

CONVERSATIONS IN VILLA DECIUS

WEIMAR TRIANGLE AND UKRAINE

European Models of Integration
and Regional Cooperation


VILLA
DECIUS



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Conversations in Villa Decius 4

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WEIMAR TRIANGLE AND UKRAINE



O p e n i n g A d d r e s s e s

Danuta Glondys:

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. On behalf of the Villa Decius Association I would like to welcome you to our first big international conference organised this year. Today's conference is dedicated to the European models of integration and regional co-operation. Focusing on the existing models of co-operation, such as the Weimar Triangle and the Visegrad Group, we will try to find an answer to the question if there is a place for Ukraine within the framework of such co-operation.

Let me welcome Borys Tarasyuk, former Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs, currently Chairman of Parliamentary Commission for European Integration of Ukraine; Hans Jurgen Heimsoeth, Ambassador, Head of the Department of Central and Eastern Europe; and Marek Ziółkowski, Ambassador of Poland to Ukraine. France is represented by Michel Raineri, Consul General in Cracow, a very warm welcome to you. I would also like to welcome Oleksandr Medovnikov, Consul General of Ukraine and a representative of Leonid Rodionov, Consul General of Russia to Cracow. Deputy Marshal Krzysztof Deszyński represents regional authorities and Ewa Bielecka acts in the name of Lord Mayor of Cracow. The European Commission is represented today by Isabelle Riviere from the EU Delegation to Warsaw. Finally let me welcome representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Poland and Ukraine and presidents of Euroregions who have also joined us.

Ladies and gentlemen, this conference would not take place without the help and support of our eminent partners, friends and founders. I would like to express my gratitude to Markus Lux, representative of Robert Bosch Foundation – thank you very much for your help. Let me also say thank you for the support given to our project by Svyatoslav Pavlyuk from PAUCI in Ukraine. I would finally like to thank the Polish-German Foundation for a grant supporting our project.

We have with us today our faithful friend and conference partner, Dieter Bingen from the Polish-German Institute in Darmstadt.

Ladies and gentlemen, Serhiy Maksymenko director of East-West Institute Kiev Centre will chair today's conference.

Prof. Jacek Woźniakowski:

Ladies and gentlemen, may I just add to what has been said, how happy I am to see you gathered here to work together. An obvious question comes to mind. Are we really prepared for international co-operation which has to struggle with so many past memories not always pleasant, and at the same time, to make use of valuable elements of these memories? I have spent some time outside Cracow, reading newspapers and checking the results of opinion polls, and my view is that we are not ready for this arduous task. But we have to learn to undertake it and this is our primary hope and chance. And we have to contribute to it while we are working here.

Our French friends know very well what it means that "c'est en forgeant qu'on devient forgeron"; this wise proverb should always be kept in mind. I think this is the right method – we must learn how to co-operate by doing it in practice. The only requirement is willingness and commitment.

We must make use of the experiences that are going to come our way on a daily basis, and to employ them properly in the future. Then our co-operation should become something natural rather than an imposed effort. It should result from our past and all that was good in it and from our intention to build a common future. I wish you to find the most direct way into this future and to follow this way in the best and the most efficient manner.

Part One

**European Experience
of Integration.
Weimar Triangle
and European Integration Policy
(Panel Debate
with International Experts)**



Chaired by Serhiy Maksymenko

Serhiy Maksymenko, Chairman:

The subject that has been planned for today is very important. We must do everything possible in order to avoid new lines of division which may result from EU enlargement. In my opinion, extremely important are also the efforts to avoid the division into Old Europe and New Europe, as well as the division into EU and the rest of Europe. I think that everyone is interested in finding a solution to a wide range of issues directly or indirectly related to this subject – Old Europe vs. New Europe, and such countries as Ukraine facing the new situation. And of course, the subject of the conference is connected with the present and the future of the Weimar Triangle. Our work might contribute to working out an adequate policy. I think that it would be good to perceive today's meeting exactly in this context.

Michel Raineri:

I would like to begin with an anecdote. Eight days ago students from the Association of Young Diplomats at the Jagiellonian University asked me, as well as my German colleague, to speak about Europe. The first surprising thing was that we had to speak in English. I began my speech by saying that their parents had not been very happy to learn Russian at school during the forty years of Communism and that we should not go into the other extreme, even if speaking English were free choice. So I would like to congratulate the Villa Decius Association for allowing everyone to use their own language.

Now, I will get a bit closer to the subject. I would like to ask you first to excuse Mme Noëlle Lenoir, the Deputy Minister for European Affairs, who was invited for today's debate, but could not join us because of her duties. It gives me a pretext to say that in France dialogue on Europe with the citizens is regarded as essential. More than forty years after the European Economic Community was created, our ministers, and especially the Minister of European Affairs, are constantly explaining to my compatriots the meaning of Europe and of the enlargement, probably the most important European event since the treaty of Rome. Mme Lenoir is intensely engaged in this project and that is why, unfor-

tunately, she could not come to Cracow today. She was here a couple of months ago, and she will be in Poland again one or two times before the referendum, which means that she is really involved in the referendum campaign in Poland, but, unfortunately, she cannot be with us today. The subject she intended to speak about was "Liberty, equality, solidarity in the East-West relations".

I do not have the expertise and charm of Mme Lenoir, but I will try to say some words on this subject. First, I have to say that it is not without certain emotion that I will use the expression "East-West relations", given that after the enlargement this division will definitively lose its former significance. During the last forty, forty five years the notion of East-West relations meant an effort to strengthen the elements of co-operation, or at least dialogue, in an environment of extreme conflict. Today, and this, I believe, is the subject of our meeting, East-West co-operation seems to develop of itself, but it should be always more and more consolidated. We have to identify all that affects this co-operation that could stand in the way. Speaking of freedom in East-West relations is not as irrelevant as it may seem.

Co-operation between the Warsaw Treaty member states or COMECON states with the West was strictly controlled. Now there are regulations that make joining the EU difficult. Of course, the difference is that the candidate states freely agreed on signing the accession treaty. These regulations are essential, because they concern *acquis communautaire*, which means hundreds and hundreds of legal texts, thousands of pages of rules, which must be integrated into the legal systems of the candidate states. Let us be clear. The European Union means the abandonment of sovereignty, in some areas complete, for example in trade. However, these constraints should not be looked at solely in the context of loss of sovereignty. We must remember that in trade, as well as in other areas, the manner in which the European Economic Community functioned became a model followed on global scale. The system of widespread preferences is one of the examples.

Also in the sphere of equality we should avoid the pitfall of simplification. Students of international affairs, and that obviously refers to some of us, remember that courses always begin with a lecture entitled "the sovereign equality of states". I do not know a concept more politically untrue than the sovereign

equality of states. In the General Assembly of the United Nations we were taught that one state equals one vote. But we have known for some considerable time that in practice the General Assembly does not make decisions concerning international politics. In any case, its resolutions are not binding for member states. The true basis of international relations are centres of power, such as the Security Council, cartels such as OPEC, the military or a threat to use it, and also terrorism. This is what drives international relations, and certainly not resolutions of the UN General Assembly or a state having one vote. I would like you to take note that I have broken the rules of political correctness in this paragraph. You know the French position in this respect.

With the enlargement to twenty five countries and the creation of a huge market with four hundred and fifty million inhabitants, Europe will become the foremost commercial power in the world. With every enlargement it improves its position in relation to the other economic powers of the world, including the United States. It is obvious that Europe is not going to negotiate with individual states on the basis of equality. Four hundred and fifty million inhabitants create an enormous market, so we have an economic superpower dealing with individual states. Certainly, I would not like to stick to this vision, which could seem brutal or cynical to you. It is evident for me that wealth and economic power are not the only factors that drive our world, as I have just said. The West will always be preoccupied with security and peace, which are fundamental conditions for building our prosperity. We should not pay exclusive attention to the rate of growth or the profit margin. Here I am getting to the last item from the title of my speech: solidarity.

Removing its Eastern border, Europe knows very well that the question of stability in terms of entrance points to its territory should be posed. The disastrous experiences of the Berlin Wall, the iron curtain, Cyprus, Vietnam or Korea show that any attempt to separate people by force is in the long term a mistake. Some days ago in the European Parliament, President Kwaśniewski quite rightly expressed his worry that a new curtain between the East and the West will arise. Only a policy of well-conceived solidarity between countries can overcome the problems created by different levels of development.

The current enlargement, which, I hope, will be concluded in less than one year, faces Europe with the question of relations with its new neighbours. I know that this subject makes Polish authorities anxious, but I believe that the institutional history of Europe gives some rather optimistic examples. On 11th of March, 2003, the European Commission issued a statement presenting its position concerning the relations between the European Union and the new neighbours. This document seeks to define the terms in which the development of East-West relations in the nearest future should be thought about. This initiative was welcomed by President Kuchma on 11th of April in Athens.

Membership in the European Union has never prevented France from realising its African policy. I would like to give you an example which concerns the CFA Frank. As you know, some African countries have the same monetary unit adopted thirty years before the Euro. The value of this monetary unit, the CFA Frank, is regulated by the Bank of France and used to be tied to the value of the French Frank; now it is tied to the Euro. Similarly, the countries of the Northern Mediterranean have been underlining the importance of the partnership of Europe with the countries of the Southern Mediterranean.

