

# ZESZYTY NAUKOWE ZAKŁADU EUROPEISTYKI

Wyższej Szkoły Informatyki i Zarządzania w Rzeszowie

szkice z dziedzin nauki



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## Spis treści

*Agata Jurkowska*

|                              |          |
|------------------------------|----------|
| <u>Go East or stay West?</u> | <u>1</u> |
|------------------------------|----------|

*Tanya Kalyta*

|                                       |          |
|---------------------------------------|----------|
| <u>Tourism Development in Ukraine</u> | <u>7</u> |
|---------------------------------------|----------|

*Nataliya Lefmenko*

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| <u>Mountain Tourism in Ukraine and Poland</u> | <u>18</u> |
|---|-----------|

*Valentina Shvachko*

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| <u>Historical Reconstruction in Ukraine</u> | <u>23</u> |
|---|-----------|

*Tomasz Oczóś*

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| <u>Bologna process – main assumptions, implementation<br/>in Poland and Ukraine</u> | <u>28</u> |
|---|-----------|

*Olena Kotmalyova*

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| <u>Bologna Process and its progress in Ukraine</u> | <u>41</u> |
|--|-----------|

*Urszula Borcz*

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| <u>Polish youth attitude towards the Orange Revolution</u> | <u>45</u> |
|--|-----------|

*Dariusz Wyzga, Maciej Domagała*

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| <u>NGO as a support for democratization in Poland and Ukraine</u> | <u>56</u> |
|---|-----------|

*Krzysztof Szpakowski, Kamil Głowacki*

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| <u>Conceptions of European integration in Ukrainian perspective</u> | <u>68</u> |
|---|-----------|

*Katarzyna Kuczek*

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| <u>The European Council Common Strategy (1999/877/CFSP)<br/>on Ukraine – strategic partnership or consecutive political<br/>correct-ness?</u> | <u>80</u> |
|---|-----------|

*Patrycja Soboń*

|  |    |
|--|----|
| The European Neighbourhood Policy – prospects for better relations between the European Union and the EU's new neighbour – Ukraine | 93 |
|--|----|

*Pavlo Oleskevych*

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Ukraine – near foreignness of the European Union? | 107 |
|---|-----|

*Sanko Margita*

|                            |     |
|----------------------------|-----|
| Eurointegration of Ukraine | 115 |
|----------------------------|-----|

*Volodymyr Kosarevych*

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Prospects of scientific and technical development in Ukraine | 121 |
|--|-----|

*Marcin Szewczyk*

|                     |     |
|---------------------|-----|
| Patrzenie na ZACHÓD | 128 |
|---------------------|-----|

*Ulyana Hnidets*

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Merkmale der Erzählstruktur der „Geschichte von Willhelm Tell“ von Jürg Schubiger | 137 |
|---|-----|

## Słowo wstępne

Teksty wchodzące w skład drugiego tomu Zeszytów Naukowych Zakładu Europeistyki są owocem współpracy Wyższej Szkoły Informatyki i Zarządzania w Rzeszowie oraz Ukraińskiej Akademii Drukarstwa we Lwowie. W maju 2006 roku ukraińska uczelnia zorganizowała międzynarodową konferencję studencką – Youth without borders, Ukraine – the inexhaustible resource of perspectives, na którą zostali zaproszeni polscy studenci kół naukowych WSiLiZ.

Poszczególne sesje realizowane podczas konferencji obejmowały takie zakresy tematyczne jak: kulturowy rozwój w Polsce i na Ukrainie, możliwości rozwoju studentów w systemie edukacji oraz Ukrainy jako partnera-członka Unii Europejskiej. Wygłaszane prezentacje w szczególności obejmowały problematykę kultury i turystyki, proces boloński, a także szeroko pojmowanej polityki sąsiedztwa Unii Europejskiej wobec Ukrainy.

Podczas przygotowywania tomu, przyjmując kolejność prezentacji tekstów odpowiadającą wskazanym tu obszarom problemowym, staraliśmy się zachować ich prezentacyjny charakter, modyfikując je jedynie w niewielkim stopniu. Niewielka ingerencja w przygotowane artykuły miała na celu uczynienie współodpowiedzialnymi za ostateczny kształt numeru studentów ukraińskich i polskich. Stąd bardzo różny, choć niezmiennie wysoki poziom tekstów i ich szeroki zakres tematyczny. Część tekstów, pomimo tego iż były opracowywane niezależnie odwołuje się do siebie i pokrywa zbliżone pola tematyczne, tworząc interesującą całość. Numer domknięty jest klamrą tekstów opiekunów kół naukowych przedstawiających w swoich

wypowiedziach odmienne – dwukierunkowe spojrzenie na to samo zagadnienie.

Tom w większości jest anglojęzyczny, jednak jako jego uzupełnieniem na końcu zamieściliśmy tekst w języku niemieckim, opracowany przez jedną z organizatorek ukraińskiej konferencji, który dotyczy co prawda językowej analizy struktury Legendy o Wilhelmie Tellu, jednak na poziomie metodologicznym stanowi przykład wzorcowej analizy problemowej.

Oddając w ręce czytelnika drugi numer Zeszytów Naukowych Zakładu Europeistyki ukształtowany przez euro-sąsiedzkie studenckie zapamiętywania i obszary zainteresowania mamy nadzieję na jego życzliwe przyjęcie.

dr Marcin Szewczyk – Zakład Europeistyki WSiLiZ

Agata Jurkowska

## **Go East or stay West?**

As the title of my paper suggests, I would like to concentrate on the very hot problem of the European Union: should the enlargement be continued or should current borders of the European Union stay still? In other words, this question focuses on the issue if the European Union is interested in further enlargement.

The concept of “going East” should be treated rather broadly; it covers not only Ukraine, but also Turkey, Balkans, Moldova and even Byelorussia in the further perspective.

There is no doubt the European Union has been facing a deep crisis, commonly known as “enlargement crisis” and also “constitution crisis”<sup>1</sup>. It is true that Europe cannot deal with the idea of itself. We are discussing the borders of Europe, models of integration, political basis as well as economic and social dimension of so called “New Europe”. But it is also true that most of those problems come rather from the internal situation of particular Member States than the heart of European integration. While considering enlargement problems on the EU level, everybody actually agrees that the European integration is a desirable process in the global world, that

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<sup>1</sup> See: N. Walker, *Big ‘C’ or Small ‘c’?*, “European Law Journal”, Vol. 12, No. 1, January 2006, pp. 12-14.

the European Union needs modern governance and new incentives for economic and social development.

What do European institutions say about the enlargement 2004? As it is indicated in the Communication from the Commission<sup>2</sup>, adopted for the second anniversary of the enlargement, that historic event was a big success where everybody, either new or old Member States, won. Due to the report prepared by the Bureau of European Policy Advisers and the Directorate-General for Economic and Financial Affairs ten acceding Member States' economies are growing at a rapid pace enabling them to progressively bridge the gap with their richer neighbours<sup>3</sup>. But the latter also win as the increase of the EU's single market by 75 million to 450 million inhabitants brings a wealth of trade and investment opportunities. The report underlines that the enlargement has acted as a force of modernization in the EU as a whole what is highly important in the context of changing global scene and appearing such actors as China or India. "The enlargement is helping the EU cope better with the new world economic order"<sup>4</sup>.

Let me quote some numbers contained in the report: new Member States experienced 3¾ % a year between 1997 and 2005 (whereas old Member States in the same time reached 2½ % on

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<sup>2</sup> Communication from the Commission to the Council and European Parliament, *Enlargement, Two Years After – An Economic Success*, COM(2006) 200 final 3 May 2006.

<sup>3</sup> *Enlargement, Two Years After – An Economic Evaluation*, European Economy – Occasional Papers, No 24 May 2006 (available at: [http://ec.europa.eu/economy\\_finance/publications/occasional\\_papers/2006/ocp24en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/publications/occasional_papers/2006/ocp24en.pdf)). Most data and numbers quoted in the paper have their source in that document.



average). The EU15 share of total EU10 trade increased from about 56 % in 1993 to 62 % in 2005. The EU10 also attracted a lot of foreign direct investment (FDI), reaching an overall stock of €191 billion in 2004, or 40 % of their total GDP. Unfortunately, unemployment rate in the EU10 is still 5.5 percentage points higher than in the EU15.

The old Member States are not very eager in confirming that the enlargement had a positive impact on their economies. Only the British were brave enough to admit that citizens of new Member States contributed in quite a big proportion to the growth of British GDP. Other countries are rather reluctant to state that the enlargement improved economic conditions in Europe. On the other hand, the enlargement process and new Member States are usually blamed for internal problems of countries of old Europe, no matter if those problems arouse from the necessity of reforming pensions systems, the abnormal strength and activity of trade unions or growing problems with national minorities<sup>5</sup>. One of main arguments against new Member States is the fact that employees from the acceding countries can conquer labour markets of old Europe, causing an increase of unemployment rate among nationals. It was a “doomsday scenario”<sup>6</sup> announced mainly by Austria, Germany and France. What

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<sup>4</sup> Opinion expressed by Joaquín Almunia, Economic and Monetary Affairs Commissioner - see Press Release: *Enlargement, two years on: all win as new Member States get richer*, IP/06/557 (3 May 2006).

<sup>5</sup> *Myths and facts about Enlargement* (available at: [http://ec.europa.eu/comm/enlargement/faq/myths\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/comm/enlargement/faq/myths_en.htm)).

