at its disposal a set of instruments which help to facilitate and develop cooperation with European non-member states as well as with countries outside Europe. If you look at external relations of the European Union you will easily notice that the EU is very open to the outside world. So, I do not see today any cause for worry in the context of Ukraine.

The Weimar Triangle is, in my opinion, not an accidental body, but a structure fully justified by historical reasons. We know very well the history of the three countries with their clashes, their extremely painful experiences, because of geographic reasons, as we have common borders, as well as, I would say, economic reasons and geopolitical ones. It is obvious that France and Germany are very important states in the present configuration of the European Union with its fifteen countries. Tomorrow Poland will be an important member of the enlarged EU in demographic, geographic and also, I would say, economic terms. So, the cooperation between us is normal, but it certainly burdens us with some responsibilities. And finally, I think that this rapprochement is justified by our cultural heritage, by the idea of the civilization we represent, by the Christian values we have based our cultures on.

I must say that I am relatively optimistic. The situation is much more relaxed these days. Last Thursday, I went to Brussels to take part in an internal reunion together with a number of persons in charge, experts of the Commission and Parliament, representing some states, and I would like to say

that we were extremely anxious about the result of the Irish referendum. Fortunately, the Irish voted “yes” and the calendar of enlargement is no longer in danger. A second optimistic motive is the French-German agreement, concluded between Gerhard Schröder and Jacques Chirac, which concerns the problem of how to finance the common agricultural policy. Certainly, not all has been settled. There are still some problems to be solved, particularly related to the area of finances, participation of Great Britain and structural funds. But there is still some serious tension here and if the French-German agreement fell, we would have reasons to fear that the whole mechanism could be blocked.

Fortunately, we are going further now and I am sure that we will have enough energy to work together. I share the often expressed opinion that the present cooperation within the framework of the Weimar Triangle is not satisfactory. This is undeniable. But why only France should be blamed? France obviously has its share of responsibility. But I think that priorities are now somewhat different than apportioning blame. After joining NATO the essential objective of Polish policy is EU accession, so you cannot attach the same importance to bilateral relations and to the idea of the Weimar Triangle. I am convinced that when Poland becomes a member of the European Union in 2004, the question of cooperation between twenty five countries forming the UE will reemerge. I am also convinced that it is rather impossible to have equally intensive relations with all countries. And here, I am sure of that, the idea of the Weimar Triangle will reappear and we will consider it as extremely positive. Why do we need such a statement? Simply because I hope that our three countries could do the same that has been done by two of them: France and Germany. I do not need to go over the history of European integration, but the whole world knows now that the role of France and Germany was fundamental in the history of the European Union.

I am sure that if we want it and if we understand the importance of our involvement, our three states could play a leading role in the cooperation between Western and Eastern Europe. Certainly, it could not be done in the spirit of exclusivity. The cooperation within the Weimar Triangle should be opened to other countries, other structures. I am particularly happy that thanks

to our German and Polish friends our attention has been drawn to the importance of the relations with Ukraine.

In the current situation we are facing at least four main challenges that must be urgently taken up. First, we have been debating on the content of Europe: what internal policy we want in Europe. We have spoken about immigration, about fighting crime, about the whole economic, monetary and environmental policy. The subject will be much more complicated when there are twenty five members. The problem of enlargement represents a great challenge. We needed almost fifty years to go from six to fifteen members. And now, in a matter of a few years, we will go from fifteen to twenty five, and then, I believe, very quickly to thirty. We know perfectly well that after the accession of the ten new countries we will negotiate with Rumania and Bulgaria and also the question of Turkey is emerging. So, we are in the process of enlargement with no end in sight and representing a considerable challenge. At the same time we have a problem of institutions, particularly because time is extremely short. The final aspect is the external role of Europe and all the security problems after the enlargement. Are we able to develop a common defence system, are we able to have a common army? In view of all these challenges it is absolutely essential to exchange points of view bilaterally, trilaterally, and that will give a new chance for the Weimar Triangle.

I would like to finish by giving you some information showing that I am treating the problem seriously. As you know, on January 22, 2003, we are going to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the French-German treaty, the Elysée Treaty which became a kind of model for the Weimar Triangle. I am organizing a big conference in Sorbonne for this occasion. I have invited the Foreign Ministers of France, Germany and Poland to the round table to discuss the role of our cooperation within the framework of the enlarged Europe and the Polish Foreign Minister has already accepted, in principle, this proposal. Secondly, I hope that in the late 2003 we will organize in Paris a big conference dealing with the future and the role of the Weimar Triangle. We are doing it together with a number of non-governmental organizations, in order to have a more open debate. We see very often that governments are overcautious, as they have their own internal problems and their own priorities. If civil societies regard some

problems as important, we have to take them into consideration. Once the debate is opened and it is covered by the press, we see very often that the governments feel obliged to react.