It seems important to repeat that Poland, which will next year become one of the six largest countries of the European Union, will be listened to when speaking about its Ukrainian policy. In January 2003, Poland sent a memorandum on this subject to EU member states, and this document was examined with much interest by the French authorities. In our diplomatic contacts with the Polish government, we expressed our appreciation of the document. Tomorrow with full membership, the day after tomorrow with the Euro and the Schengen system, Poland is going to consolidate its European choice. This choice would not be profitable, successful or permanent if the other states did not support Poland's dialogue and co-operation with the countries beyond its eastern border.

Nine days ago in Wrocław, Chancellor Schroeder, President Kwaśniewski and President Chirac met under the auspices of the Weimar Triangle. One of the principal questions discussed at the meeting were relations with the new neighbours. Instruments which could be used to facilitate these relations already exist. Extending the internal free market of the European Union on the internal market of Ukraine could be taken into consideration. Initiatives could also be taken

in such areas as infrastructure, law and internal affairs. We are convinced that the Weimar Triangle could serve as an extremely useful laboratory to examine, together with our Ukrainian friends, the functioning of the Eastern policy of Europe.

It is rather obvious that besides the great principles of equality, solidarity and liberty, which we sometimes think of as worn out, East-West policy will require some pragmatism. Let us begin by utilising all possibilities offered by the existing agreements and by extending them with our new neighbours.

The Western border of Poland, until now the external border of the European Union, will become the internal border. This is a radical change. This country will have a great role to play, sharing this unique experience with others.

Serhiy Maksymenko, Chairman:

Undoubtedly, one must agree that in most cases absolute freedom does not exist. On the other hand, any crisis or critical situation can be dealt with if one thinks of it not only in terms of a crisis, but also in terms of an opportunity to find new and original solutions. I think it concerns not only relations with individual people or organisations, but also with states.

Borys Tarasyuk:

I am very happy to participate for the second time in a conference organised by Villa Decius, on the subject which is very important for Ukraine, namely Ukraine's co-operation with the countries of the Weimar Triangle. In my presentation I would like to concentrate on three elements. The first is the background of today's conference in the context of the enlargement of the Weimar Triangle. The second element concerns possible mechanisms of co-operation between the member countries of the Weimar Triangle and Ukraine on the parliamentary level. And the third issue, one that Professor Woźniakowski was talking about, is how the Ukrainian parliament is gaining experience in the context of European integration.

The first issue is directly related to the subject of our conference, which is the Weimar Triangle and Ukraine. I would like you to take note that since our

previous conference the Weimar Triangle has been put under serious pressure, related to the Iraqi crisis. In my opinion, the attitude of the Weimar Triangle countries to this issue created certain problems, if not a crisis, in their mutual relations. As a result, EU countries were divided in their attitude towards the Iraqi crisis. First we noticed a division inside the European Union and then we saw that differing attitudes towards the Iraqi crisis had a negative impact on the transatlantic relations. But I think that this problem was solved during the meeting recently held by presidents of the three Weimar Triangle countries in Wrocław. I would like to hear from the minister who was present at the consultations how the issue of Ukraine was commented, especially that at the last conference we all wanted to call the governments' attention to the necessity for closer co-operation between Ukraine and the Weimar Triangle "laboratory", as Consul General put it.

As to the mechanisms of parliamentary co-operation within the framework of the Quadrangle, that is the Weimar Triangle plus Ukraine, I would like to say that we are witnessing some positive changes. For example, the Ukrainian parliament and the Supreme Council have recently signed an agreement with the Polish Sejm about creating an international assembly. The first session of this inter-parliamentary Ukrainian-Polish assembly will take place in a near future. Moreover, the European Integration Committee, of which I have the privilege to be the head, has set up relations with our partners from the Committee for European Integration of the Polish parliament, and in April I visited Warsaw and took part in a joint meeting.

The speaker of the German Bundestag, Wolfgang Thierse, has recently visited Ukraine. Close relations between Ukrainian parliamentary groups, parliament delegations and parliaments of Poland, France and Germany are being established.

What else can be done in order to establish closer relations between the parliament of Ukraine and the countries of the Weimar Triangle? In my opinion, it is necessary to strengthen the relations that have already been established between the Ukrainian European Integration Committee and the Polish Committee for European Integration. It would also be good to create similar ties between the Ukrainian Committee and its equivalents in the French and

German parliaments. In this context I would like to suggest organising an informal meeting of the representatives of the Ukrainian, German and French parliaments, and more specifically, of the committees responsible for integration. Apart from that, I would like to use this opportunity to turn to my Polish, French and German colleagues with a suggestion that Ukraine should become a permanent participant of the COSAC (Conference of European Affairs Committees) conferences, held by European Integration Committees of member states countries and candidate countries. The first step in this direction has already been taken. At a recent COSAC conference, which took place in Athens earlier this month, Ukraine was represented, and I hope that our Polish, French and German colleagues support this practice.

I think that it would be good if our German, French and Polish participants who are members of the European Parliament would take active part in the work of the Committee on International co-operation, which has been founded as a link between Ukraine and the European Parliament. And it would certainly be a significant help for Ukraine on the road to meeting the criteria required of an associated country, and then of a full EU member.

Since I have already raised the issue of the parliamentary dimension in the co-operation between Ukraine and the EU, I would like to say that the Committee, consisting of the representatives of the European Parliament and the Ukrainian Supreme Council, is working very intensely. The last meeting of the Committee took place last year in November, in Brussels. The Committee made several recommendations. One of them is to maintain the relations between Ukraine and the European Union. The members of the European Parliament supported Ukraine's desire to integrate into Europe, including the prospect of becoming an associated member, which is a promising gesture on the part of the EU.

Talking about the place and the role of the Ukrainian parliament in pursuing the European course, I would like to say that the present board of the Supreme Council of Ukraine is the most pro-European in its entire history. This is evidenced, for example, by the fact that last June the Supreme Council established a European Integration Committee. Last November, at the suggestion of our Committee, the Supreme Council organised a parliamentary hearing con-

cerning the issues of co-operation with the EU and it passed many resolutions and recommendations. These recommendations concern particular actions that should be taken by the President, the Supreme Council and the government of our country. Another indication of the fact that the present Supreme Council with its board is the most pro-European of all are the results of the voting on the recommendations after the parliamentary hearings. 328 out of 450 members of parliament supported these recommendations, which means that there is more than a constitutional majority in the Ukrainian parliament which supports the course towards Ukraine's membership in the EU (as well as NATO membership, but this is a separate subject).

I would like to add that although the European Integration Committee was established less than a year ago, it already has some achievements to its credit, such as the parliamentary hearings and recommendations passed by the Supreme Council, which I already mentioned. During the last session of the Supreme Council, out of almost 800 bills concerning the issues of European integration the Committee chose 284 which, in our opinion, are directly related to the fulfilment of the goal of European and Euroatlantic integration. The Committee is working hard on this legislation. Our main objective is to prevent the Supreme Council from passing bills conflicting with our EU obligations and with the rules and standards of the World Trade Organisation. The Committee had prepared more than a hundred motions concerning the proposed legislation. We have created a team of experts consisting of the most eminent academics and lawyers. Much has already been done to prevent passing clearly unprofessional bills, and there are many of those in the Ukrainian parliament. The Committee prepared a draft program of adapting Ukrainian legislation to the European Union laws, now worked on by the government. At the meeting of the European Integration Committee which took place the day before yesterday, we criticised the government for falling behind their schedule, as the program should have been accepted by the end of April. Nevertheless, we have every reason to expect that the Committee will soon pass this program to the Supreme Council for consideration. The program will include mechanisms and particular approaches to adapting the Ukrainian legislation to EU law or to *acquis communautaire* – we do not translate this term into Ukrainian.

That is briefly what I wanted to tell you concerning the activity of the Supreme Council of Ukraine, its role and place in the process of European integration.

Concluding, I would like to say that in the Supreme Council of Ukraine there is a political will, there is a majority ready to support Ukraine's harmonising its legislation with EU law.

To get to the end of the road one must walk this road, and I want to assure you that in Ukraine there are sound democratic forces which want Ukraine to gain the status of an associated country and not remain just a neighbour.

Danuta Hübner:

I would like to begin with a reflection about the state of affairs after the enlargement takes place on May the 1st next year. How is Europe going to look like then and what will be Ukraine's place in it? This enlargement is certainly going to be completely different from the previous ones. For the first time the enlargement is not going to consist in mere adding new members to the exclusive group of Western countries with long traditions of free-market economy and democracy. For the first time Europe is really going to unify and European integration will become a way of working and living together. It will become a new order and a model of close co-operation. This enlargement will certainly be different and will make for something which I would call a big change in Europe. At this moment Europe is undergoing a highly important transformation which will bear heavily on its future. Every enlargement produced this kind of stimulation to create changes not only inside the European Union itself but also around it, and I think the impetus brought about by this enlargement is going to be even stronger than in the case of the earlier ones.

Many non-EU countries in Europe are now considering their position. After the enlargement we are going to have twenty five countries from the European territory within the EU. Switzerland, Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein will stay outside. These countries do not wish to join the EU at this moment, but from time to time they ask themselves a question about future accession to EU. As you know, in these countries referenda bring negative results.