<sup>6</sup> See the statement by O. Rehn, Enlargement Commissioner, in Press Release indicated in reference 4.

seems significant, that scenario of migration flow didn't come true!<sup>7</sup> Great Britain, Ireland and Sweden rejected all those fears at the very beginning and they opened their labour markets for citizens of all the EU Member States. Governments of all those three countries saw the chance to enhance competitiveness of their economies with massive help of specialists and workers from new Member States. Nowadays – two years after enlargement – those “pioneer countries” are being followed by Greece, Spain, Portugal. Even France is loosening its strict employment policy. The other part of doomsday scenario told about unusual costs of enlargement – the increase in expenses for European institutions, structural funds, etc. Finally that cost amounts only for 0.1% of annual GDP of the old Member States. These are all evidence that enlargement should be treated rather as an economic chance than burden.

I am convinced that in economic terms further enlargement and the EU extension to the East and South of Europe is absolutely necessary. Building competitiveness on a global arena requires broadening the market, improving the access to consumers as well as natural resources and cheaper labour force. The enlargement process includes all those benefits. We have to remember that for the time being Europe needs a competitive advantage over not only the USA or Japan as it was predicted in the Lisbon Strategy. China and India are knocking at the door of economic leadership in the world – comparing to them the current European Union with somewhat like 450

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<sup>7</sup> Communication from the Commission to the Council and European Parliament, Report on the Functioning of the Transitional Arrangements set out in the 2003 Accession Treaty (period 1 May 2004 – 30 April 2006), COM(2006) 48 final.

million of consumers is just nothing. So let us not talk about the cost of enlargement, let us talk about the obvious benefits.

The only price that should be mentioned as valuable, just value-for-money, for the enlargement is the price of political change. Democracy, word liberty, human rights protection, rule of law should always stay a precondition for a Candidate State status, not mentioning Member State status. Those elements should stay a herald of the European Union as these are values that to some extent guarantee the stability of the organization. We still should remember that European integration process arouse sixty years ago as a protest against war.

There is a tendency of treating strict political and legal requirements of the EU membership as an unnecessary barrier to the integration. That way of thinking should be absolutely forgotten. For most countries a perspective of association or membership in the European Union is one of the main incentive to undertaken internal reforms of political and social sphere. The vision of EU membership allowed for implementing many political and economic reforms in countries that used to be “Eastern bloc countries” and nowadays enjoy Member States status.

In many cases the pressure of the European Union makes the solution of problems much faster. The best example could be the solution of a border conflict between Croatia and Slovenia. In Macedonia, among others, the intervention of the European Union guaran-

teed sustaining the stability after the outburst of domestic conflict at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century<sup>8</sup>.

What seems very important, the European Union is determined to guard the common European values. It has been recently shown by the decision on calling off the negotiations on future association with Serbia as the country had not been following the EU instructions on resolving internal problems.

We got used to the current situation somehow, but it is quite amazing and unusual that countries, such as Poland, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Lithuania, Latvia, that not later than 20 years ago were directly or indirectly a part of the Soviet emporium, nowadays enjoy the EU membership and in some categories, for instance economic growth, they do much better than “old Europe”.

In my opinion, the common heritage of post-Soviet reality obliges the Member States from Central Eastern Europe to be a speaker for good interests of countries that stay beyond the borders of the European Union. As the geopolitical conditions are not easy in this part of Europe, the membership option is not necessary, at least in a short term perspective. Anyway, there is a choice of other instruments whose objectives is political and economic integration.

We need the strong Europe in the global world. The response to the question: should we go East can be only, without any doubts, positive.

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<sup>8</sup> See A. Jurkowska, *Rozszerzenie na rozdrożu – Macedonia na progu członkostwa*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Zakładu Europeistyki WSiLiZ”, No 1/2006, pp. 1-10.

Tanya Kalyta

## **Tourism Development in Ukraine**

### **1. Introduction**

Ukraine which has an advantageous geopolitical position and a culture, historical, tourist and recreation potential, has not yet become a fully-fledged participant at the international tourist arena. But today we observe the growth of the international community's interests in this country.

There are many features in this country which are advantageous for development of tourism: a rich historical and cultural legacy; natural conditions in the temperate regions conducive to recreation; ethnic originality in many regions of Ukraine; sun and sea areas in the Crimea and in coastal areas; river and sea cruises; mountaineering in the Crimean and Carpathian mountains. These and other features attract tourists and have a potential for further development. All the historical and cultural landmarks in urban and rural areas, parks, scenic nature work for tourism. The health-improving resources are unique, since more than 500 mineral water and clay deposits have been found. Among these settlements there are 27 health resort cities and 214 villages which have a special status for the development of recreational and tourist functions.

Ukraine has thousands of camps and facilities for children recreation, rest, and health improvement – it is one of the most de-

veloped systems in the world. It's an important social factor providing the opportunity for Ukrainian families to have the health of the children improved, but if developed properly, this system can be made useful in providing similar opportunities for children from foreign countries. The international children centre **Artek** in the Crimea is well known but it is only one part of a tourist market potential in this sphere. The southern Crimean coast is, even compared to the Mediterranean resorts, a unique concentration of tourist, recreational, health-improving, educational and sport promoting features.

All these things considered one realizes that the tourist potential of Ukraine is truly great, particularly if we add to the list of tourist-attractive features opportunities for rural tourism, health-improvement centres for the elderly, hunting, ecological tourism, yachting, golf and other advantages.

There are many varieties of tourism in Ukraine – cultural and educational (in historical places); health-improving and sports (at sea, in forest and mountain regions), ecological and green (on landscape territories), rural and agro tourism (in rural areas).

Regional landscape parks are in formation stage, and **den-droparks**, such as **“Sofiivka” in Uman**, **“Olexandria” in Bila Tserkva**, **Trostianets in Chernihiv** region and others are outstanding examples of Ukraine's landscape architecture (there are more than 500 of those in Ukraine), and a large part of which is in rural areas.

There are 14 natural preserves in Ukraine which can be turned into major tourist centres. Rural tourism can be developed

practically in all the regions of Ukraine, but the most prospective are the western regions in which up to sixty or seventy percent of the local population could be involved in it.

To the categories of the national reserve fund of Ukraine, where ecological tourism can be developed, belong: **national natural parks** (Carpathian, Shatsky, Sinevirsky, Azov-Sivashsky and others), regional landscape parks (Dnister Canyon, Kinburn Split, Dikansky and others), and biosphere reserves (Carpathian, Askaniya Nova, Black Sea).

Large tourist-zones were created in Ukraine, such as “Namyisto-Slavutich” along the Dnipro River, “Yaremcha-Vorohta” in the Carpathians, “Great Yalta” on the Black Sea shore, as well as tourist centres that are functioning in historical cities such as Kyiv, Lviv, Kamyanets-Podolsky and others. Lately, complexes of ecological (green) tourism are being created and developed in places of preserved biodiversity.

Historic and cultural sites are concentrated in Kyiv, Lviv, Chernihiv and Odessa. Almost half of all Ukrainian architectural relicts are located in the Lviv Region.

## **2. Services and projects**

### **a. Skiing**

The **Carpathian** region offers a unique combination of mountains, clean air, curative spas, historic sites and ethnic culture. Skiing is a major Carpathian tourism draw. Long-lasting and reliable snow conditions make Carpathian skiing popular. U.S.A. community ski fans report that the slopes in Slavsko (Lviv Region) and

**Yaremcha** (Ivano-Frankivsk Region) compare well to Piks Peak and the Killington ski areas in Vermont. Zakarpatska Region has several three-kilometer downhill runs, desirable for slalom. Other popular skiing areas in the Carpathian Mountains are **Dragobrat**, **Vorokhta** and Yaremcha.

Ivano-Frankivsk Region tourism authority develops a Center of International Ski Tourism in **Vorokhta-Yablunytsa**. This is to be a “green-field” construction of a western style ski resort, including accommodation and skiing facilities.

Ukraine has actively joined the complex development of international ecotourism process. Through this connection, the formation of interstate natural reserves within the country's territory is very important. Large tracts of land “Stuzitsa” became a part of the first Central European trilateral interstate territory – biosphere reserve “Eastern Carpathian”. From the **Polish** side Beschadsky national park and landscape parks – Tsisniansko-Vetlinski and “Sleep Valley” are included in the territory; and from the Czech side - region of guarded landscape “Eastern Carpathian”. Similar biosphere reserve “Dunaiski Plavni” is being created. There is a proposal to create such interstate biosphere reserves, as: Polish-Ukrainian “Western Polissia”, Russian-Ukrainian “Briansk and Starogutsk forests” etc. Those objects might in perspective be the most popular for developing a transnational ecotourism system.

One of the advantages that Ukraine has over its neighbors, Poland, Slovakia and Hungary is that traditional styles of life continue to be preserved. In the villages of the Carpathian National Park traditional dress and farming practices continue to be maintained.



Western travelers express an ongoing interest in the artisan studio tours in the Ivano-Frankivsk Region. Local wood and woven crafts are extremely popular with Ukrainian Diaspora.

Crimea, in an effort to extend the season, has come up with attractive proposals to create modern ski resorts in the **Crimean Mountains**. Today, businessmen tend to build smaller ski lodges or cabins, which are in demand.

The project of development and construction of an 18 kilometer long cable way of mountainous recreation center TavrOs includes: installation of a cable-car to run from downtown **Yalta** across **Ay-Petri** Mountain further to Belbek Valley; development of a ski resort; refurbishing of mountain caves; development of horse-back riding resorts on top of mountains. This idea of the project is to connect Yalta, as the principal Crimean tourism hub, with natural and historic attractions in the mountains currently inaccessible for tourists.

#### **b. Water Sports, Rafting and canoeing.**

Ukraine possesses a tremendous wealth of water resources (the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, the Dnipro, the Dnister) and extremely beneficial geographical location (The Black Sea Region). Thus it has a great potential for successful development of yacht tourism and attracting foreign investment.