Although I share some of the pessimistic opinions of Minister Chalyi, I believe that we are in a relatively favourable economic situation to restart the Weimar Triangle activities and to say to our Ukrainian friends that their problems are not forgotten.

**Borys Tarasyuk:**

First of all I would like to thank the organizers and especially the Villa Decius Association for this conference. Its theme is really interesting. We have heard some pessimistic and then some optimistic opinions concerning the Weimar Triangle activities and some comments on possible joining the Triangle by Ukraine. But what is the Weimar Triangle? It is an informal association of some European countries. As regards their demographic situation, we should notice that their population comprises nearly one hundred and eighty million, and adding Ukraine to this number would make it two hundred and thirty. Considering this number only, the Weimar Triangle plus Ukraine could become a huge power in the European politics. Saying it, I feel it is necessary to mention the conceptual approach to this fact expressed by a Polish-American Zbigniew Brzeziński, who some time ago emphasized the fact that France together with Germany in the West of Europe and Poland with Ukraine in the Central-Eastern Europe could be stabilizing factors for the whole Europe. If we speak about the Weimar Triangle and Ukraine, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that Ukraine has already and in various ways taken advantage of the possibilities of cooperation with the Weimar Triangle member countries. I would like to remind you too that it was Ukraine which raised the question of more active cooperation with the Weimar Triangle in 1993. We have learned some valuable lessons from meetings of French, German, Polish and Ukrainian chiefs of governments, we have had examples of common military manoeuvres of these countries. This practice proves that Ukraine can take part in some forms of cooperation within the Weimar Triangle. If we ask ourselves a practical question: "Does Ukraine need the Weimar Triangle?" or

“Does the Weimar Triangle need Ukraine?,” in my opinion, taking into consideration the fact that the Weimar Triangle fulfilled its essential objective of helping Poland enter the European Union and NATO, another question appears: “And what next?” That is why I would rather go with the optimists concerning the future of the Weimar Triangle and its cooperation with Ukraine. Certainly, the Weimar Triangle can play an important part in leading Ukraine to the European and Euro-Atlantic structures. If, as has already been suggested, Polish mediation in this area could make Poland an outsider in the European processes, I would be against it as I would not like our Polish friends to suffer any damage. But if there is any choice, we must make it in the context of the statement we heard today: that the Weimar Triangle can help to work out a common policy in the area of the Ukrainian accession to the European structures. The accession of Ukraine and its joining the Weimar Triangle is extremely important for the Ukrainian political elites and I believe we could determine, working in our groups, clear ways of cooperation between the Weimar Triangle and Ukraine. I have some ideas myself.

I am a bit anxious about a few negative opinions concerning the Ukrainian accession to the European Union. I would like to hear some specific arguments proving Ukraine to be one of the countries without any prospects of membership in the European Union. The idea that the European Union should leave the door half-open for Ukraine is really fantastic. And we do not have even that. So, theoretically at least, the European Union does not consider Ukrainian accession. The question appears: why? Now, dear friends, I would like to present to you my opinions on the following: we think about whether to invite Ukraine to the Weimar Triangle structure. But at the same time it would be worth our while to approach this question from another angle: what could Ukraine offer to the member states of the Weimar Triangle? Ukraine is a huge market with purchasing power of consumers growing. This is a country of strategic importance for the member states of the Weimar Triangle in terms of transit of fuels which keep their economies running. I would like to remark here that it is not only the question of the existing gas and oil pipelines, but also the project supervised and financed by Ukraine; the project concerning the transport of crude oil from the Caspian region to the Polish port of Gdańsk.



This is a really important project in terms of strategy not only for Ukraine and Poland, but for the whole of Europe. Southern Germany could join it as well. Moreover, we possess a suitable petrochemical infrastructure. Ukraine is also an important partner in the field of agriculture and industry. The only question is whether Ukraine will be a partner of the member states of the Weimar Triangle and the European Union or will it become their competitor. Unlike many countries of the European Union, Ukraine belongs to the group of ten countries possessing certain unique technologies. Production of rockets, exploration of space, shipyards, energy production and transmission: in these fields Ukraine should be considered one of the ten most developed countries. We also have an agricultural potential which alarmed the European Union because of the exceptional crops this year. Ukraine should be considered a contributor to rather than a consumer of the European stability and security. There are so many proofs of that: the Balkan and Dniester regions, Abkhazia and some others. As regards the military domain, Ukraine has a bigger military potential than all the candidates and new member states of NATO put together. Ukraine is a leader of the informal GUAM association and in this context the Weimar Triangle could count on cooperation with this organization. As I said, Poland and Ukraine could become for Central and Eastern Europe what France and Germany became for Western Europe: a stabilizing factor. And finally integration: the Ukrainian return to Europe makes for a greater and stronger stability as well as for more secure and developed united Europe. My last argument for closer cooperation with the Weimar Triangle is that a Ukraine independent and integrated with the European structures would guarantee a non-imperialistic policy of Russia. Finally I would like to focus on what my colleague, Minister Chalyi, said stressing the fact that both the executive and the opposition in Ukraine are fully agreed on their common position concerning our membership in the European Union and NATO. That is true. Where are the differences? The differences concern the question of how to achieve this goal. But that is a subject for another meeting.