South-Eastern Europe or Western Balkans, as we call it, are not well perceived by some people. This group will remain outside the EU for some time.

However, as you know, Croatia has already applied for membership and the Council instructed the Commission to prepare an opinion about this candidate. Macedonia has the same intention and its application is almost ready to be presented. The EU has already signed association and stability agreements with all the countries from this part of Europe. These agreements contain all membership criteria, being legally equivalent to our association agreement. The only missing condition is stability. Once it is achieved, the countries may prepare their membership applications and begin negotiations.

Finally, we have a group of countries today called "Eastern Neighbours" or "Eastern Neighbours of new enlarged Europe". It includes not only Russia and Ukraine, but also Moldavia and Belorussia. This is a very diversified group of countries, also in the context of their relations with the EU or their membership aspirations.

We are going to find ourselves in a situation where countries representing as much as 80% of European Gross National Product will belong to the EU. The group of countries joining the EU now has close historical ties especially with the new eastern neighbours of the European Union. We are going to join the EU not only with our home affairs, problems and ambitions, but also with a certain experience of cross-border co-operation, regarded by some as being of extreme importance both for Polish and for Polish Eastern neighbours' standard of living. The economic and commercial relations are perhaps not that strong but they do exist.

We are going to join the EU with a much better knowledge of these countries and with much closer relations than other EU countries. We have a better understanding of our eastern neighbours' societies, or enlarged EU's Eastern neighbours. It is also worth remembering that eight new accessing states from Central Europe have had individual relations with Eastern countries, for instance with Ukraine, and have developed contacts with Eastern neighbours. However, besides deeper knowledge and better understanding of our Eastern neighbours we also have a greater responsibility for what is going to happen on the Eastern boarder of the European Union during the next years or decades. I think that we are naturally going to be the ones who understand that good and close relations of the European Union with its Eastern neighbours are very

important from the point of view of the development of this part of Europe as well as from the point of view of EU interests. This is a region where economic co-operation and investments may be of crucial importance for EU development in the future. But business is not the only reason why these countries must stay in the European Union's sphere of interests. The highest priority for Europe is peace, stability and low crime rate. I also think that if we consider what we appreciate most in the unifying Europe, certain values represented by Europe, then close partnership with Ukraine is also in the common European interest. We certainly join the European Union with this kind of awareness and sense of responsibility.

We are also conscious, and probably so is the Union, that this group of states from the East, Ukraine included, represents a big challenge. For the Ukrainian society it means to continue reforming democracy, modernising the country, strengthening civil society and security. Such challenges certainly exist there and the scale of necessary changes is big. Obviously, there is still much to be done, despite the efforts that have already been made. There can be no doubt that the enlarged Union must have a special policy towards the new Eastern members and there is nothing strange in the fact that we would like to play some role in it. It would even be natural, because when the EU was expanding to the North, the Northern dimension appeared; when it was enlarging Southwards, the Mediterranean was suddenly "discovered".

Today we think that the policy towards the Eastern neighbours of the Union should not be considered as being of interest only to the new Eastern countries in the enlarged Union. We think that until such dimensions, that is the Northern, Southern and Eastern dimension, will be seen inside the Union as being of particular interest only to some of the member states, success will not come. I think those interested especially in the Mediterranean dimension will agree with me. That is why in December last year, during the Danish presidency, Poland presented its contribution to what was then called an Eastern dimension of the Union. We described how we imagine the importance of this dimension and how it should be approached in order to be really effective and successful. In March, the European Commission presented a communiqué which corresponds to a high degree with our vision of this policy. This communiqué,

together with what the Union is proposing at the moment, concerns not only our Eastern neighbours. It concerns generally the entire surroundings of the enlarged EU. In its principles and approaches it is quite similar to our vision and we are glad to have the opportunity to work together and to put into practice this post-accession policy. I think everybody will agree that our own experience suggests that this policy should be very individualised. We have always been opposing strategies smacking of "the same thing for all" and we believe that this element of individualised attitude towards our Eastern neighbours is of great importance both in terms of what we offer and in terms of what we expect. Secondly, we think that a policy towards the Eastern neighbours should not be treated as just another section of foreign policy. This should be a policy of development, going deeply into the challenges which these countries are facing. This must be a policy which will accelerate the deep economic reforms which Ukraine, because we are talking about Ukraine here, has to pass through. This must be a policy based on some long-term strategy, as our own experience shows us. Some of you may remember that in 1990 we wanted to include the membership option in the preamble to our Association Treaty, while the Union, which was at the time less visionary than us, was not looking as far as we did, and took the small steps approach. I have to say that it has its merits: in a difficult situation this kind of policy is frequently the only possible one. But we wanted to include the membership option anyway, and for six months we could not persuade the other side to do it. When eventually permission was given to us, we understood that it was "forced" and unilateral. In 1993 in Copenhagen, it turned out that the Union had prepared the criteria for those who would like to join.

That is why I believe that this kind of prospect is certainly stimulating. It makes some actions necessary and puts them in a clear context, and helps politicians in managing the affairs of their country. We know the situation of Ukraine and we look at its progress matter-of-factly. I have to admit that sometimes we notice with regret the gap between declarations and actions. We experienced the same thing in the nineties when politicians' words were often not followed by actions, but we also frequently had an impression that our political elites were running ahead of the people. We have almost forgotten that sometimes it is necessary to go slower, but avoiding the discrepancy between what is declared and

what is actually happening is always very important. Therefore, it is crucial what prospects the Union can offer to Ukraine during the next few years. The offer must on the one hand be genuine, and on the other hand accepted by all the member states. It must also be in harmony with what Ukraine can absorb, given its political reality and recommended transition stages. If I am not mistaken, European Commission's proposal starts from the intention of creating a free-market zone, referring to Ukraine's WTO membership aspirations. We know from our own experience that this is a very good moment to introduce changes. One of the major criteria set by our association treaty, which to a certain degree was a trade treaty, was the transformation of the Polish economy and the establishment of a free-trade zone.

I think that there always has to be a prospect of deepening the political dialogue and that without such a dialogue there is hardly any possibility of progress. Political criteria for membership have to be fulfilled and this is a starting point. The fulfilment of political criteria, something which Turkey has not done for such a long time, is crucial for every country. Maintaining political dialogue might be crucial in solving political problems as well as overcoming issues concerning human rights, democratic reforms and other sources of social tensions. I believe that co-operation in the field of common foreign or defence policy, much discussed in Europe nowadays, is very important for the future Ukrainian strategy, also in the context of NATO. It is extremely important to define a set of requirements to be met and to combine them with assistance which is necessary for the countries undergoing these deep transformations.

Hans Jurgen Heimsoeth:

I would like to raise two issues in order to give at least some structure to my speech. What is or what can be the sense of the Weimar Triangle co-operation in the new enlarged Europe? At last, with the Polish accession to the European Union, the UE institutions will provide a general framework for the discussion concerning policy co-ordination. And going back to Minister Tarasyuk's statement that the Weimar Triangle is in crisis or there has been an attempt to split it up in the last months, I would like to say that the value of the Weimar Triangle is a question to be discussed between Germany, France and Poland.

Let us have a look back to be able to learn a bit for the future. Ministers Genscher, Dumas and Skubiszewski declared that the Poles, the Germans and the French bear the decisive responsibility for the development of efficient structures in the EU surroundings, not only for what concerns these three countries, but for Europe as a whole. The original aim of the initiative was to help Poland on its way to the EU and NATO, to support the reconciliation process between Germany and Poland, to some extent using the German-French experiences, but also to build a bridge between what was considered at this time Western and Eastern Europe. As we see, these aims have been achieved. Poland effectively sealed its European membership during the last meetings in Copenhagen and Athens. Certainly, this success is principally the success of the European Union, and the Weimar Triangle cannot be mentioned in this context. We must not forget that in the early nineties this process did not seem to be as fast as it was later, and the talks were held at a low level. From the very beginning the German authorities were attaching great importance to the German-Polish relations, and were fully supporting the Polish march to the European Union. Also the German-Polish reconciliation has been a resounding success, there have been so many contacts, so many meetings that it could be said that the new beginning in 1990 also brought excellent results. Our relations nowadays are more than adequate. They are friendly and stable, even if we take the issue of Iraq into consideration.

The question of the EU border after the enlargement is of crucial importance. Three days ago *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* published the results of an interesting opinion poll concerning the Franco-German relations. When we observe how the image of a neighbour country has changed in the public perception, we can see what this process means for the whole continent. Previously only 12-13% of the Germans believed that France could co-operate with Germany in good will. Now France is perceived better than any other country in this respect.

Another important objective of the Weimar Triangle is the examination of public opinion in the West in the context of Eastern Europe. You remember perhaps that in the early nineties some commentators, also in France, used to say, "Oh, yes, Eastern Europe will remain to be the German backyard, so we

have to follow this direction more or less". Further developments showed, however, that it was completely false. The EU understood that the enlargement of Europe is in the common interest, as are good relations with the new neighbours in the East. It is useful to mention here that the biggest investor in Poland is France, not Germany. Ten years ago this was unimaginable.