There is a big project of development of a tourist campsite on the **Dnister River**. The site of the project is in a picturesque area at the Dnister River between Chernivtsi and Ternopil Regions. This private sector project includes a green-field development of a tourist campsite, three restaurants with various national cuisine, a waterfall

and fountains, a shopping center, a pier and a water-ski center.

Resources for the organization Green tourism exist in all Ukraine's regions, in particular – green lines on the riverbanks of the Dnipro, Desna, Southern Boug and on a number of small **rivers, lakes, waterfalls**, reservoirs.

Projects for developing marinas on the Crimea Black Sea coast are being in the pipeline. **Alushta** Marina project in Alushta, Crimea, includes creation of a 250-vessel marina, and supporting infrastructure (customs and immigration zone, access and bypass roads, a hotel and a restaurant). Completion of the marina will require the construction of the sea-sheltered basin for yachts and boats.

Another project is the restoration of the historical centre of the ancient town of **Zhovkva** in the Land of Lvivshchyna. The town recently marked the 400th anniversary of the Magdeburg Law. The tourist, congress and cultural complex will include a hotel that will be created out of a palace — the first such hotel in Ukraine.

**Askania-Nova**, a nature preserve in the south of Ukraine, is being turned into a tourist centre. The preserve boasts rare species of animals and plants from many parts of the world and beautiful scenery.

Today, a considerable interest is shown by foreign tourists in landmarks of defensive architecture — **fortresses** in Lutsk, Medzhybozh, Kamyanets-Podilsky, Khotyn, Bilhorod-Dnistrovsky, Uzhgorod, Mukachevo; **palace** complexes in the Crimea (Livadia, Bakhchysaray, **Alupka**, and other places), in the Land of Lvivshchyna (Zolochivsky, Pidhoretsky, Olesky), and in the Land of Chernihivshchyna (Baturyn, Kachanivka, Sokyryn).

An interesting example is a project for tourists called “The Big Tavria Ring”. It is a route in the **Crimea**, by which planners envisage the creation of farms and farmsteads to fulfill double functions for tourists and agro-food. It has been proposed to develop on tourist routes mini-hotels, to construct horse farms for tourism needs.

Soon near Kyiv the first **golf course** in Ukraine will be created. Project anticipates a full 18-hole golf course, Driving range, Golf Clubhouse, and other facilities. 18-hole golf course is being developed by Kyiv-based Golden Gate Golf Club. The Clubhouse would include a restaurant, coffee shop, bar, lockers, gym, etc. Other facilities would include a hotel, tennis courts, swimming pool, water sports facilities, beach area, Pro Shop, and auxiliary facilities for the golf resort.

### **3. Failings in development of tourism in Ukraine**

As a Soviet Republic, Ukraine was a major centre for prophylactic and therapeutic treatment, tourism, and children’s recreation. However, due to the new demands of the market, 90% of this infrastructure is in need of considerable investments for reconstruction and overhaul. National and regional transportation infrastructures are inadequate and are the main barrier to the development of the tourism sector. Particularly noticeable is the low quality of domestic air service and poor road conditions across the country.

In the last ten years the market for tourism has been actively expanding, the number of companies in the industry has grown greatly and now is in excess of five thousand. But the main problem lies in the fact that the National Tourism Product occupied an insig-

nificant place in this rather developed market of tourism services, and could hardly contest with the offers of competitor-states, comparatively of a better quality and often more economical. Thus, the demand for Ukraine's tourism-related goods and services, and the place our country occupied in the world tourism market was not satisfactory. In recent years, the formation of the Ukrainian National Tourism Product persisted spontaneously, without widespread support from the state. This can be explained by the fact that the tourism industry's very foundation, made up of recreation complex territories and means of accommodation (hotels, resorts, etc.), was out of the field of competence and activity of the central body of the executive power in charge of tourism. The current law on tourism does not offer a legal foundation for the activity aimed at providing services in accepting tourists. This encourages the emergence of a powerful "shadow" market of hotel services, which, in turn, damages law-abiding hotels economically.

Great potential of our country is being realized only to a limited extent because the tourist infrastructure has not been developed well enough — we do not have enough modern hotels, tourist bases, camping sites, restaurants and entertainment centres.

I have to admit that our last year's budget, compared to that of our principle competitors could not even be called "modest". Turkey, for example, spent over 60 million dollars on advertisement and promotion of its tourism product; by contrast we had been allotted only 200,000 dollars for our needs.

#### **4. Achievements in development of tourism**

Our main strategic goal is the creation of a powerful national tourism industry capable of producing a competitive tourism product. It should be emphasized that Ukraine inherited the powerful system of sustaining mass tourism and health treatment — more than four and a half thousand hotels, tourist complexes, health resorts.

Furthermore, the construction of a competitive National Tourism Product involves an efficiently coordinated, tourism-friendly transportation system, a multitude of cafes and restaurants, effective maintenance and sanitation of beaches and parks, restoration of historical landmarks and monuments, functioning museums, prolific souvenir production. A new system of additional services for the tourists — yacht clubs, golf courses, aqua-parks, and entertainment centres, — should be created.

Recently was introduced the draft of changes into the Law on Tourism, which creates a normative base for the functioning of units of accommodation, which, in turn, maximally simplifies their registration and work regulation, and alleviates competition, eliminating “shadow” markets.

The government’s decision to simplify the entrance formalities played an extremely important role in the growth of the industry – from April 2002 foreign citizens can obtain entrance visas for up to 8 days at the airports of Symferopol and Odessa, and at the Odessa Sea Port. This experiment was initiated by the State Tourism Administration of Ukraine as the first step towards the introduction of a visa-free entrance regime for EU, US, Canadian, Swiss, Japanese, Australian and South Korean tourists. No doubt, the introduction of a

favourable visa policy has influenced the increase in the number of those who want to visit Ukraine.

In December 2001 was set up anew tourism-related state body of the executive power of Ukraine, State Tourism Administration of Ukraine (STAU), to promote and realize state policies in the sphere of tourism.

Now the State Tourism Administration of Ukraine directed its main organizational efforts at the development of rural green tourism. According to the estimates, its potential can grow twofold. On the one hand, such tourism will let people see and explore the beauties of the land, and on the other hand, it will promote mountain skiing and health-improvement centers and resorts.

The successful development of tourism depends to a large extent on investments. That's why a legal basis has been formed in Ukraine which regulates foreign investments in all the spheres of the national economy and ensures the possibilities for their effective use and for earning profits. A foreign investor is guaranteed a free transfer of gained profits because has been established a national policy for activity, foreign currency exchange regulation and taxation.

It should also be mentioned that Ukrainian investors have become more active. Thanks to them the Ukrainian tourism industry increased its operational potential by several dozen hotels and resorts, aqua parks of global standards, and new skiing centers.

As far as the improvement of the investment climate in the sphere of tourism is concerned, the government has approved the Concept of the Development of the Sea Coast of the Crimea for the years 2006-2007. It is a pilot project but if it proves to be effective,

this experience will be introduced in other tourist regions of Ukraine. A bill dealing with tourist and recreational zones, aimed at solving a number of problems in this sphere, is already being publicly discussed.

I am afraid that even in the extended space of this article it will not be possible to tell about all the aspects of tourism development in Ukraine even in a brief form. It is not accidental that they say that the tourist sphere encompasses practically all the branches of the economy and social and cultural life. In conclusion I would like to say that our work can be successful only in case if we manage to create an effective model of interaction between the executive power and parliament, mayors of towns and cities, managers of companies, public organizations and international funds, to involve all those who are interested in the development of tourism in coordinated work.

Nataliya Lefmenko

## Mountain Tourism in Ukraine and Poland

Mountain cliffs that seem launching straight into the blue sky, deep dark forests with light green islands of fields and blue eyes of lakes, looking boiling but ice cold rivers and blue smoke of tourists' fire – all this is the spirit of mountains. Though, it's not only about the wild and beautiful nature – mountains is a unique cultural region where contemporary way of living reveal thousands years old folk traditions and rituals.





Let's look into the beauty of the mountains in Slavske (Ukraine) and Zakopane (Poland) and development of tourism there.

Slavske is the one of the most popular ski resort in the Ukrainian Carpathians, situated 130 km southwest of Lviv. Zakopane district is considered as the most attractive tourist region in the southern Poland, about 100 km to the south of Krakow, close to the border with Slovakia. It lies in a valley at the foot of the Tatras, the highest mountains in Poland.

Slavske is the heart of Boykivshchyna region, a place that welcomes real connoisseurs of beauty, people who desire to feel themselves part of this wonderful world anytime during any season. Slavske is situated in the beautiful valley of the Opir river – land full of legends – local people still know whereabouts of old Drevlian tribe prince Sviatoslav's grave, a prince who died in the battle over here in 1015. Some researchers think that settlement raised near the 10th century, but its name has an ancient Slavonic origin of Slavka River or with glorious fighters of prince Sviatoslav. The first documentary recollection about Slavske like settlement dates back to 1483. A special development of Slavske took place in 1970-1980. Today, Slavske has a resort status.

Zakopane, instead, is not so ancient. It is only four centuries old. It was founded between the 16th and 17th centuries as a farmers' and shepherds' settlement. In 1845 the first parish was set up in the village and two years later Zakopane was visited by one of its legendary persons – priest Józef Stolarczyk. He encouraged the highlanders to rent their houses to the visitors, later on people started to build special houses for tourists. The first hotel called "Pod Giewon-

tem” was built in 1885. In 1899 Zakopane was connected by the railway which started a new chapter in its history. In the XIX century Zakopane became famous as a tourist and health resort.

By the way Slavske also developed railway infrastructure - trains from all over Ukraine, as well as from Russia, Hungary, Slovakia and Austria arrive there. In addition, local bus transport is easily available and reliable.