**Dieter Bingen:**

I would like to stress something that I consider to be particularly important. Let me point out that the best recipe for bilateral and trilateral cooperation is not dealing with issues by yourself. It concerns, for example, common East-European policy. It can be bi- or trilateral. That is really important. What Professor Menudier said is equally right: one side cannot take the whole blame. The point is not to prove who is responsible, but to learn from the experience of the last twelve years. And as to the reaction of Borys Tarasyuk, it is probably the result of a misunderstanding. I did not mean to exclude any possibility or prospect of membership of Ukraine in the EU. But we must be realistic and not provoke unnecessary resistance, as certain conditions must be fulfilled. The European Union is not the European Commission, and neither is it a charity, but an institution with defined rules and nobody is forced to join this institution. It means that if somebody joins, the rules must be at least accepted. It means that even if, let us say, a thousand of rules issued by the Brussels Commission seemed to be senseless and even if they seemed likely to be abolished, certain basic rules must be observed.

Nevertheless, the open-door policy towards Ukraine must exist. Perhaps the EU is not active enough in this regard and has always been putting conditions on it. However, the Ukrainian elites do share the European perspective. On the other hand, we cannot be sure whether there is unanimity as to all its consequences and the necessity of a very prudent policy, recognizing the geographical position of Ukraine, the dependence on Russian energy and so on. There is certainly a need of support from outside. Still unanimity is crucial for the pro-European policy. Certain rules should be considered not as imposed from the outside but as a part of your own political culture. I wonder why we can meet in Warsaw, why that table could not have been in Kiev. We must not be too diplomatic in our discussions, if diplomatic means not speaking about challenges or obligations. If we speak about friendship, it means that we say the truth, we say it kindly, but we always have to say the truth.

**Borys Tarasyuk:**

I am really grateful to Dieter Bingen for the clear presentation of his position. However, in your comment you left aside some questions including the one concerning whether everybody in Ukraine is prepared for the European integration and to what extent we support it. Generally, political elites consider our integration into Europe as necessary. 77 per cent of the representatives of the elites are in favour of our membership in the European Union. In the case of NATO for first time since we started polling public opinion in 1993, the support for joining among experts reached the level of over 80 per cent. But we are talking about experts. Among the general public the support is at 55 per cent. In the case of NATO it stands at about 50 per cent of the population. So, concerning the point whether everybody in Ukraine is prepared for our Eurointegration, I could say that you are right here. There is a part of our society, especially the oligarchy, which is against our accession to the European structures, because it would not allow them to function in the grey area of the economy, which is their preferred way. Considering Russia as a factor preventing our integration into the European Union and the so called dependence on Russian energy, I would like to say that we are talking about a fiction propagated by Russia itself. Ukraine depends on Russian raw materials to the same extent that Russia depends on our means of their transport. Moreover, Ukraine is the biggest importer of Russian gas, and show me a distributor who is not interested in a stable importer. So, it is a fiction that Ukraine depends on Russia in the domain of energy sources. Moreover, we have taken necessary steps to diversify our sources of energy. And now to another question that was posed: whether Ukraine is moving towards the European Union and why the Ukrainian political elites meet in Warsaw. Unfortunately, this problem concerns the political leaders of our state. I would like you to consider this as an internal problem of Ukraine, like Xavier Solana and George Robertson did. The problem is that you should identify discredited leaders of our state and distinguish the state from the people of Ukraine. As I said, the problem of state leaders does exist. But our society is strong enough to conquer this disease; we have the democratic institution of elections, which is going to help us change the situation in 2004. Nevertheless, it does not mean that we both, Ukraine and

the European Union, are going to lose the coming two years. We must take advantage of them to make all Ukrainian institutions closer to the future integration with the EU and NATO. And why our opposition and members of our executive did not meet in Kiev but in Warsaw? We are really grateful for this initiative of President Kwaśniewski, Prime Minister Miller and all Polish citizens, but, unfortunately, the problem is that our president refuses any dialogue with the opposition in its current shape. But this is our problem.