What are the challenges for the future, then? The majority of the objectives of the EU enlargement have been attained, but the Poles, the French and the Germans bear an even greater responsibility for further development of structures in the European surroundings. On the 9th of May in Wrocław the presidents of the three states made a commitment to continue and intensify co-operation within the Weimar Triangle. The Wrocław reunion gave some new impulses to the dialogue within the Weimar Triangle. Here I see two essential opportunities: co-operation and policy co-ordination in the enlarged European Union; and working for stability and prosperity also outside of the EU borders or in "wider Europe", as it is called in the EU. We must notice that the situation of the EU has changed significantly. In the old EU France and Germany played such an important role that their initiatives were driving Europe forward. In the Europe of twenty five member states the relative importance of France and Germany will be diminished. We are dealing with a complicated problem. However, also in the future nothing will happen in the EU without France and Germany. The main problem which the European Union is facing has to do with its configuration. How can we gain enough dynamism, how can we develop our configuration in order to achieve something? That is the main challenge for the EU. It is always easier to say "no" than to do something which in the smaller EU was possible thanks to the German-French initiatives. It would be a great success of the Weimar Triangle if it could help create a better configuration and boost the dynamism. Poland is an important country in Europe because of its size and power. It also occupies a unique geographical position and can share a unique experience in transformation.

We have to notice as well that a 25-member EU will have to change its discussion mode. Discussion between twenty five members is rather difficult. It was difficult enough when there were twelve of us. Some solutions must be found. The Wrocław reunion, the meeting of Gerhard Schröder, Jacques Chirac and

Aleksander Kwaśniewski, produced some results. They decided to meet regularly in order to discuss matters of security and defence. Certainly, that does not mean any rivalry with the transatlantic structures; on the contrary, it should reinforce them. There are some other fields where the trilateral co-operation should be improved, for example agriculture, economy, social problems and transport. However, the most important thing is not to forget about the historical experience of these three countries. As it was said, one cannot abandon the common past. Not so long ago we could observe that various historical experiences influenced the area of politics. What I can say in this respect is that what happened just before the Wrocław reunion and after made the Weimar Triangle co-operation much stronger. It shows that our meeting cannot be considered as symbolic only, and its results contributed significantly to political relations. Minister Tarasyuk said that the Weimar Triangle had been about to break down. But it was the fault of the Weimar Triangle itself. We must note for the last two years it has concentrated on important questions of the accession process. Now the Weimar Triangle regains its function of a forum for discussing important problems which Europe is facing now and will face in the future. For example, the question of the future EU borders will be quite important for the three countries of the Weimar Triangle.

What about future relations with our neighbours? How can we spread stability and prosperity outside the borders of the enlarged Europe? Of course, the enlargement does not create new borders, it only introduces certain rules that are definitely unavoidable. I mean here the introduction of the Schengen system, visas and so on, in the foreseeable future. But generally speaking, Europe cannot tolerate drastic economic differences within itself. In this respect Ukraine is undoubtedly a priority as a partner for Germany and also for the Weimar Triangle. Some time ago, the three ministers of foreign affairs wrote a joint letter on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of Ukrainian independence, which demonstrates our common sense of responsibility in the area of further development.

There are two questions which seem quite important. The first concerns EU policy. Minister Hübner has just mentioned some of the most important problems. The EU has to adopt an individual approach in relations with every single

country, but first a discussion process has to be set up. I do not see any problem with continuing the Weimar Triangle debate on the EU approach to the Eastern neighbours

The next question, and here we will count upon Polish or Polish-Ukrainian proposals, concerns the transformation process in Ukraine: how it should be implemented in order to bind Ukraine to the European Union. And here we can count upon Polish experience, because Poland has been demonstrating its responsibility towards Ukraine for years.

Finally, I see a role for the Weimar Triangle in a situation where European interests will expand. This role is to stimulate further development of the EU and help it in its most important task, which is creating an efficient configuration. In this respect we will face some problems as a consequence of the enlargement, which nevertheless remains a top priority in our relations.

Oleksandr Medovnikov:

I am General Consul of Ukraine to Cracow. I have a question to Minister Huebner. I have an information about your lecture on May 5th, on XI Conference of Szymanowski in Oslo. I was told that you had said that Russia, Belorussia, Moldavia and possibly Ukraine have not expressed their will to join the European Union. Is it true and how does it correspond with what you have told us here?

Danuta Hübner:

I think there must have been some mistake, because what I did was precisely excluding Ukraine, so there must have been some misunderstanding. The expression was "the case of Ukraine is completely different".

Question to Borys Tarasyuk:

Could you please tell us what the relations between the pro-European part of the Parliament with the fraction "Into the European Union together with Russia" are? Do they meet, do they discuss these issues?

Borys Tarasyuk:

Formal discussions or formal relations do not exist, although some debate is going on. I personally believe that the position of the group wanting Ukraine to move towards Europe together with Russia is mistaken and dangerous for Ukraine. The danger of this idea lies in the fact that Russia and Ukraine have different concepts of their place and role in Europe. Ukraine has declared its intent to join both the European Union and NATO, but Russia obviously does not share such plans. So how can we achieve our foreign policy goals when tied to Russia, which has completely different aims? I would also like to stress the fact that authors and advocates of this idea have serious financial or business interests in Russia. This is how their position can be explained. Moreover, a considerable part of this business is illegal or semi-legal, both under Russian and Ukrainian law. On the whole, if we carried out a hypothetical referendum among the enthusiasts of the European choice and advocates of "into Europe together with Russia", I do not have the slightest doubt that the first group would overwhelmingly prevail.

Evgen Fishko:

My question concerns the TACIS programs, which you know very well and which are implemented also in Ukraine.

We have worked very hard on evaluating these programs' effectiveness and we think they are not sufficiently effective, especially the ones in Ukraine. There is a lot of bureaucracy in processing applications. There is a very complicated and difficult procedure when looking for a particular partner, especially a French or a German one. That is why we find these programs unsatisfactory from the point of view of organisation. Can the Weimar Triangle countries instigate such a revision of the system that Ukraine would have its own set of procedures and partners from abroad would not be necessary? Can they, within the framework of the Weimar Triangle, take these programs under their patronage so that they are more effective? We know that equivalent programs for Poland, the Czech Republic and other countries were far more effective than the programs for Ukraine.

Borys Tarasyuk:

I know that the TACIS programs in Ukraine are considered ineffective. As to a possible Weimar Triangle patronage, of course, the countries themselves would have to answer this question, but I would welcome their informal patronage over transferring Ukraine from TACIS programs to PHARE programs, because in my view this is the best solution. The decision would have to be made by the EU, but the voice of Poland, Germany and France would definitely be listened to.

Jerzy Marek Nowakowski:

Minister Tarasyuk, today we are talking about co-operation between the Weimar Triangle and Ukraine. From your point of view as a Ukrainian, how does the co-operation between the Weimar Triangle and Ukraine relate to another triangle, composed of Russia, France and Germany, which has been called a New Entente by President Wladimir Putin? Is there no contradiction in inviting Ukraine to European structures?

And a short question to Minister Hübner. The meeting in Wrocław was expected to be and probably was a stimulus for the Weimar Triangle, which as we all know, many years ago had become a virtual, symbolic entity. Why was it then, when asked by journalists, presidents of France and Germany, as well as President Aleksander Kwaśniewski, were trying very hard to avoid talking about European prospects for Ukraine? They steered clear of any declaration on prospects for Ukraine. You have been one of the very few people in the government to stress so directly the need to create such a prospect. Why then the Polish side has made a step back?

Borys Tarasyuk:

The co-operation between France, Germany and Russia has a strategic, long-term character. But recently this subject has been discussed from a practical and tactical point of view, since it is the position on the Iraqi crisis that really made co-operation between France, Germany and Russia possible. I believe that once this motive is gone, co-operation between France, Germany and Russia will lose its importance. Still, I notice with sadness the absence of serious

co-operation between the Weimar Triangle and Ukraine and I can only be happy that France, Germany and Russia are working together. But it does not mean that there is an increasing interest in Ukraine.

Danuta Hübner:

I do not agree with those who claim that Weimar Triangle is not playing a significant role, or has not achieved anything, or it needs to be revived. It has simply been given a status of a symbol and probably never was intended to be transformed into an institution with specific duties or tasks. Therefore, the symbolic status of the Weimar Triangle is not a sign of its weakness. It is not as if Poland, unsatisfied with the Weimar Triangle, has been trying to change it all the time. Despite its symbolic character, the Weimar Triangle turned out to be an effective structure when problems appeared in winter and spring this year, and these problems concerned the relations between Poland, Germany and France. I even said before the Weimar Triangle conference in Wrocław that it was for the first time that the Triangle was meeting on such a high level. It is not just an empty symbol because there is a real political will to co-operate. Now we have a chance to maintain the new meaning and character of the Weimar Triangle which we have given to it in Wrocław. Moreover, my French and German colleagues and I have been working on the new mode of co-operation for a couple of months. We had a meeting at the very moment when President Chirac was making his famous pronouncements which were critical of Poland, and we were trying to create some specific measures which would make our co-operation closer.

As far as European prospects for Ukraine are concerned, I am certain that none of the EU heads of states is going to declare anything before some common position is worked out or some specific conclusions from one of the European summits are drawn. It happens, however, that President Chirac likes to share his ideas with the public. An example of this could be his statement on transit, made to President Putin in Kaliningrad, which we were surprised to hear. Generally EU proceeds by preparing a common position first and declaring it next.