Located in the Tatra Mountains Zakopane is Poland's self-proclaimed “winter capital”, and a trip here has become little less than a rite of passage for many natives. Polish premier mountain town has long been known for its ski jumps and cross-country trails, so much so that it was at one stage an outside shot to host the 2006 Winter Olympics.

During the 70's Slavske became the training centre for no less than the USSR olympic team, and legend says that Ukrainian pole vault hero Sergey Bubka once vaulted an entire house after a particularly lively days adventures, however thus wouldn't help Slavske to become Winter Olympic capital.

The development of Zakopane and its skiing facilities, has been thwarted to some extent by the establishment of the Tatra National Park to the south.

In comparison Slavske has achieved it a couple years later but nowadays you can visit numerous shops specializing in ski rental, with prices starting from 30 UAH per day for a pair of battered skis.

After skiing you may visit restaurants that in the majority are made in old local wooden style, where a chef cooks tasty Ukrainian food, or anything else you'd like to.

Zakopane proposes you: lamb, sheeps cheese, pork scratchings and goose; the menu here will leave you needing to be rolled all the way back to your hotel.

Finding accommodation in Zakopane is not a problem. The cheapest places to stay are in private rooms, usually costing between 40 and 60 PLN. Signs for free rooms or guest rooms or rooms with bathrooms are literally everywhere. Or just check out the hotels, pensions and mountain huts listed. One of Zakopane's hotels "Giewont" offers renovated rooms carried with all the mid-range traits one would expect: cable TV, prints on the walls. Instead of it, hotel "Mercure Kasprowy" proposes swimming pool, bowling lane, tennis courts and a fleet of stuff working around the clock to make this Zakopane's most professional hotel. Rooms are chock-full of extras: internet, hairdresser, satellite TV etc.

Slavske also does not lag behind. Apart from 25 large hotels and centers, today Slavske receive visitors in 50 mini-boardings-houses and private farmsteads. The most popular hotel is "Perlyna Carpat", situated in the center of Ukrainian Carpathians in ideal ecological and beautiful nook of Europe.

This hotel offers you 28 comfortable rooms including 6 rooms "Luxe" class with satellite television, mini-bar and all conveniences. From all rooms you can see wonderful landscape. Other hotels also offer very comfortable conditions, like relaxation rooms, rooms with fireplace, digital sat TV, stereo. There are also restau-

rants, bars, billiard, tennis courts and swimming pools. In addition to cheap hotels there are many pensions and bases.

Besides that there are many possibilities to stay at the cheapest places, but it is, as the saying goes, with conveniences on the yard.

Regarding mobile services Slavske has excellent covering: Kyivstar, UMC and others which have roaming with Polish operators such as Era GSM, Plus GSM, Idea GSM. So you don't have to worry about keeping in touch with your family and friends.

Yes, the rest in the mountains is really absorbing. But you must remember about tricks of nature. For example, the Tatras are high mountains and can be dangerous. You must always remember about the changeability of the weather – even in midsummer there may be some snowfall, beautiful sunny weather may turn to thick confusing fog. Another serious danger are storms; when you see there is going to be a storm you must take the nearest trail down from the ridge to the lower areas. But I think that no bad weather can't ruin your holiday if you are with good company – with your friends.

Hiking in the mountains and forests, horse and bike riding, or winter time downhill skiing followed by the warm lodge with tasty natural food and hot sauna - this is a happiness formula.

I must admit, Zakopane has better developed infrastructure than Slavske, but if you prefer green mountain tourism and winter sports – Slavske is what you need!

Valentina Shvachko

## **Historical Reconstruction in Ukraine**

My paper concentrates on the stream of historical reconstruction in Ukraine. This movement appeared in Ukraine comparatively recently about 15 years ago. It can be described as a re-creation of material culture of some historic times. Certainly, it is not limited only to a re-creation; otherwise it didn't differ from ordinary collection.

There are a lot of clubs all over Ukraine that are fond of historical reconstruction. They are interested in the world and Ukrainian history, sewing kits, they organize festivals and other actions, train fights with historical weapon and ammunition. Also amateurs learn ancient dancing and play historical folk music. For example, in Lviv reconstruction clubs are Black Galich, Akvilon, Silver Wolf, Gold Lion and others.

People from different cities, regions and even countries – Russia, Poland, Byelorussia, Hungary came to the varied festivals and historical role-playing games.

Historical reconstruction is presently in two most popular directions:

- “living history”;
- tournaments

Living history is an attempt to re-create a day (or anymore) from the life in the studied times. And here all is important absolute, beginning from cutting out of worn clothes concluding by the authen-

tic recipes of kitchen. Similar measures are interesting not only for participants but also audience which can personally look at alive history of the country, on the way of living of their ancestors. This stream is very popular and developed in the West, there are a lot of “museums under the opened sky” where people live and work as long days ago. Unfortunately, creation of similar centers of studying history is impossible without the financial help from the state, and that is why in Ukraine the possible historical living can be represented only by the field camp.

Tournaments (and also bugurts – the joking battle field). Essence of this direction is a study and application in practice of soldiery of a certain epoch. Tournaments can be divided into performances (for an audience or for aesthetics) and sports on which people want objectively estimate their forces and abilities.

Most popular times of historical reconstruction are:

- Early Middle Ages
- Late Middle Ages;
- Napoleonika;
- 2<sup>nd</sup> world war.

Into every epoch there are the divisions on regions and certain historic periods.

Now I'd like to tell about some actions organized in Ukraine in previous years.

### **Tournaments in Lutsk**

There is a small district in the center of the glorious hail Luchesk (historic name – Lutsk), named “old town”, flushed by various monuments of architecture, murals and monasteries. One of such

sights of old town is the Lyubart's Castle – Upper Castle, remains of large complex of buildings, which surrounded Luchesk in the past; it was built by the Lithuanian prince Lyubart in the 14th century – more precisely, Lyubart finished the building, because the first serfs on the territory of modern Upper Castle date to the 12th century.

Powerful walls, spacious yard, massive towers – a unique combination of history and administrative status for Ukraine. This is why Lutsk Castle became the center of present Ukrainian knighthood. The first tournament was held there in 1997, it was one of the first large-scale action of a similar type in our country.

There is a great number of legends related to the Lyubart's Castle. One of them is imprinted on the coat of arms of Lutsk. It says that when the army of enemy walked up to the town, a duchess went out from a lock. A commander thought that she intended to hand the keys to a town, and for it forfeited by the life. A duchess put to death it by the blow of dagger, and a hostile army in fear hurried.

Traditionally, every year in Lutsk Castle the festivals devoted to the medieval culture are held. During a festival events of archers, knights' tournaments and mass battles called bugurts are organized. A weapon is done out of wood, duralumin and steel. Despite that, warriors who fought downright assure, that this it is not quite dangerous. In intervals between fights the public is cheered by jesters. During a festival the musicians are necessarily present – folk-groups from Lviv, Byelorussia. Wonderful ladies in medieval dresses and their escorts demonstrate the accomplishment, and all interested persons can take part in it, too. In general, the public doesn't feel miserable. For those who are dissatisfied, an executioner wait in the

corner under a tower, with the merry attractions – gallows, block and shoe tree.

In 2005 there was a fiery show organized – fights with burning weapon, gymnasts with fire and other. And after it, when direct participants of festival could rest, musicians gave a small concert in one of Lutsk bars, remarkably designed in style of Middle Ages.

### **The 5<sup>TH</sup> Birthday of “Silver Wolf” in Lviv**

On 1-2 April, 2006 near the architectural monument Porohova Vega there was a medieval festival dedicated to the 5th birthday of Lviv club “Silver Wolf” organized.

Guests from other Ukrainian cities arrived to Lviv, many of them from Kiev.

Participants faced strict rules of admittance regarding clothes – they must expressly correspond to the certain epoch and country.

At the beginning bugurts were organized – they could be watched by all persons interested. Then the participants of festival rested at the ball in the tower – feasted and danced medieval pavanas, branles, stellas, almans...

In Lviv it was the first large event of a similar kind and it went down in memory of the audience and participants for a long time. All were satisfied and spoke highly of the conducted holiday.

### **The Third Cross March**

Another event devoted to the Middle Ages – the third Cross March – took places in Acres. It was one of the largest events of that year. About six hundred persons from Ukraine, Russia, Byelorussia came to the fields next to a city of Hmel'nitsk. In two days there were



conducted mass fights, small battles, and assaults of the fortresses built by players from logs.

Historical reconstruction is a very interesting issue. This fascination may be a tool for establishing and strengthening communication between inhabitants of different cities and countries, it may also integrate people of different hierarchical levels of a company. They communicate, share the experience, and they are deeply interested in history, they learn to dance, to fight with swords. They also learn how to make panoplies. There is always a demand for good masters-gunsmiths! People can specially arrive in a city to acquire a weapon or accoutrement or to order small necessary things (for example, details of arbalest or gloves) by mail.

Attending the events means also another pleasant thing – meeting old acquaintances, battle comrades or rivals.

In general, a historical reconstruction is a tool for a comprehensive development of company and man – physical, spiritual, moral. And now this stream finds great popularity. We hope that soon it will be supported by the state.

Tomasz Oczóś

## **Bologna process – main assumptions, implementation in Poland and Ukraine**

### **1. Introduction**

In my short presentation I will describe briefly Bologna process, its aims, actions and main documents which contributed to a final shape of Bologna declaration. I will also include an assessment of a progress in implementation of main assumptions of Bologna process in Poland and Ukraine.

### **2. Magna Charta Universitatum**

In 1988 Bologna University was celebrating the 900<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its foundation. On this occasion rectors of European universities created a document which stressed a role of the higher education at the doorstep of second millennium. Besides recognising the role of universities in creation of cultural, economic and technical development, signatories of Magna Charta Universitatum formulated several principles which should apply to a higher education institution: “its research and teaching must be morally and intellectually independent from all political authority (...) and economic power”<sup>1</sup>, “teaching and research in universities must be inseparable”<sup>2</sup>, “free-

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<sup>1</sup> Pt. 1 in Magna Charta Universitatum, Bologna, 18 September 1988.