**Danuta Hübner:**

I would like to repeat just one thought, which perhaps was not expressed clearly enough. Thinking about triangles, rectangles or other models of cooperation and thinking specifically about the Weimar Triangle, one should remember that it is only a concept, an idea for facilitating European integration. It could not have been an accident that Poland was invited to join French-German cooperation, cooperation which undoubtedly played a very important part in the history of Europe. I think that when looking for other countries which could join European cooperation, one should not take a too orthodox stance. In the 1990s many EU countries attempted to join the Weimar Triangle and none of them succeeded. I am sorry, but I think that to enlarge the Triangle is not a good solution. Finding a good model of cooperation is what really matters.

**Henri Menudier:**

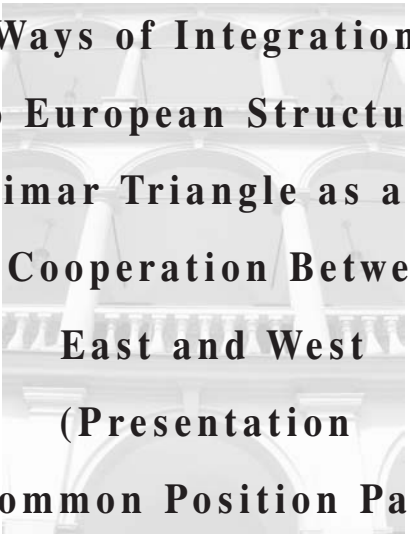
I believe that the achievements of the Weimar Triangle activities and results of the dialogue within it are relatively disappointing, but I will try to show you that the idea is still alive. I am sure that at the end of negotiations Poland will be able to reenter this dialogue and that the cooperation within the Triangle will reintensify starting from 2003. Do not forget that bilateral and trilateral cooperation takes place on several levels: on the governmental level, on the economic and commercial level, and on all levels of the civil society, where different factors are involved, such as culture, twinning, etc. So there are many possibilities, and I am deeply convinced that the process which is a bit paralysed now is going to be restarted dynamically, because it is as important as the French-German cooperation has been, despite all past difficulties, from the

moment of the involvement in the common Europe. It should go on and I am sure that the Weimar Triangle has an enormous role to play in the cooperation between Eastern and Western Europe. As I have said, it is not an egoistic undertaking, it is an undertaking directed outwards. And I am sure that our nearest neighbours, particularly Ukraine, will be very interested in it.



**Part Two**

**Ways of Integration  
into European Structures:  
the Weimar Triangle as a Model  
of Cooperation Between  
East and West  
(Presentation  
of Common Position Papers  
Prepared by Working Groups)**



*Chaired by Emil Constantinescu*

**Emil Constantinescu, Chairman:**

I would like to ask Bogdan Klich to present the conclusions of Working Group 1, “National and Regional Policy,” which was discussing the possibilities of cooperation between the Weimar Triangle and Ukraine, looking at the question from the point of view of national policy.

**Bogdan Klich:**

We had a fruitful discussion in our Working Group. The challenge was great because we discussed the present state of cooperation between the EU and Ukraine, as well as, specifically, between Ukraine and the Weimar Triangle countries. The expectation was not only to define the space of cooperation and identify obstacles and barriers, but also to develop some ideas as how to overcome these barriers, and present them to you. I can say that we have perceived two great barriers in the mutual understanding between Ukraine and the EU. The first is lack of developed policy. Some were calling it a “conception”, but perhaps “policy” is a better word - the policy of the EU concerning the role and the place of Ukraine in the EU. This policy should be worked out as quickly as possible and should refer to the aspirations of the Ukrainian nation concerning full membership in the European Union. Lack of this policy, lack of this conception is, in our opinion, one of the most visible barriers. The second problem that we perceived during this discussion was lack of consistency on the Ukrainian side. In this context consistency means implementation of commitments that Ukraine has made in recent years and which involve standards put forward not only by EU, but also, for example, by the Council of Europe. As we observed, there is no consistency in developing stable and coherent policy towards implementation of these standards. As far as European standards are concerned, one can see a very slow process of introduction of legal, political and economic standards, human rights, the rule of law and standards of democratic procedures into present political life of Ukraine. We have also noticed problems in mutual communication, concerning the way of communication, misperceptions on both sides as well as a lack of proper channels for exchange-



ing information between nations and groups of citizens. The last remark I want to make concerns different approaches to political goals in Ukraine, especially those stated by Ukrainian political class, the Ukrainian elite. The Ukrainian elite should define as quickly as possible these fundamental goals of Ukrainian foreign policy, because wavering between at least two important political options makes this policy unclear.