From my conversations with some representatives of the commissions of EU member states I understand that there are some fears to make a declaration expected by Ukraine and that it will be easier to adopt the small steps procedure. In the Commission's communiqué a common economic zone with Ukraine is proposed. There is, however, also a fear to allow the Ukrainian citizens to travel freely in the EU. A lot must be done first in the area of security. I also think that we have to be patient, for this agenda will not necessarily contain the ultimate point which is so important for Ukraine, but it can draw conditions which will be possible to fulfil. In my opinion, there is a will, but at present there is also a doubt if it is possible to say something more about the European prospects for Ukraine.

Hans Jurgen Heimsoeth:

I would like to say that there is no German-French-Russian triangle, no German-French-Russian axis or whatever you could read about in newspapers. There have been some meetings concerning the question of the international community position on the Iraqi problem in the context of pressure exerted by the world's only superpower. The three members of the Security Council met and agreed their position, as they represented an opinion different from the American one. Germany, France and Russia discussed solely the problem of Iraq, while the Weimar Triangle covers a much wider area in its debates. I would like to make one remark concerning the question of virtual triangles. There is an institution in Europe which is definitely not virtual. Only one: the European Union. It is partly supranational; it makes decisions. That is why I cannot quite understand something which you can hear also in Poland: we would not like to be forced to choose between Europe and the USA. Poland is in Europe. You cannot choose between two things if you are in one of them. Getting to the point: when co-ordinating European policy, the Weimar Triangle cannot collide with it. Certainly, the Weimar Triangle does not make any decisions, and this is true also of other bodies, such as Visegrad. But I would not like to call them virtual. They are important and I think that the Weimar Triangle has a great future before it as it represents three important countries of Europe.

Part Two

**European Experience
of Cooperation.**

**International Integration
through Regional Cooperation
(Experts presentations
and discussion)**

Chaired by Dieter Bingen

Dieter Bingen, Chairman:

The subject of the second panel is international integration through regional co-operation. The experience of Western Europe in the last fifty years confirmed that co-operation on the regional level (cross-border co-operation) formed a good basis for the development of the European Community, which became the EU afterwards. The exchange of experiences over national borders, on the individual level as well as on the level of organisations, groups of interest and local and regional institutions, forms a principal condition of integration. In the case of France and Germany this regards the co-operation around the border on the Rhine and that of Saarland and Lorraine. This regional co-operation has been going on since the fifties. Of course, there is cross-border co-operation between Germany and other Western EU states, and with Poland and the Czech Republic. In the so-called Euroregions along the Oder and the Neise, and along the Czech-German and Czech-Austrian border, the question arises as to what extent regional co-operation can be helpful.

There are many challenges concerning regional co-operation between the EU and its new members. In this region co-operation has already existed, at least as a concept, as an idea, from the beginning of the nineties, in the form of Euroregions. When we sum up these experiences, we see that not only border areas but also distant regions co-operate with each other (partnerships between Polish provinces and German lands, trilateral relations and so on). What can we learn from our experiences regardless of various problems, challenges, structural and mental obstacles concerning the cross-border co-operation? I hope we can find an answer to this question.

Krystyna Brzozowska:

The Silesia Voivodship (province) and me are present in this debate due to the fact that the organisers must have noticed Silesia's co-operation with partners in Germany, France and other countries. I suppose they have also noticed that our province co-operates with Ukrainian regions. My presentation is going to be divided in two parts. First, I will outline our bilateral and trilateral co-oper-

ation with German and French regions. Then I will speak briefly about co-operation with our "remote" partners from Ukraine, with whom we do not share a border.

Let me start with describing our co-operation with Western partners. I have to tell those who come from abroad that the Silesia province is one of the smallest in Poland but also one of the most populated. It is inhabited by 4800 thousand people. It is also a region known for heavy industry, mining, and metallurgy and it is thought about as a gloomy, sooty area full of waste heaps. This is a region which was once favoured by the central power. On the other hand, the region has been facing huge problems connected with the need to restructure its industry. It concerns not only coal mining but also the textile industry and practically every other branch of industry. Big factories often employing several thousand people will have to be closed down and restructuring of industry will affect the whole area. When the administrative reform was introduced, Silesian authorities immediately saw the need to use the experiences of these regions which had undergone similar transformation and have a similar economic profile. Co-operation with Western-European partner regions came very naturally and spontaneously. First co-operation agreements were signed with the French region Nord Pas de Calais with its capital in Lille, and the North Rhine-Westphalia Land with its capital in Düsseldorf. Since then we have signed eleven agreements, not only with EU regions. Let me mention a few: Lombardy, Wales, Wallonia, Žilina in Slovakia and Moravia in the Czech Republic. We have also a couple of partners in Ukraine – Lviv and Chernivtsi regions.

I will start my presentation with a description of our co-operation with North Rhine-Westphalia and Nord Pas de Calais. These two regions are economically very strong and they experienced similar change as Silesia: huge problems of redeveloping their economies, which were once heavy industry oriented, that is based on mining and metallurgy. The changes that took place there were like an earthquake – closing down of entire industrial sectors, huge changes in the economic profile, restructuring of metal industry. Both in Nord Pas de Calais and North Rhine-Westphalia mines do not exist any more. Other things that made us choose these partners were our traditional, historical links. One of them is the fact that about five hundred thousand citizens living in Nord Pas de

Calais have Polish roots and there are several associations and organisations cultivating Polish traditions. It is similar in the case of North Rhine-Westphalia, the strongest of the three partners in terms of economy and population.

In case of France, co-operation started with numerous groups of trainees, for example administrative workers who were "taught" how to work for local government. Many business contacts were also established and recently an ecology branch was created. Silesia has the biggest problem with protection of natural environment of all Polish provinces. A couple of years ago everything was contaminated. Since then Silesia has done a lot to diminish the threat. We want to transform Silesia from a sooty region unattractive for tourists and businessmen to a dynamic region with new prospects. We believe that like North Rhine-Westphalia and Nord Pas de Calais, our region could be very attractive from the point of view of a tourist.

After the first stage of bilateral co-operation, these three regions reached a consensus about deepening their co-operation and an agreement on Euroregional co-operation was signed in Düsseldorf in 2001. The agreement deals with types and forms of co-operation. First of all, we consider transforming bilateral co-operation into trilateral. We stress the importance of exchange of students and young people from these three regions for the process of building a common Europe. This year in Katowice, from September 1st to 5th the so-called Youth Summit of the Regional Weimar Triangle is going to take place. Young people from these three regions first met in Düsseldorf two years ago, in Lille a year ago, and this year it is going to be Katowice, where we will have a debate about their role in the future united Europe. Distinguished academics, journalists and students will animate these debates. The plan is for the young people first to listen to the presentations and then to participate actively and take a position on the subjects vital for them, for example how to build future Europe. Our guests from abroad will also visit the region and get to know our culture and tourist attractions. The subject of this year's debate will be citizens' rights in United Europe, multiculturalism and historical memory. We think that organising the Youth Summit, although difficult from the logistic and financial point of view, is worth the trouble and that is why I devoted so much time to it.

Another task included in the agreement is that the two stronger regions with more experience should support Silesia in establishing contacts with EU institutions. Since last year Silesia has its own Regional Bureau in Brussels and co-operates with other regional representatives, using Nord Pas de Calais' and North Rhine-Westphalia's experiences in promotion. The Bureau also collects data about EU regulations and procedures and passes this information to local authorities. Silesia has also been facing huge transport and logistic problems and that is why the next point included in this agreement was collaboration with French and German experts on possible solutions to these problems. Another area of co-operation between our three regions is educating and improving the skills of administrative officers. Our partner regions are ready to help us hold a discussion about the advantages and disadvantages of Poland's joining the European Union. Last but not least, the document contains declarations about development of cultural exchange and co-operation in education.

Silesia has an interesting cultural offer, a great number of cultural institutions, very interesting artists and excellent musicians. We organised many cultural events for communities in the partner regions. It turned out that they did not know our region or our cultural potential. Events featuring Polish Radio National Orchestra, Silesia Philharmonic Orchestra, Silesian Dance Theatre, etc. were a great success and also a great discovery for our German partners. This helped them understand that Silesia meant not only coal-mining, constant complaints about how bad the situation is, gloom, boredom and post-industrial waste heaps but also a huge human and cultural potential. What we have been doing with North Rhine-Westphalia Land, we also want to do with our French partners during our European Picnic. We are preparing to organise similar events in the Nord Pas de Calais region in 2004 and 2005 when Lille is going to be European Culture Capital and "Polish Year" events will be held in France. Our French friends have already presented us with a list of what they are interested in, like interactive events that put together different branches of art and culture.

This was the first part of my presentation dealing with the West. Now the second part, equally important – co-operation with the East and South of Europe.

The Silesia Province has signed several agreements with the Lviv Region. The contacts have been maintained for several years and here the biggest successes can be claimed by the former Częstochowa Province, now incorporated in our province.