<sup>2</sup> Pt. 2 *ibidem*.

dom in research and training must be a fundamental principle of university life”<sup>3</sup>. The need for closer co-operation between universities was also considered as essential.

### **3. Sorbonne Declaration**

In 1998 ministers of education of France, Italy, Germany and United Kingdom met on University of Paris and signed Sorbonne Declaration<sup>4</sup>. This document was fundamental to a large degree for creating the content of Bologna Declaration. Sorbonne Declaration emphasised “pivotal role of universities in creating intellectual, cultural, social and technical dimensions of our continent” and articulated the significance of the education in contemporary world. Actions outlined to harmonise the architecture of the European Higher Education system are as follows:

- Introduction of easily readable system consisting of undergraduate and graduate degrees,
- Use of credit points in order to allow validation of education continued on different European universities throughout the life,
- Improved recognition of degrees and qualifications,
- Support of students and academic staff mobility,
- Progressive harmonization of the overall framework of degrees and cycles.

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<sup>3</sup> Pt. 3 *ibidem*.

<sup>4</sup> Joint declaration on harmonization of the architecture of the European higher education system, Paris, 25 May 1998.

#### **4. Lisbon Convention**

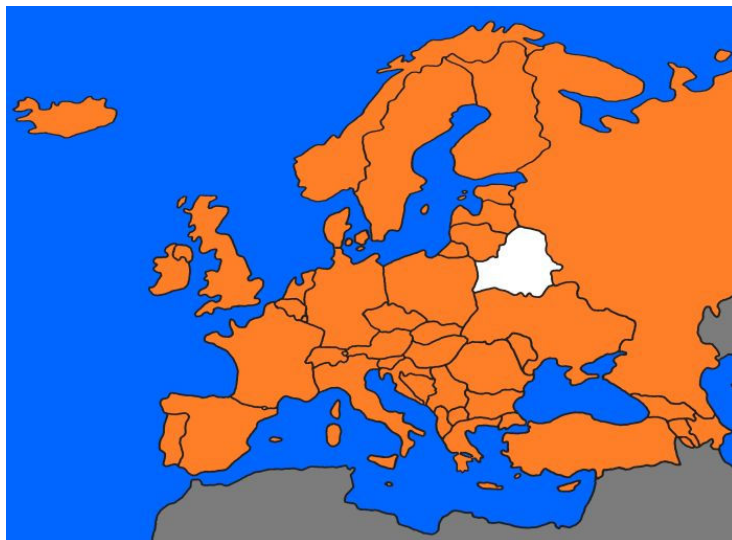
It is also worth to mention *The Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications concerning Higher Education in the European Region* developed by Council of Europe and UNESCO which can be considered as a milestone in creation of European Higher Education Area. 36 of 45 members of Bologna process have signed Lisbon Convention. This document focuses on recognition of qualifications – all diplomas issued in one country should be recognised in other countries which signed the convention. This convenience allows graduates and students to have equal access to education and labour market in Europe.

#### **5. Bologna process**

In 1999 representatives of 29 European countries met in Bologna and signed the Bologna declaration<sup>5</sup>. This document initiated many revolutionary changes in educational system of almost all European countries. The whole process, according to the plan, is going to end in 2010 by creating a final structure of European Higher Education Area. Rising number of Bologna process member states showed how popular this initiative is. By the 2005 number of members reached 45.

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<sup>5</sup> The Bologna Declaration of 19 June 1999: Joint Declaration of the European Ministers of Education.



Bologna process member states (<http://www.bologna-bergen2005.no/EN/BASIC/Map.htm>)

Main aim of creation of EHEA is to improve mobility of students and teachers, allow students to develop fully their personality and skills, increase employability of graduates on labour market, make European educational system competitive and attractive to students from around the world and last but not least build “Europe of Knowledge” – the biggest world economy based on knowledge.

Main actions to achieve EHEA are:

- Adoption of a system of easily readable and comparable degrees  
This should be achieved by introduction of Diploma Supplement. This document contains data allowing characterising level and type of education achieved by graduate and also personal achievements of every student. It is written in one of the ‘international’ languages.

Since 2005 diploma supplement is issued to every person graduating university in countries belonging to Bologna process.

- Adoption of a system based on two main cycles of education

System based on two degrees – undergraduate, which should last 3-4 years (i.e. Bachelor) and graduate which should last 5-6 years (i.e. Master). This system is introduced in majority of European countries.

- Establishment of a system of credits (such as ECTS)

ECTS system allows student to complete studies at several different educational institutions (at home or abroad). Period of studies at one university is recognised at mother university. In order to complete semester one must obtain 30 points and to complete year one must obtain 60 points. System of credit points is widely accepted as the tool to estimate students achievements.

- Promotion of mobility

This postulate is fulfilled thanks to Socrates/Erasmus programme which helps students to complete part of education in foreign country. Many educational institutions co-operate and introduce common curricula, courses and students exchanges.

- Promotion of European co-operation in quality assurance

This should be achieved by introduction of comparable criteria and methodologies of accreditation. ENQA (European Network for Quality Assurance) is a platform on which countries coordinate their accreditation policy. By the year 2005 every member state of Bologna process should establish institution covering this area.

- Promotion of European dimensions in higher education

For example creating of new courses such as European studies or preparing special curricula taking European perspective into consideration.

## **6. Communiqués**

Every two years ministers of education of Bologna process member states meet and discuss achievements and mark out further directions of process development. Each summit ends with announcement of special report. So far there have been three such meetings, each ended with publishing of communiqués which introduced following actions:

### **Prague Communiqué (2001)<sup>6</sup>**

#### **- Lifelong learning**

Due to changing demographic structure of Europe and rapid technological development lifelong learning should become integral part of universities educational offer. This kind of education is widespread in Western Europe and becomes increasingly popular in other countries.

#### **- Higher education institutions and students**

Involvement of universities, higher education institutions and students as active, competent and constructive partners is very desirable. There is a number of institutions supporting Bologna process: European University Association, European Association of Institutions in Higher Education, National Unions of Students in Europe,

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<sup>6</sup> Towards the European Higher Education Area: Communique of the meeting of European Ministers in charge of Higher Education in Prague on May 19th 2001.

UNESCO, Council of Europe, and many other institution involved in academic issues.

- Promoting the attractiveness of the European Higher Education Area

Attractiveness of EHEA to students from around the world should be improved. Qualifications and diplomas issued in Europe should be recognised world-wide.

Berlin Communiqué (2003)<sup>7</sup>

- European Higher Education Area and European Research Area

Researches are essential part of educational system. EHEA and ERA are two pillars of the knowledge based society.

- Introducing doctoral level as a third cycle in the Bologna process.

Adding third cycle to scope of Bologna process will improve standard of researches and will improve the quality of higher education.

Bergen Communiqué (2005)<sup>8</sup>

- Higher education and research

Ministers underlined specific bond which links higher education and researches. This bond should be enhanced and strengthened.

- The social dimension

Higher education should be available to all people regardless of their sex, race, social and economic background

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<sup>7</sup> Realizing the European Higher Education Area – Communiqué of the Conference of Ministers responsible for Higher Education in Berlin on 19 September 2003.

<sup>8</sup> The European Higher Education Area -Achieving the Goals Communiqué of the Conference of European Ministers Responsible for Higher Education, Bergen, 19-20 May 2005.



- Mobility

Mobility of staff and students is considered to be one of the most important elements of Bologna process and thus members reconfirm commitment to facilitate it.

## **7. Ukrainian educational system**

After the breakdown of the Soviet Union Ukraine gained independence. There was a mark of Soviet philosophy on educational system of this country – i.e. very popular pre-school education, overdeveloped technical education for needs of industry, Russian languages in many educational institutions, centralised decision making process. Since 1992 Ukrainian educational system has undergone several changes and reforms and there are efforts to make it comparable to this of Western European countries.

Currently the structure of education in Ukraine looks as follows:

- Pre-school education based on 17200 institutions. In 2001 39% of all children were attending kindergartens and similar institutions<sup>9</sup>.
- Primary and secondary education „shall ensure the comprehensive development of a child as individual, its gifts, skills, talents, labour training, professional self-determination, formation of the general human moral, digestion of the scope of knowledge on the nature, human being, society and production generally accepted by public and national-cultural needs, environmental education, physical improvement”<sup>10</sup>. It is compulsory and free of charge. It is based on over

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<sup>9</sup> After: [http://www.education.gov.ua/pls/edu/docs/common/education\\_eng.html](http://www.education.gov.ua/pls/edu/docs/common/education_eng.html)

<sup>10</sup> Art. 35 in Law of Ukraine “On Education”, 23 May 1991

21000 of education institutions. There is also a small number of schools for gifted children and youth (in 2001 there were 273 gymnasiums, 232 lyceums, 25 colleges). There is also small number of private schools functioning in Ukraine. Period of comprehensive education lasts 12 years and is divided into 3 shorter stages:

I level – 4 year - elementary school - provides primary general education

II level – 5 year basic school - provides general basic secondary education

III level – 3 year upper school - provides complete general secondary education.

- Higher education system is based on almost 1000 educational institutions. It is possible to obtain Junior Specialist, Bachelor, Specialist, Master degrees. Admission of candidates is based on competitive basis. Higher education institutions are divided according to level of accreditation:

- first level - technical schools, vocational schools and other higher educational institutions of a corresponding level. On this stage a degree of junior specialist can be issued

- second level - colleges and other higher educational institutions of a corresponding level. On this stage degree of bachelor can be issued

- third level - institutes, conservatories, academies, universities. On these levels degrees of specialist, master can be issued

- fourth level - institutes, conservatories, academies, and universities. On these levels degrees of specialist, master

can be issued. Only difference between third and fourth level is assessment made by accreditation commission.