The second part of our debate was concerned with positive recommendations, positive goals and objectives for Ukraine. Here, we wanted to be as brief as possible, which is why we followed the proposal of Minister Tarasyuk to concentrate on two important strategic goals for Ukraine. The first goal is gradual integration of Ukraine into the European and Euro-Atlantic structures. The second goal is engaging the Weimar Triangle countries in this process and using the Weimar Triangle as one of the instruments of improving the Ukrainian approach to the European Union. During the debate we defined some ways and means of achieving these strategic goals. The first sphere in which these ways and means should be developed as quickly as possible is education. We mean here education at various levels, from primary education to the level of exchange between universities. Another sphere is dissemination of information about Ukraine in the West and about the West in Ukraine, particularly between Ukraine and the Weimar Triangle countries, as it was the main focus of our debate. Exchange of experts is another important goal, making transfer of know-how possible. This technical assistance could be offered by most experienced countries, not only Western but also East- and Central-European, taking into consideration our experience on our road to the European and Euro-Atlantic structures. Networking of parliamentarians, journalists and people engaged in the activities of NGOs is one of the most important challenges. Abolishment of the visa regime means the creation of space for visa-free movement between Ukraine and the European Union countries and avoiding the construction of another border at the Bug River. Cross-border cooperation as an element of general cooperation and exchange between regional and local communities should be encouraged. This is perhaps one of the most important issues, if we want to build a network of contacts not only between authorities, but also between societies.

And finally we worked out some very specific suggestions for improvement of cooperation between parliamentarians. Perhaps you know that at least in the Polish-Ukrainian case there are some links between both Parliaments and it would be very important to have similar Ukrainian-German, Ukrainian-French and Ukrainian-European links between parliaments. The first thing to do would be to invite separately delegations of German, French and Polish Members of Parliament to Kiev and then to organize a revisit by Ukrainian Parliamentarians to Paris, Berlin and Warsaw. Another step would be bringing together all the four delegations and involving German and French representatives in the next meeting of the Warsaw Initiative. I suppose that we only touched upon this very broad area concerning barriers as well as possibilities of overcoming those barriers.

**Emil Constantinescu, Chairman:**

Neither in the EU nor in Ukraine is there a real policy concerning European integration of Ukraine. However in Ukraine, political will is there, while in the EU there is neither policy nor political will. This is a challenge for the future and, in my opinion, the Weimar Triangle could make some efforts in this direction. Now, the second Working Group: “Business and Economic Growth Economy as a Pillar of Integration.”

**Jacek Klich:**

Let me start by saying that all of us who took part in this workshop believed that liberalization and development of private sector could lead to increasing economic wealth and well-being of the Ukrainian society. That is our very strong belief. The development of the private sector basically can take two forms: the creation of domestic small and medium size private companies, and privatization of state assets and support of foreign indirect investments.

Out of a very extensive list of problems indicated in the position paper prepared by the students and the questions proposed by the audience, we have decided to concentrate on just a few basic ones, time not allowing us to discuss all of them. We chose the following subjects: foreign investments in Ukraine, privatization plans and agriculture. Let me start with the question why a foreign

investor should invest in a new market which Ukraine is. A very big market for products (and there is no doubt that Ukraine belongs to this category) can offer lower costs of manufacturing. In addition, there are some quite well-developed sectors which could be of interest to foreign companies or investors, including high-tech sectors like: energy with a new generation of nuclear reactors, optical industry, aerospace and aeroplane industries and some others. In other words, Ukraine is a promising market (in the long run) and there are some assets which could be attractive for foreign investors. One can conclude that there are some incentives for foreign investors to go to Ukraine. However, several problems and obstacles exist. The first is a very acute lack of information. Even our discussion with the participation of Ukrainian students showed that our knowledge about Ukraine and its economy is imperfect to say the least. And even representatives of big multinational corporations expressed their concern regarding a proper identification of the needs of the Ukrainian economy and its market. This is understandable (to some extent) in the case of people acting from a distance (like EU or the USA). However, even here, in Poland, we suffer from the same lack of information about business opportunities in our neighbouring country. From what I have heard from Bogdan Klich, imperfect channels of communication are not only the problem of the business communities. This defines the first goal of our action plan, which is first to renew or to establish, if necessary, reliable channels of communication.