There is also an agreement on co-operation between Silesia and the Romanian border region of Suceava. I will not speak here of a Triangle, but the three regions: Chernivtsi, Silesia and Suceava, although distant from each other, have much in common in terms of the economy. Once Poland joins the EU and our region becomes a part of the European Union, we may try to build some wider concepts of co-operation that have been impossible until now.

Now a few words about our co-operation with Ukraine's regions. Ukraine has traditionally been our good and stable economic partner. Many Silesian companies that used to be strong in metallurgy, food processing, chemistry and retail did business with Ukraine. There are still many industries co-operating with this country so it would be natural to continue the economic co-operation, also on the level of institutions such as chambers of commerce.

Exchange of young people and cultural events is also specified in our two agreements with our Ukrainian partners. For many reasons, however, partly logistical, partly financial, activities in these fields are less visible, less spectacular when compared to what we do with our partners from the Weimar Triangle.

Perhaps Ukraine now sees itself in a different light in relation to the countries within the European Union or in relation to Poland, which is going to become an EU member in the near future. Ukraine's regional partners will soon be undergoing changes as it happened to our partners from the Slovakian Žilina. Not so long ago they carried out an administrative reform and now it turns out that Silesia's experiences in getting pre-accession funds are very interesting for them.

Silesia is quite well prepared for joining the European Union. In co-operation with our partner regions from the European Union we created a database called Partner which contains about 800 projects concerning environmental protection, economy, logistics etc. on the level of district and region. At the moment of accession these projects will be ready for implementation, with only minor corrections needed. We have also appointed co-ordinators in rural and

municipal districts, in every unit of local government. These co-ordinators are non-political, they supervise the technical side of the projects. We are also experienced in applying for and obtaining European grants. Maybe in the near future our co-operation with Ukrainian regions will also develop as we are ready to share our experience with our Eastern partners.

Evgen Fishko:

In Ukraine one of the most important factors of state-building is establishing effective regional policy. The experience of the developed countries teaches us that the policy of regional development is the best in promoting prosperity of the entire society and in ameliorating the economy as a whole. Important institutions of regional development are Agencies for Development that act in most European and American countries on national, regional and local levels. We are very happy that this tendency is also present in Ukraine.

In August 2001 various development institutions working on all levels of government in Ukrainian regions were brought together under one unified system, forming the State Agency for Regional Development of Ukraine. Now this agency has more than forty regional branches. It is working together with organisations having relevant expertise in structural co-operation and other areas of development. We are certain that the Agency will play an important role in carrying out effective regional policy and that it will become a reliable partner for central and local businesses in working out effective co-operation within Euroregions and with member countries of the EU.

The achievements of the Weimar Triangle countries are crucial for us. Our Agency has already made several approaches to European institutions, we have become members of the European Council, a European association that brings together similar associations from the countries of Western and Eastern Europe. We have signed a number of agreements. In Cracow there is a Polish section of National Association with which we have signed a co-operation agreement. We have signed agreements with Hungarian partners and now a similar agreement with a Czech partner is being prepared.

The activity of the National Agency and its members is aimed at eliminating problems standing in the way of regional development. It covers various spheres of social activity and it is carried out in the following directions:

1. Inter-sector co-operation. We are working intensely on organising co-operation between public authorities and representatives of informal circles, business and society. But a lot has already been done in developing partnership between administration and business and we have carried out a number of very serious comparative research projects together with seven other countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

2. Strategic planning. It consists in working out and implementing integrated programs of supporting social and economic development of an area, as well as independent programs that are conducive to the creation of the non-governmental sector. Some of the programs are prepared together with government structures.

3. Equipping regional development. We are working on creating an attractive image of our country for investors, we are trying to encourage investment. Institutions which finance regional development take part in this project. We use international aid, some projects are sponsored by international financial institutions and programs. We also help in obtaining and rationally using loans and subsidies in the regions. We give financial support to programs directed towards rebuilding the structures of local government and increasing the quality of public services.

4. Information. We are creating a database with information of regional development. We organise various exhibitions and fairs, for the autumn we are preparing a fair presenting attractive Ukrainian investment projects. We are also putting out many publications.

5. Research work. We carry out research projects in the sphere of regional development and local government and we popularise the knowledge thus obtained. We support research work by giving research grants.

6. Exports and consultation. We participate in the activities of government bodies dealing with exports, which analyse the past situation, budgets, financial operations and credit rating. We offer legal consultation on projects of regional development.

7. Training. We organise seminars, train the staff of local government bodies, private active members of local communities and all institutions that are interested in taking part in the processes of regional and local development and in international co-operation.

The work of Agencies of Development which are part of the National Association is appreciated by municipal organisations that are developing quite dynamically. The agencies provide experts on civil society, local government and regional administration, programming the economic development, administration of resources, marketing and so on.

Agencies of regional and local development of Ukraine develop international relations, build a system of international co-operation, examine the experience of USA, Canada, Great Britain, Germany, France, Poland, the Czech Republic and other countries in the sphere of political, social and economic development. In the period of the last two years almost sixty international projects were carried out in the sphere of territorial development. Ukraine already has institutions very well prepared for developing international relations.

We are satisfied with our co-operation with the Polish partners, we carried out many joint projects. Now I would like Dmitry Koval to present very briefly some specific projects that have been carried out by one of our largest agencies, the Agency of Regional Development DONBAS. Donbas is a territory undergoing serious structural changes, coal-mining industry is being reformed and the region is co-operating with Silesia, Northern Rhine-Westphalia and Pas de Calais.

Dmitry Koval:

For five years now the Agency of Regional Development DONBAS has been consistently realising a program of economic reforms in the region. The agency's task is introducing projects of development in the social and economic infrastructure of small industrial companies in the Donetsk District. The Donetsk District has more than 5 million inhabitants living mostly in small industrial towns with one type of industry dominating. I would like to concentrate on the international activity of our organisation.

The first stage was an international project called "The Future of Old Industrial Regions". Organisations from four countries, Germany, France, Poland and Ukraine participated in this project. France was represented by the Agency for Development of Pas de Calais, Germany by the Institute of Development of Work and Technology from a small town of Gelsenkirchen, Poland by the Agency for Regional Development of Silesia from Katowice and Ukraine by the Agency for Regional Development DONBAS. The main objective of this project was to create working groups of experts from these organisations, and these working groups, together with local authorities of three industrial cities (Donetsk, Makivka and Kramatorsk with huge steelworks) prepared mechanisms and methodologies of decision-making in the field of strategic development, determined key elements that influence the processes of regional transformation and conducted comparative analyses of the consequences of reconstructing industry first in Germany, France and Poland, and then in Ukraine. Articles of all the experts who took part in that project were collected in a book, later translated into English, and MAPS – methodology of active planning of strategy – was elaborated and published as a brochure.

Another important project, carried out jointly with the Goethe University of Frankfurt, was entitled "People and Organisations that Influence Regional Development". The project was also called "A Portrait of an Industrial Region". The objective of that project was to determine which organisations and institutions have the largest impact on forming regional policy, as well as to determine the social and political aspects of changes in the region. The results of the project can be found on our Agency's website.

As far as direct co-operation with Polish organisations is concerned, the project called "Creating Strategy of Local Development on the Basis of the Polish Experience" seems very interesting. It was carried out with an organisation called Agency for Regional Development of Silesia. In this project we created a strategy for industrial cities with the predominance of metal industry such as Ginakiva, Enakiva and Mariupol. On the basis of its results the Ukrainian cabinet made some decisions concerning subsidies for state companies which was unprecedented.

Apart from these three one-year projects there were also small projects, for instance the Days of Silesia in Donbas – a week-long festival bringing together representatives of local government, education and business from Donbas and Silesia. Another small project consisted in creating a kind of a business incubator in the town of Stakhanov, in the Lugansk District. The idea was the following: Stakhanov is an "incubator" of businesses which could absorb laid-off miners and other heavy industry workers from companies which have been closed down.

Now I would like to propose a kind of "recipe" for international co-operation between regions. Yesterday there was a heated discussion in the second working group about regional co-operation, regional policy and above all about how to create mechanisms of regional co-operation. First of all, for this co-operation to be successful, regions must have organisations and institutions interested in regional development. These organisations should work out a program mapping out their functioning and this program should be submitted to international organisations which provide funds, for example to DONORI. Then these projects should find their place in the network of social and economic activity of those regions. Only then co-operation on the international level will be successful.

Finally, I would like to point out that successful co-operation of agencies of regional development in Ukraine, above all on the international level, requires that we maintain the already existing contacts with organisations, institutes and foundations of the countries of Western, Eastern and Central Europe, and that we constantly look for new projects with other organisations.

Anna Hoffmann:

I have a question to Krystyna Brzozowska. Could you tell us something more about the work of the Silesian representative in Brussels?

Krystyna Brzozowska:

The Regional Bureau of the Silesia Province in Brussels was opened in September last year. Its tasks are precisely enumerated by its founder, the Office of the Silesia Province. We expect a lot but we have to be realistic, especially that

the finances of the Bureau are limited. It consists of only one person, the director, who works from a tiny office. The Bureau is designed as an information centre for all interested parties from EU and from Poland. We intend not only to enlarge it in terms of staff but also to strengthen it by signing partnership agreements with other official bodies from Silesia. This means that if somebody is interested in using the Bureau to obtain information and data, one has to send their employees for training. Until now we have signed a co-operation agreement with the Silesian Association of Communes and Districts. This organisation is interested in obtaining information and in promoting the communities participating in it with the help of the Brussels Bureau. The Bureau has sent offers of co-operation to various institutions including universities. So far we only have informal declarations. The basic difficulty for the Regional Bureau is insufficient financial support.