To obtain junior specialist or bachelor degree it is needed to complete 3-4 years of education and to obtain specialist or master degree it is needed to complete first degree and study for next 2-3 years. Owner of the highest degree may apply for Ph.D. studies.

## **8. Ukraine and Bologna process**

Ukraine was welcomed to Bologna process at the summit in Bergen in 2005. Although the period of membership is quite short Ukraine made several measures in order to meet Bologna requirements: In 2000 Ukraine signed Lisbon Convention, there is working system of accreditation responsible for assessment of education quality, primary and secondary education has been extended to 12 years, many important documents has been translated into English, in 2002 there was a reform of „Law on Education” to meet Bologna procedures and postulates. Also the involvement of academic institutions is visible. But there are still many areas to cover: mobility of students is quite low, students influence on higher education is not clearly defined, institutions autonomy regarding curricula is restricted by state, simultaneous existence of Bachelor, Master and Specialist degrees causes confusion on the labour market because Bachelor degree is not fully respected.

It is very desirable that Ukraine would create database, in a form of a web site, providing information about progress in fulfilling Bologna process assumptions. At the moment such source of information is unavailable.

## **9. Polish educational system**

Present Polish educational system was introduced after reform of 1998/99. Unfortunately the reform was not considered as a success and it is criticised by many teachers and students. Particularly new Matura exam has caused many problems among pupils and it is going to be partially modified this and next year. Education is free of charge and compulsory from the age of 6.

Currently Polish educational system looks as follows:

- Pre-school education based on nurseries and kindergartens. On this level children start their education at the age of 6.
- Primary school – children attend primary schools from age of 7. Education in these institutions lasts for 6 years and ends with a test which measures how much pupils have learned during this period of education.
- Middle school (gymnasium) – this stage of education lasts 3 years and ends with tests divided into humanities and sciences parts. Results of this exam are basis for secondary school recruitment.
- Secondary schools in Poland are divided into 3 year grammar schools, 4 year technical grammar schools and 2-3 year vocational schools. Grammar and technical schools end with Matura exam which is marked externally. Many higher education institutions carry out recruitment based on this exam results. Vocational school ends with professional examination of an external type. After graduating vocational school it is possible to enrol on complementary grammar or technical school which ends with matura exam.

Higher education – there are various types of higher education institutions: universities, technical universities, economic academies, agricultural academies and growing numbers of non-public institutions. After 3 years of successful education student obtains bachelor degree and after 2 next year it is possible to obtain masters degree in similar field of study. There are also uniform courses such as law or medicine which last 5-6 years. After obtaining master degree it is possible to apply for PhD studies.

#### **10. Poland and Bologna process**

As Poland is one of original 29 members of Bologna it is advanced in realisation of main assumptions of Bologna process. In 2001 Poland introduced accreditation board which is responsible for assessment of education quality on higher education institutions. Of all 104 available courses 98 are divided into II levels – undergraduate and graduate. A system of credit points is very popular and widely spread among higher education institutions. Promotion of mobility is facilitated by Socrates/Erasmus programme and thanks to ECTS points. Polish universities are issuing Diploma supplement since 2005. Poland signed and ratified Lisbon Convention on recognition of qualifications. European dimensions in higher education are propagated thanks to new European studies course and new European specialisation on courses such as law, international relations, economy and political science.

## **11. Conclusions**

As we can see Bologna process is developing rapidly. Probably in 1999 founders of process didn't think that initiative they had started would be so successful. At present all students draw many benefits from it – higher quality of studies, easier exchanges and learning abroad, better possibilities on European work market, easier access to many learning possibilities. But there will be more profits as Bologna process is still heading towards European Higher Education Area. I think Poland has taken advantage of possibilities created by Bologna process. The question is if Ukraine will handle with it? Taking into consideration recent political and social changes I think it is very likely.

Olena Kotmalyova

## **Bologna Process and its progress in Ukraine**

In my short report I would like to speak not only about the Bologna Process and problems it deals with but also about the prerequisites of the Bologna Process and about the steps my country, Ukraine, is trying to make in concordance with this process.

The idea of creating the Area of Higher Education in Europe is not new. The first step in the development of this project dates back at least as far as 1974 when the European ministers of higher education adopted the resolution directed at strengthening relations between European universities. This resolution included such steps as mutual acknowledgement of diplomas and exchange of students, teachers and scientists among the European universities.

Moreover, certain steps were made towards the development of European system of documentation and exchange of information in the field of higher education for which the program, named Eurydice was adopted.

In 1987 several more programs, among them Socrates-Erasmus, Socrates-Lingua and others aimed at students exchange and language studies, were initiated. For example, Leonardo da Vinci program was to deal with professional training and Tempus/TACIS was to foster higher education development in the East European countries.

Then the Lisbon Convention (in 1997) and Sorbonne Declaration (in 1998) followed.

The Lisbon Convention stressed that the diversity of higher schools cannot be and should not be an obstacle for students from different countries to the sources of information in all European universities.

In 1998 in Sorbonne four European ministers signed the declaration which included such steps as an formation of the Area of Higher Education in Europe; acknowledgement of diplomas; orientation at two-level higher education (Bachelor and Master's degrees) and a Doctorate; introduction of ECTS, that is the European system of credits.

The next step was made by the conference in the city of Bologna in June 1999 where 29 ministers of Higher Education signed their declaration.

The main goal of the Bologna Conference was a coordination of demands and criteria for all the European national higher school systems in order to create a common educational and scientific area by 2010. This goal had been formulated in concordance with the Lisbon Convention adopted in 1997 which presupposed the acknowledgement of other countries diplomas and in concordance with the following Sorbonne Declaration in 1998, oriented at coordination of higher school systems in Europe.

A well-known European higher school analyst Guy Hang determined two fundamental principles for the process of European cooperation in higher education.



The first one was that all European students must have the right to study at any European university they choose. The second principle said that students should be provided with all the necessary sources and means to acquire proper qualifications.

Thus, the main attention of the Bologna Conference was drawn to the level of qualification of future professionals, rather than to the problem of diploma acknowledgement. Though, it should be mentioned that the idea of creating a single model of higher school in Europe did not appeal to all the participants. Some of them thought that it would affect the peculiarities and diversity of national higher schools.

It is important to mention here that the access to the above-mentioned Declaration was open not only to the countries of the European Union but also to any country in Europe and in the whole world during the last decade. The European Union has not only expanded territorially but has also strengthened its relationships with many European countries. Moreover, not only politicians and scientists but also ordinary people living in Europe have understood that the future of Europe greatly depends on strengthening social potentials.

As for my country, I am glad to inform you that Ukraine is showing more and more interest in the cooperation with the European Union in many fields, especially in the field of higher education. It was in May 2005 when our first deputy Minister Andriy Ghurzhyj announced about our country's intention to sign the so-called Protocol so that Ukraine could join the Bologna Process.

This document aimed at the reformation of the Ukrainian higher school system in order to let our graduates and professionals adapt to the European standards of higher education more easily and within the shortest period of time. We would like our methods of teaching and our higher school diplomas to be acknowledged by the European Universities. That is why we are making definite steps towards it, such as updating higher school curricula and creating more favorable conditions for our students so that they could be able to study more efficiently.

In this aspect, signing the above-mentioned Protocol will actually be Ukraine's first step on the road to joining the Bologna Process in approximately 2010-2012. Yet there is a lot to do.

At present Ukraine is taking part in the students' exchange program between our country and the European Union in order to implement special programs in learning foreign languages and in getting familiar with the European cultural and social traditions. All in all the changes in the Ukrainian higher school are underway. Future students will also have a wider choice of higher schools; they will look more intensively for the ways and means to satisfy the students' demands in professionalism and competence.

Thus, I think that students of all European countries, including Ukraine, will benefit from joining the Bologna Process.

Urszula Borcz

### **Polish youth attitude towards the Orange Revolution**

The history of dramatic relations between Poland and Ukraine has caused the situation that Polish society feels an aversion to political life of its Eastern neighbour. This situation was changed in 2005 when the democratic transformation has been started. Since the Orange Revolution Ukrainian people have gained Polish understanding and support.

The most appropriate proof of this situation is an attitude of Polish youth towards the changes in Ukraine and the place in Europe which this country should hold. The young were chosen as a target group for analyzing attitudes because it is the most dynamic and open minded group of the society, which do not have personal and unpleasant recollections connecting with Polish and Ukrainian history. Moreover, youth is the group which will have the most significant influence on future relations between the countries and will be responsible for the shape of Europe in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The knowledge on opinions and views on democratic changes in Ukraine could be very helpful in creating political, economic and cultural relations between both countries. It could also give support to Ukrainian youth in their way to building democratic and modern society.

During a one-week survey performed between 25 and 31 March 2006 students of European studies at WSiIZ (University of Information Technologies and Management in Rzeszów) were asked to fill up a questionnaire. They were questioned about attitude towards the Orange Revolutions and how they perceived Ukrainian position in Europe and its accession to international organizations like NATO and the European Union.

In this survey method of unrepresentative sample was used, as the target of this study was only showing the general trend, not collecting complete statistical evidences<sup>1</sup>.

Occurrences which happened in October 2005 were followed by public opinion in Poland with a huge interest. Nearly 90 per cent of young people surveyed said that they had been observing in the media political situation in Ukraine during the Orange Revolution (69 per cent of this group declared watching this situation *often*, 31 per cent admitted observing Ukrainian political life *very often*).