Then, we pointed to a very important role of multinational corporations in the economy, opting for strengthening the activities aimed at attracting multinational corporations to the Ukrainian economy. We ended with identifying some conditions, prerequisites if you like, for successful foreign investments in Ukraine. At the top of this list is appropriate infrastructure (transport) accompanied by a stable and transparent law followed by some safeguards granted to foreign investors, like customs and border regulations, law of contracts and execution of the law in general. In this context one of the participants, for example, stressed the problem of standardization of criminal law. Another set of prerequisites relates to the structural development of the Ukrainian market. The creation of an organizational structure corresponding to those existing in developed economies seems to be a must. This is a complex and demanding

task. A small, but very good example of structural development which was discussed during the workshop, and a thing which is comparatively easy to establish in Ukraine, is the so called “one-stop-shop” information centre, a place where everybody could get the necessary business information. Indeed, this is something we could recommend, as we have some positive experiences here, in Poland, as well as in other countries. In addition to the above, businesspeople raised the question of building mutual trust and downsizing the black market as one of the conditions for increasing foreign investment in Ukraine. And last but not least, we discussed the problem of the access to highly-skilled workforce.

Our group was not very successful in identifying a particular set of conditions; what we worked out were rather recommendations or even general ideas. We were all convinced that unless the Ukrainian government decides to show openness and willingness to attract foreign investment, further steps will be difficult to take.

**Emil Constantinescu, Chairman:**

And now the last working group, “Media, NGOs and Universities - Promotion of Democratic Thinking in the Civil Society,” Marek Sarjusz-Wolski.

**Marek Sarjusz-Wolski:**

Last but not least, I hope. One of the subjects we discussed in our group was the role of the media in bringing our societies closer together, overcoming stereotypes and promoting democracy. I think the best way to illustrate the issue will be to repeat to you an anecdote which I told fellow members of the group, and which sparked a heated debate.

Last September ten Ukrainian reporters invited by the Foundation “Unia&Polska,” the Society of Polish Journalists and the British Embassy in Warsaw (which does not represent a Weimar Triangle country, but in my view has done more in the field of promoting the growth of civil society in Ukraine than the embassies of Germany or France) spent over one week in Warsaw and Wrocław. They also visited the Polish Foreign Minister Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz, who, after an hour of sincere and, I assume, agreeable talks,

made an address in which he articulated his feelings as well as, he thought, the feelings of many Poles. Because of the coming anniversary of the Volhynia incidents, he said, Polish public opinion would not take it favourably if Ukraine kept talking about possible rehabilitation of Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). In his opinion it would not further the rapprochement between the two nations. This declaration was found somewhat shocking by our guests, and they reflected this state of mind in their reports. But even more shocking for them was what happened the next day. During a meeting with Adam Michnik, editor-in-chief of *Gazeta Wyborcza*, they heard the following message: “Dear friends, it would be rather foolish to consider our minister, who is a great friend of Ukraine, to be your enemy just because of this statement. Do not take his words to heart. Please, look at it more liberally. It would be better not to write about it.” Answering the question of one of our guests: “Well, how is it, Adam, that you, who spent so many years in prison because of problems with censorship, now want to censor our texts?”, Michnik said: “We could talk about censorship if I blue-pencilled it, and I am only asking you kindly to do it yourselves.”

So this is how it works in practice. Now, in order to arrive at the common position after our rather emotional discussion in the group, I had to act a bit like a censor myself. Here it goes: “How to develop cooperation with the Ukrainian society? Journalists from the EU should convince their readers that building bridges with Eastern neighbours of Poland is going to be crucial after Poland joins the European Union. Journalists from Ukraine, in turn, should convince their readers that they must have a mature civil society before they can gain membership in the European Union.” No, these words officially do not exist, as they did not have unanimous support. What we did include in the common position paper were the following three paragraphs.

“The participants express their hope that Polish membership in the European Union will not bring the cooperation within the Weimar Triangle to an end, but that this cooperation will be enriched with various institutional and non-institutional forms of activity.”

“We call on all people of good will from Ukraine, Germany, France and Poland to work for overcoming stereotypes concerning history as well as the

present, to work for promoting of understanding between societies, to support the process of democratization in Ukraine, to engage in development of cooperation between civil societies, and particularly between the media, cultural and academic institutions, and NGOs.”

“We consider our position as the first step towards intensification of the debate on how to improve the organization of work in the civil society.”

As a journalist I would prefer more pithy language, and I fear that the message at first glance appears trivial and worn. However, I would like to assure those who did not participate in its formulation that every single word reflects our debate. For all its co-authors, every single word was of utmost importance. Whether anybody will listen to us I do not have any idea. I believe in actions more than in words. This message will certainly not hurt anybody. The most important thing for everybody is to keep doing his or her job.