Although run by one person only, the Bureau has already participated in a number of events such as Poland Promotion Days, fairs or Southern Poland Regions Promotion.

Oleksandr Medovnikov:

One of the main priorities of the General Embassy of Ukraine in Southern Poland is to organise regional co-operation between units of local government in Poland and Ukraine. I am very happy to see that here in front of me a representative of the Head of the Silesian Province and a representative of the Donetsk Region sit side by side. For the whole year we have been trying to establish contacts between these two regions of Poland and Ukraine and our efforts are now beginning to bear fruit. The fact that representatives of these structures, which should co-operate in a more active way, gathered around this green table in Villa Decius, is significant and symbolic.

My attitude to this co-operation is very pragmatic. First of all, the fact that the agreement between the Lviv District and the Silesian Province has been signed is certainly good, but not very profitable from the practical point of view. An agreement between Silesia and Donetsk would be much more helpful. In my opinion, Chernivtsi should not have been taken into consideration. Here the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should play a co-ordinating role, basing its deci-

sions also on our recommendations, as we think we have a good picture of the situation.

Now about the Donetsk province and Silesia. Such co-operation has existed for many years. To tell the truth, under Communism relations were quite intense and the names of the department stores: "Katowice" in Donetsk and "Donetsk" in Katowice, were not their only manifestations; there was co-operation between people, experts, specialists. This co-operation ceased in the early nineties. For example, in the town of Bytom, near Katowice, they have the best mining rescue team in the world which I am saying without any hesitation. When many of our miners died in the Zasyadka mine this team was not informed. Perhaps because there were no contact channels. Otherwise the following day the Polish miners, the best rescue workers in the world, would have come to the Zasyadka mine and saved their Ukrainian colleagues.

Another example. As most of you know, in the countries of the former Soviet Union railway tracks are wider than elsewhere. There is a "wide track" connecting the Donetsk District with Sławków in Silesia. One could create a transport corridor where changing the wheels in train cars would not be necessary. Now the Silesian Province has sent the first train called "Jarosław" between Ukraine and Silesia but we should use this opportunity to create a range of train connections between Donbas and Silesia. It opens wide possibilities not only for transportation of goods but also for public transportation.

Donetsk has an airport, Silesia has an airport, but there is no airline communication between Donetsk and Katowice. Many more examples and projects can be named, and I think that this discussion should further stimulate my colleagues sitting around this table to start working in this direction.

Dieter Bingen, Chairman:

Mr. Fishko, Mr. Kowal, thank you very much for your presentation of the experiences and activities in the regional co-operation in Donbas. The problems which have emerged should be discussed here in the working groups.

Now I would like to ask Mr. Plasson to take the floor.

Frederic Plasson:

Weimar Triangle... Nobody really knows what this thing called Weimar Triangle is. One of its main objectives, integration of Poland into the European Union and NATO, has been reached. Another goal has been full normalisation of relations between Germany and Poland, as Ambassador Heimsoeth told us this morning. Having achieved these objectives, we have to go back to the original philosophy of the Weimar Triangle, as expressed by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs in 1991 in Weimar. This philosophy was that the Triangle should assist in European integration not only of Poland but also of Eastern neighbours of the European Union. Now we have a new group of member states, but there are other states which will be East of the enlarged EU and which, according to the original philosophy of the Weimar Triangle, we should now focus on. In my opinion, Ukraine is the most important of these states and this is why this conference is focused on this country. How can we achieve these objectives? As we said this morning, co-operation on the level of states can be considered as relatively poor, while the most successful initiatives are the work of regions, academic circles or NGOs. But even here, as Minister Hübner said this morning, it is very important to intensify these efforts. Yesterday's discussions showed some ways of doing it. We articulated some tasks for regional and European policy makers and parliaments, as well as implementation plans. What conclusions were reached by the working groups?

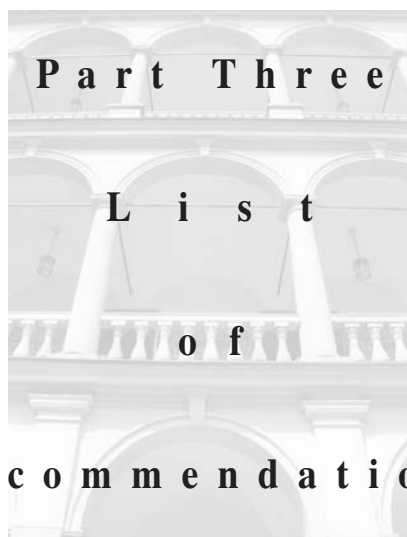
The first working group, dealing with parliamentary co-operation and the European idea, underlined the fact that one of the most important things to do for the integration of Ukraine is promoting European integration and the European idea. The role of the state was emphasised here. It was also pointed out that parliament has an important role to play. Several problems emerged in this context. The most critical ones are poor international parliamentary co-operation and concentration on internal problems of the state. The main objectives proposed by the working group were: promotion of interparliamentary co-operation, international networking of parliamentarians, sharing the know-how on European Integration, and institutionalisation of parliamentary co-operation between the Weimar Triangle and Ukraine, defined by Isabelle Riviere as "Weimar plus One" formula. This could take the form of meetings of parlia-

mentarians, creation of working groups and establishing a Weimar Triangle Foundation. It could lead to very specific tasks and promote the Weimar idea and activities, and would enable us to "transport" the idea from the highest political level to lower level of politics. A very interesting idea was expressed here as well, namely that the Weimar plus One format could be applied later to all new EU candidates who would have the wish and the motivation to accede to the European Union.

The second working group dealt with regional co-operation as a basis of multilateralisation of co-operation. To sum up all that is written in the common position paper which was distributed this morning: the main obstacle for such co-operation is the weakness of Ukrainian regions from an administrative, economic and legal point of view. One of the issues raised was lack of capacity for formulating clear priorities and strategies for the regions and lack of money to implement projects. The objectives to be reached first are the general ones: democratisation and the rule of law guaranteeing human and minority rights; and then changing citizens' attitudes from dependence on the state to more grassroots forms of regional co-operation, which probably is one of the most important things to be done in Ukraine.

The objectives defined were linked primarily to administrative reforms. A plan of action was written down, stating that the work should start with clear identification of the needs of the regions and then a common framework for co-operation between regions should be created. Finally, it was said that Poland should act as an advocate of Ukrainian interests in relations with the European Union.

I hope that all this will help remedy what Ambassador Heimsoeth called the lack of concrete initiatives or ideas for Weimar Triangle co-operation.



P a r t T h r e e
L i s t
o f
R e c o m m e n d a t i o n s

Chaired by Svyatoslav Pavlyuk

Svyatoslav Pavlyuk, Chairman:

Thank you very much. I have to admit it is a great honour for me to be here and I would like to congratulate the organisers to undertake such an important issue. I would like Borys Tarasyuk to start presentations.

Borys Tarasyuk:

I would like to underline the fact that the quality of the papers prepared by the students was of very high level. It was a good material for experts' discussion and formulating our recommendations. Here they are:

RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING QUADRILATERAL PARLIAMENTARY COOPERATION

1. Identified problems

- ◆ The essential role of parliamentary co-operation is often underestimated in the relationship between the Weimar Triangle and Ukraine.
- ◆ Parliamentary co-operation of the Weimar Triangle with the new neighbours, including Ukraine, is not adequate.
- ◆ Within the Weimar Triangle the parliamentary element is very often underdeveloped compared to regular consultations on the governmental level.
- ◆ In Ukraine improper functioning of democratic institutions creates problems for Ukrainian parliamentarians.

2. Establishing goals and objectives

- ◆ Increase awareness of parliamentarians from the Weimar Triangle countries on issues concerning European integration of neighbouring countries such as Ukraine and raise the awareness of Ukrainian parliamentarians on European integration and harmonisation of the law.
- ◆ Strengthen parliamentary co-operation in order to transfer the know-how on EU integration and harmonisation of the law from the Weimar Triangle countries to Ukraine.
- ◆ Create proper networking of parliamentarians so that Ukrainian parliamentarians have access to EU *acquis* and co-operation structures.

- ◆ Strengthen the links between the Ukrainian and European parliaments.
- ◆ "Translate" and transfer this kind of co-operation, in so far as such structures exist, to lower levels, such as regional and local assemblies and other bodies.