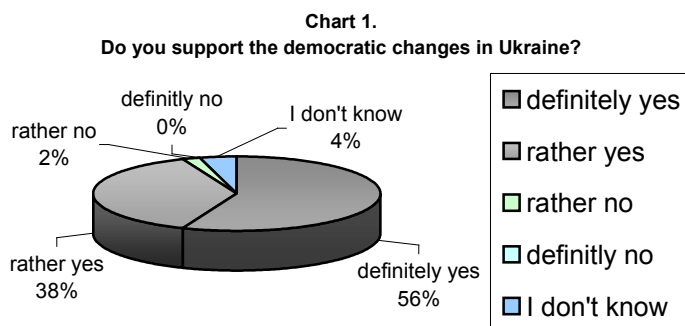
As Polish society did not stay unconcerned about the Orange Revolution, Ukrainian changes have influenced Polish people, too. According to the report from December 2004 prepared by the Public Opinion Research Center (CBOS) the Orange Revolution has positive impact on Polish attitude towards Ukrainian people. Due to occurrences from October 2005 Ukrainian people were promoted from 28<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> position in ranking of nations Polish people sympa-

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<sup>1</sup> This kind of method was used by Marcin Szewczyk in *Polityka audiowizualna*, UKiE, Warszawa 2002, s. 106-107

thized with. At the same time the share of people who declare an aversion to Ukrainian society decreased from 51 to 34 per cent<sup>2</sup>.

The opposition followers who demonstrated in Kiev were given support from Poles, especially from youth. All questioned young people sympathized mentally with the Ukrainian opposition. A significant majority of students expressed their solidarity with protesters by wearing orange ribbon; some of them also took part in demonstrations or rallies. Polish support for democratic changes in Ukraine that we could observe in 2005, is still noticeable in young generation. The chart below presents youth's attitude towards the democratic changes in Ukraine.

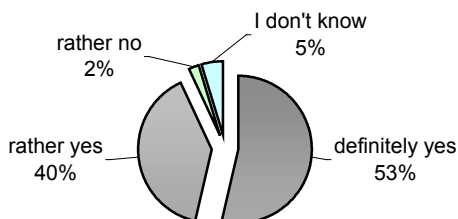


A picture of support for the democratic changes according to the gender is the following:

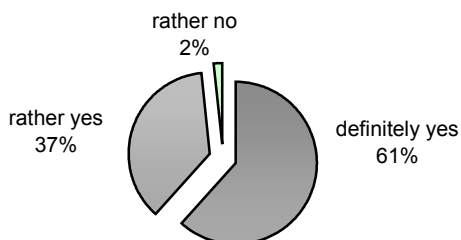
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<sup>2</sup> M. Strzeszewski, *Wpływ ostatnich wydarzeń na Ukrainie na stosunek Polaków do Ukraińców – Komunikat z badań*, BS/190/2004, Warszawa, December 2004.

**Chart 2**  
**Women's attitude towards the democratic changes in**  
**Ukraine**



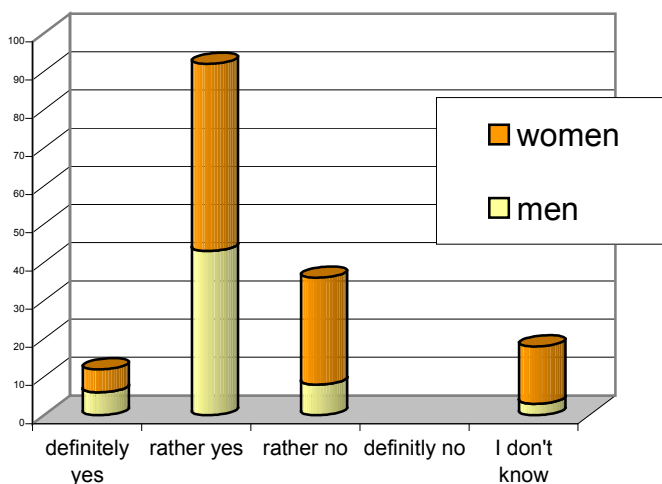
**Chart 3**  
**Men's attitude towards the democratic changes in**  
**Ukraine**



Similar responses were given to a question on youth's estimate of the Orange Revolution's benefits. Only 0,6 per cent of surveyed people claimed that the Orange Revolution had been completely disadvantageous, nearly a half of questioned group (41,1 per cent) was strongly convinced the events that had happened in October 2005 had influenced Ukraine and its political life positively. More than a half of this group (50,6 per cent) claimed that the Orange Revolution had been rather positive for our Eastern neighbour.

More optimistic opinions were provided by men: 48 per cent of them said that transformation process started in 2005 had been definitely good. According to this, permanence of democratic changes in Ukraine should be discussed. Young people were asked if, in their opinion, changes obtained during the Orange Revolutions would be permanent. Answers on this question, divided into gender categories, are presented in a chart below.

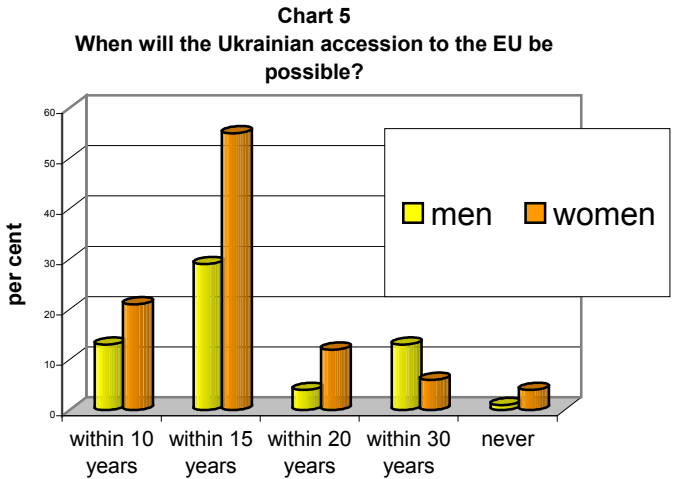
**Chart 4**  
**Youth's opinion about permanence of democratic changes in Ukraine**



Most of young people hoped that achievements of the Orange Revolutions would be continued and expended by future generations to reach completely stable and secure country. Due to the transformation Ukraine has a chance to accession to international organizations that could be a helpful hand in establishing democratic system of government and free-market economy. According to the

young, a great number of requirements which Ukraine has to satisfy to become a member of international organizations, do not require radical reforms. A significant part of surveyed people from a young generation are convinced that due to the Orange Revolution Ukraine has a great chance to accede the European Union (62,6 per cent claimed that it was rather possible, 13,3 per cent were deeply convinced that it was definitely possible). Only 11,3 per cent of questioned people regarded with scepticism democratic changes in Ukraine as a chance to become a member state of the EU.

There were diversifying opinions about a potential date of Ukrainian accession to the European Union that are presented in the chart below.



According to the diagram 56.1 per cent of women and 48.3 per cent of men predicted that Ukraine would accede the European

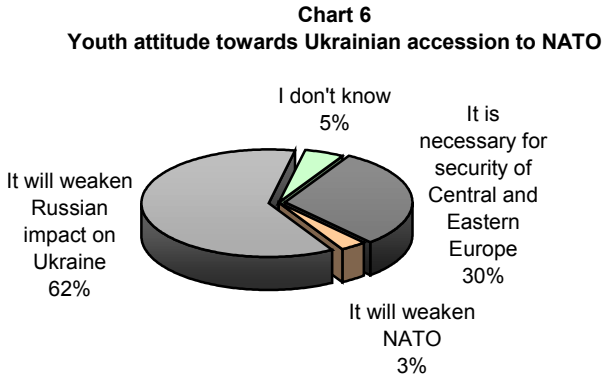


Union within next 15 years, 21 per cent of men and only 6,1 per cent of women thought that Ukraine needed 30 years to meet the requirements of membership.

Preparation to join the international organization such as the EU is a very long and complicated way that require the involvement of the whole society. Students from Rzeszów were asked to make suggestions about changes and reforms which Ukraine ought to implement to become a member of the EU. Development of human and civil rights, democracy, free mass media and free market economy are most often indicated improvements; pro-democratic changes in society awareness and law adaptation are also necessary. Students as a general requirement of membership mentioned absolute independence of Russia and friendly relations with EU-members, too. Other important things are also: a stability in Ukrainian parliament and government, performing public campaign related on informing society about benefits and costs of the accession to the EU as well as openness policy and inflow of foreign direct investments. The biggest obstacles in Ukrainian way to Europe are (according to young people): corruption, lack of efficient market-institutions, weak private sector and internal division into the Western part which aspires to European integration and the Eastern part supporting pro-Russian policy.

Most of terms mentioned above are also necessary in the context of Ukrainian potential accession to North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). It could be a significant, strategic step of Ukraine in its way to build a safe and stable country which might have a political impact for all the countries of Central and Eastern

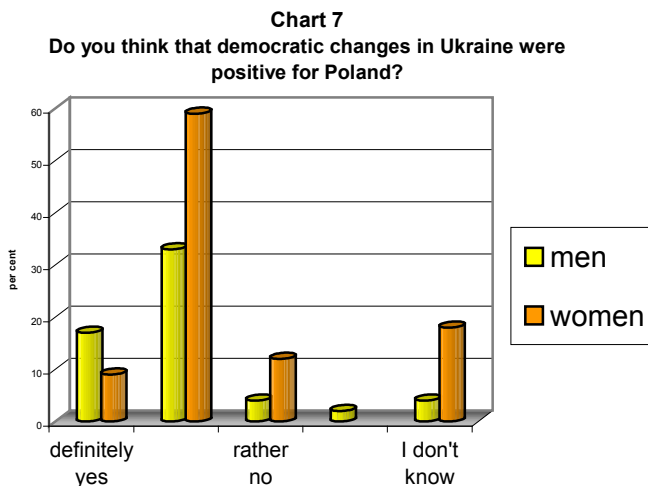
Europe. The Polish youth were asked about their attitude to the potential Ukrainian membership in NATO. Their opinions are presented in as chart below.