**Emil Constantinescu, Chairman:**

Dear colleagues, dear friends, during this conference so many have taken a critical point of view, some have taken a realistic point of view, so I feel now it is time for an optimistic point of view. Our debate about relations between Ukraine and Western Europe was very impressive. Perhaps the most interesting part of this event was the presence of the young generation of politicians and scholars. It is their Europe, their world. We are trying to build it and it is only natural that we want to know their aspirations. I think that all the reports delivered during our conference agreed on the necessity to find new ways of intensifying cooperation at the Eastern border of the EU. This border is also the Eastern border of NATO. Yet we must not cease promoting new concepts and new perspectives about the closest neighbours of NATO and the EU. Perhaps we even have to rethink the concept of border in this new context. I think that neither NATO nor the EU can afford to miss the opportunity of redefining the notions of their own limits, which must not become limitations. We must now redefine both sides of the borderline and, as the great Rumanian diplomat Nicolae Titulescu, who was President of the Nations League before World War II, used to say: we cannot risk to divide the continent again either into the prosperous and the less fortunate, or into the countries which will soon

join NATO and the European Union, and the ones which are not yet ready or willing to do so. Any new curtain cannot be the solution for the our century's Europe. We have so many experiences to share, so much to talk about that we will never have time to quarrel. It is up to us to build the new frontier of the great and peaceful Europe. Let us start now.





**S u m m a r y**



**Jacek Woźniakowski:**

My duty in fact consists in saying thank you and goodbye to everybody. What struck me this morning were some recurring elements in this discussion. I think the stress was put mainly on what we have called civil society, or civic virtues in our societies. This regards both the development of international relations and the development of internal relations. As a society is becoming more and more civic, its citizens are more and more responsible not only for their own interests, but also those of the whole community. The same process can develop in international relations. Not everybody is just looking to his or her own interest or the interest of his or her social group or ethnic group or national group and so on, but has an ever broader vision. This parallel development of the internal life of the society and of its external relations is a very important point which was made several times today. The other point was the importance of informal contacts between young people especially: non-governmental organizations, personal contacts, travel, various meetings, courses, conferences and so on. Usually, the less official and the more personal things are, the better.

My next remark concerns education, but this is a point which you talked about in all the group discussions, so I will take up only one issue. During the discussions on education you touched upon the role of the media. I think that in education the media play such an important role that without deepening the understanding of the shortcomings and of the successes of TV, for instance, you could not go very far. Young people today, to a much larger extent than before, read very little and even talk to each other very little compared to the time they spend watching TV. So I think the role of the media in education is quite essential and we must make the media a common property, so to speak, of a number of different nations which would like to work together. That of course means overcoming language problems and legal problems. Another point connected with education are course-books for schoolchildren. History books are still written from a national point of view. We need course-books which would show that there are different understandings of the same historical processes because simply the experiences of various national groups are different.

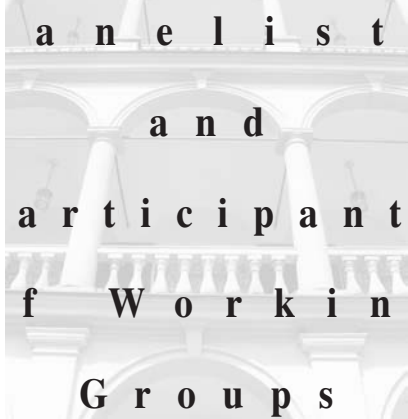
And my last remark. In all your discussions you never mentioned the Baltic states. This is, of course, a separate problem, but I do not quite see how we can

speaking about this part of Europe while ignoring the existence and the future of the Baltic states and some very delicate problems which are emerging, demographic, geographic and so on. For instance, the problem of Königsberg, otherwise known as Kaliningrad. Perhaps we could devote a separate conference to this issue.

I would like to finish by saying a few words about Decius, the founder of this building. Decius lived in the sixteenth century and came from the borderline between two cultures, the French one and the German one, and it is hard to say today to which culture he really belonged. I think that in many ways he belonged to both and to neither, the more so as the language he wrote in was Latin. But this Franco-German Decius was also the secretary of the Polish king and had a powerful influence upon Polish politics, which means that in fact he was a forerunner of the Weimar Triangle. So the processes we are seeing now have already started several centuries ago. The diplomatic world was much different then, of course, first of all it was much slower: you travelled in horse-drawn carriages. Decius went to Italy almost every year. One year he wanted to go by way of Rotterdam to visit some friends and he was captured by bandits in Silesia and kept in prison for about six months, before he paid a ransom. But he used the time spent in the dungeon to the full, because he wrote one of his most important books there. Today people often do not know how to make use of their leisure, so this is a good lesson for all of us. Decius also organized a sumptuous royal wedding (for which he brought some then exotic vegetables from Italy), so Villa Decius is part of a very long tradition of lively meetings which we must keep up.

Thank you very much for all your contributions and for the very vigorous discussion. I think it was an extremely successful meeting and I hope we will have a lot of them in the future.