3. Recommendations concerning plans of actions aimed at reaching the defined goals and objectives

- ◆ Institutionalise the Weimar Triangle parliamentary co-operation and extend it as far as possible to Ukrainian partners.
- ◆ Meetings should be conducted on the same basis as ministerial co-operation, that is once a year, and should include meetings between parliamentarians, especially at the level of Committees for European Integration and Foreign Affairs.
- ◆ Establishing working groups of parliamentary experts or staff members from the Weimar Triangle with Ukrainian colleagues.
- ◆ Setting up a Weimar Triangle Foundation which would support the implementation of the above-named recommendations, as well as training and study visits for young Ukrainian parliamentarians.
- ◆ Encourage European donor organisations operating in Ukraine to develop their activities in order to educate the staff of the Ukrainian parliament.
- ◆ Foster internship of Ukrainian parliamentary staff in European Parliament.
- ◆ Support participation of the Ukrainian Committee on European Integration in the work of the Conference of European Affairs Committees of European parliaments (COSAC.)
- ◆ Encourage an active position of members of parliaments from the Weimar Triangle in the Parliamentary co-operation Committee between European Parliament and Ukraine.
- ◆ Encourage the chairmen of bilateral parliamentary groups of the Weimar Triangle and Ukraine to meet regularly.
- ◆ Help the Committee on European Integration in the Ukrainian parliament in checking legislative acts for their consistency with EU commitments and WTO standards.

Now I would like Pavel Krupka to present recommendations concerning European policies.

Paweł Krupka:

Having analysed the students' proposals and European policies we have formulated the following list of recommendations:

RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING EUROPEAN POLICIES

1. Identified problems

- ◆ Varied status of the European countries (old EU members, new EU members in accession period, "third states" in various relations with the EU).
- ◆ Lack of common EU foreign policy which results in lack of common policy towards Ukraine.
- ◆ Inadequate legal framework of EU relations with Ukraine (PCA does not correspond to the existing challenges and should be replaced with a new agreement stimulating more effective integration of Ukraine with the EU structures.)
- ◆ The same treatment of all European and non-European neighbours by EU (last EC Paper on Neighbourhood is a step backwards in relations with Ukraine since the Common Strategy of 1999 was adopted.) A diversification is needed.
- ◆ Lack of knowledge of Ukraine in the EU countries and a consequent lack of interest in developing relations with this country.

2. Establishing goals and objectives

- ◆ Strategic partners of Ukraine among the EU members should be identified (these could be Poland and Germany) and lobbying for Ukraine should be undertaken.
- ◆ The Weimar Triangle countries could make symbolic steps aimed at changing the EU attitude towards Ukraine (first: introduce necessary changes in the EC Paper on Neighbourhood.)
- ◆ Some areas of "immediate interest" for enhanced co-operation between EU and Weimar Triangle should be individually defined and activated. Economy and dissemination of information should be among the first target areas.

- ◆ EU guarantee of security for Ukraine as an European state should be made by defining a membership perspective.
- ◆ Co-operation in the field of civil security (fighting organised crime, smuggling of persons and goods) and within CIS information system should be intensified in order to gradually include Ukraine in the Schengen system.

3. Recommendations concerning plans of actions aimed at reaching the defined goals and objectives for Ukraine

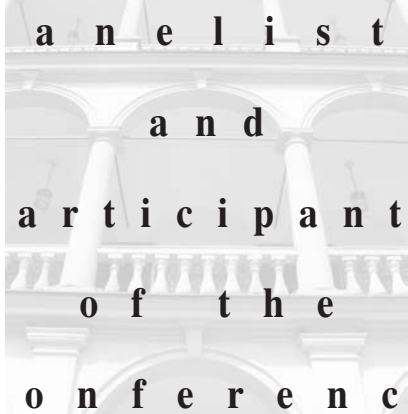
- ◆ Consistency and continuity of its internal and external European policy in gradually accomplishing the EU requirements (harmonisation of law, executive administration.)
- ◆ Full implementation of the PCA agreement.
- ◆ Fulfilling all the requirements necessary to join WTO in the immediate future.

4. For the Weimar Triangle partners

- ◆ Acting inside the EU to change the political approach towards Ukraine and to create a distinctive status of Ukraine among the new EU neighbours.
- ◆ Co-operating with Ukraine in order to prepare and conclude a pre-accession agreement and then to open a prospect for accession.
- ◆ Creating a special EU fund for assisting Ukraine's integration.
- ◆ Facilitating exchange of journalists, scholars, young people and of other forms of social and professional contacts that allow a closer mutual knowledge about the partners.

Borys Tarasyuk:

Finally I have a big request to Danuta Glondys. On behalf of all conference participants, could you please send the recommendations we prepared to Polish, German, Ukrainian and French state authorities and parliaments. They may welcome them and implement them for the benefit of future collaboration of Ukraine with Weimar Triangle states.



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 t h e
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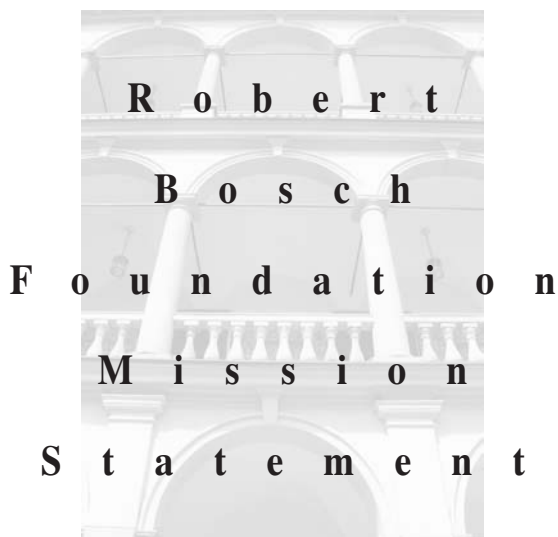
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Marek Ziolkowski, Ambassador of the Republic of Poland, Kiev

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Anna Zrajko, Villa Decius Association, Krakow



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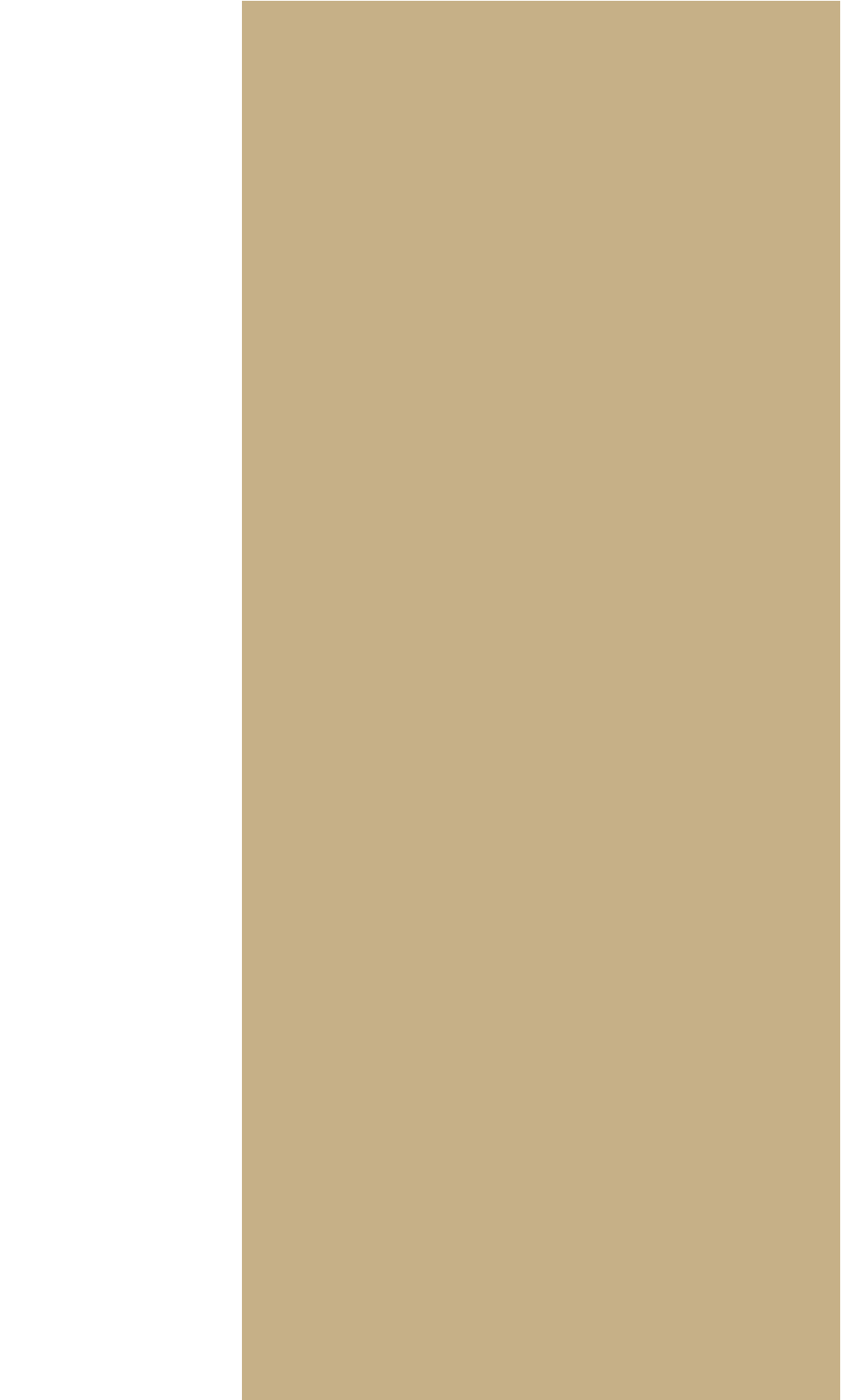
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- ◆ Support for the Villa Decius in Krakow
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