**P a n e l i s t s**  
**a n d**  
**P a r t i c i p a n t s**  
**o f W o r k i n g**  
**G r o u p s**



**Panelists:**

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**Hermann Bünz**, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Warsaw Office, Poland

**Olexandr Chalyi**, State Secretary on European Integration, Ukraine

**Emil Constantinescu**, President of NGO for Development of Regional Cooperation and Partnership INCOR, Rumania, former President of Rumania

**Danuta Hübner**, State Secretary on European Integration, Poland

**Bogdan Klich**, Member of Parliament, Poland

**Jacek Klich**, Jagiellonian University, Poland

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**Michel Rainieri**, Consul General of France in Poland

**Marek Sarjusz-Wolski**, Editor-in-Chief of *Unia & Polska* monthly, Poland

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**Borys Tarasyuk**, former Foreign Minister of Ukraine, now MP, Ukraine

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3. Media, NGOs and Universities - Promotion of Democratic Thinking in the Civil Society

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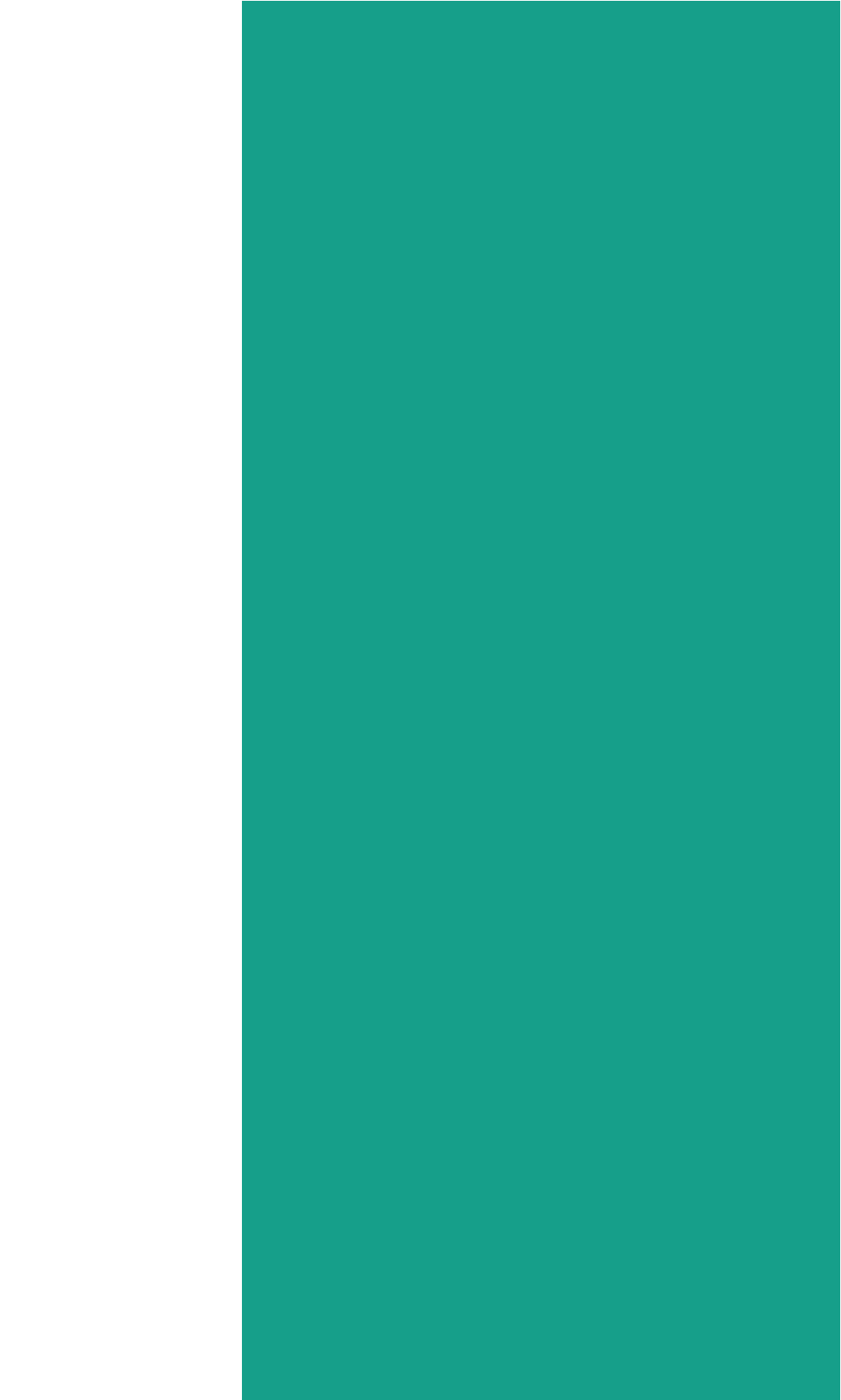
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