More than a half of questioned young people are strongly convinced that the Ukrainian accession to NATO would be a successful way to make political position, foreign affairs and economy independent from Moscow. Nearly a third of students claimed that security of Poland and other countries of this part of Europe depended on the Ukrainian participation in such an organization which would be a great alternative for bilateral military treaty with former Soviet republics. Only 3 per cent of surveyed people had doubts if the accession to NATO could be a success for both sides, especially for NATO countries.

There is a slightly larger group of people who claimed that democratic transformation in Ukraine had not been positive for Poland (11,3 per cent of asked people). The group that regarded the Orange Revolution as advantageous for Polish position in Europe

was dominated by women – 69,3 per cent of them claimed that situation in our Eastern neighbouring country was profitable for Poland (*definitely profitable, rather profitable*). A division of opinion about this issue is presented in a chart below.

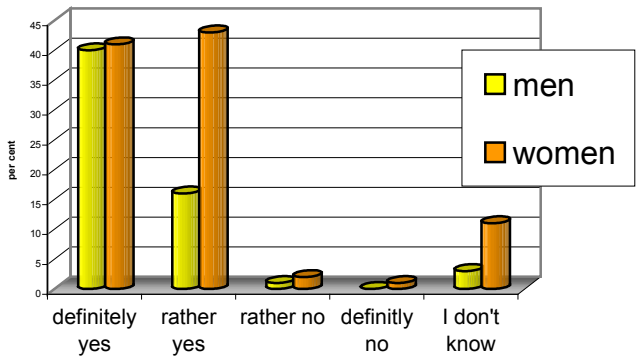


Regarding positive effects of the Orange Revolution for Poland, a significant and appropriate way for both sides to take advantages of this situation is to develop wide cooperation. This point of view was shared by 88,6 per cent of the questioned students, men were more optimistic – 93,3 per cent of them were certain that it was a great possibility to strengthen position of both countries (details of students' opinions on this issues are presented in a chart on the next page).

Reasons for developing co-operation are diversified. The most often motive of cooperation between Poland and Ukraine was a geographical position of both countries and the common border. It,

according to the youth, determined economic (especially trade) and political connections that should be used for a balanced development of Polish and Ukrainian society. It could also help Ukraine in building completely independent authorities and country. Surveyed people reminded that cross-board cooperation provided economic profits for countries and companies located on both sides of the border. Polish direct investments in Ukraine would be a valuable support in establishing free-market economy as well as big foreign market which Ukraine offered to its Western neighbour. From young point of view that cooperation should be directed towards future Ukrainian membership in the European Union, specially in Internal Market and ought to assure security in this part of Europe (particularly energetic security due to Ukrainian natural resources).

**Chart 8**  
**Do you think Poland should develop cooperation with Ukraine?**



Poland and Ukraine in view of common history, geographical location, political and economic connections are not able to pur-

sue effective and separate policy. Therefore Polish society could not stay unconcerned about the situation of its neighbour. Young generation seems to be aware of importance of cross-border relations and follows democratic changes in Ukraine. A significant part of Polish youth which took part in the presented survey supports transformation process started in October 2005 and following changes. They also opt for Ukrainian membership in European Union and NATO as a sign of a democratic reform, economic development and guarantee of security in this part of Europe. The Polish youth is ready to support Ukraine in its way to establish a completely independent, strong and safe country. Experiences of the Polish transformation may be very helpful.

Dariusz Wyzga, Maciej Domagała

## **NGO as a support for democratization in Poland and Ukraine**

At the beginning of our paper, we should define the meaning of some words which are very important in further part of our speech. First of them is “democratization.”

Democratization is the process of transition to democracy. Most often the process of democratization means leaving the authoritarian or semi-authoritarian systems. Democratization is a group of actions; main objective of these actions is to enforce the attributes of democracy, such as universal suffrage, regular elections, civil society, the rule of law and independent judiciary into the systems of government in the state.

Democratization is very often connected to the process of the liberalization. In many cases, liberalization is a foregoing process of democratization and it is associated to many aspects of life.

The effect of democratization is democracy.

**Democracy** “is a form of government, a way of life, a goal or ideal, and a political philosophy. The term also refers to a country that has a democratic form of government. The word *democracy* means *rule by the people*. United States President Abraham Lincoln described such self-government as „government of the people, by the people, for the people.”.

Citizens in democratic systems take part in government ei-

ther directly or indirectly. In a *direct democracy*, also called *pure democracy*, people meet in one place to make the laws for their community. Such democracy was implemented in the ancient Greek city-state of Athens and exists today in the New England town meeting.

The most modern democracy is indirect democracy, which is also known as *representative democracy*. In large communities-cities, states, provinces, or countries it is impossible for all the people to meet as a group. Instead, they elect a certain number of their fellow citizens to represent them in making decisions about laws and other matters. An assembly of representatives may be called a council, a legislature, a parliament, or a congress.”.

After reading these definitions, at the first sight it could be said that democracy in a modern world means only choosing representatives to the parliament, electing a president or making social initiative such a project of the law. However, this is not true. In democratic states there is a concept such as NGO (non-governmental organizations). These organizations are established by citizens, without interference of the state. They are practically independent from governments of the states. NGO are not established to make money, but to conduct particular activity, for example charity actions. The world’s biggest non-governmental organization is International Red Cross and Red Crescent movement that was founded in 1863. It was one of the first organization that could be called a NGO.

Though voluntary associations of citizens had existed throughout the history, NGOs in a modern sense, especially on the international level, have developed over last two centuries. The

phrase “non-governmental organization” came into use with the establishment of the United Nations in 1945 – it was constituted by provisions of Article 71 of Chapter 10 of the United Nations Charter for a consultative role for organizations that are neither governments nor member states. The definition of “international NGO” (INGO) was firstly given in the resolution 288 (X) of The Economical and Social Council on February 27, 1950: it was defined as “any international organisation that is not founded by an international treaty”. The vital role of NGOs and other „major groups” in sustainable development was recognized in Chapter 27 of Agenda 21, leading to revised arrangements for consultative relationship between the United Nations and non-governmental organizations.

Globalization in the 20th century gave rise to the importance of NGOs. Many problems could not be solved by a state. International treaties and international organizations such as World Trade Organization were perceived as being too concentrated on the interests of capitalist enterprises.<sup>1</sup> In order to counterbalance this trend, NGOs have been emphasizing on humanitarian issues, developmental aid and sustainable development. A prominent example of this is the World Social Forum which is a rival convention to the World Economic Forum held annually in January in Davos, Switzerland. The fifth World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in January 2005 was attended by representatives from more than 1,000 NGOs<sup>2</sup>.

“NGOs exist for a variety of purposes, usually to further the

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.aolsvc.worldbook.aol.com/wb/Article?id=ar153840>



political or social goals of their members. Examples include improving the state of the natural environment, encouraging the observance of human rights, improving the welfare of the disadvantaged, or representing a corporate agenda. However, there are a huge number of such organizations and their goals cover a broad range of political and philosophical positions. This can also easily be applied to private schools and athletic organizations.

NGOs vary in their methods. Some act primarily as lobbyists, while others conduct programs and activities primarily. For instance, such an NGO as Oxfam, concerned with poverty alleviation, might provide needy people with the equipment and skills they need to find food and clean drinking water.

Another example of a NGO is Amnesty International. They are the largest human rights organization in the world. It forms a global community of human rights defenders with more than 1.5 million members, supporters and subscribers in over 150 countries and territories.”<sup>3</sup>.

After discussing general definitions connected to NGO, we would like to show what the situation of non governmental organisations in Ukraine and Poland looks like. In the beginning we should mark that the development of the NGO was very difficult in those states. The reason of that was a former membership in the Soviet bloc. As we know in the communist states every social initiative, which were inconsistent with directions of the government,

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<sup>2</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Non-governmental\\_organization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Non-governmental_organization)

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*

could not be implemented freely. It resulted in the fact that in those countries the involvement in NGOs is much less than in the Western States where organisation had been developing without barriers. The reason for a minor participation in non-governmental organisations could be seen in the mentality of the both nations. We do not want to refer to the stereotypes, however there could be seen a certain rule that both Polish and Ukrainians unite themselves only when they have a common enemy. After a prevention of the danger, quarells and arguments return. A hot example here may be a situation that occurred after the Orange Revolution in Ukraine. Former allies have suddenly become fierce enemies and they couldn't take advantage of the previous social trust. It is not an isolated event, but the whole process that has been repeated notoriously in Poland and in Ukraine.

Now we want to describe the development of Polish NGOs.

The history of a NGO in Poland has been quite long, because the first mark of philanthropy in Poland dates back to the 12th century. However, civic associations, using professional methods of social welfare, appeared at the end of 19th century. "The Polish Constitution of 1921 contained a wide range of citizens' rights, including the right to associate and the Law on Associations of 1932 were the legal basis for establishing associations before the Second World War.

**Basic characteristics of the associations' position in the years 1918-1939:** at that time organizations were registered by the governmental administration – Ministry of Interior Affairs (there were approximately 10,000 associations and 3,000 foundations operating at that time), some of them had a special status of a Supreme

Public Utility Association given by the Ministry of Interior Affairs.

**Communist period from 1945 to 1989:** during the communist period (i.e., between 1945-1989), even though the legal regulations had not been drastically changed and the 1952 Constitution still allowed the citizens to form associations, the practice was somewhat different – the existence of associations and other civil organizations was not possible (that included the existence of independent workers unions like Solidarity).

(...) After the „Round Table Talks”, that set out the hand over of power from the Communists Parliament passed the Act on Associations. This Act, jointly with the 1984 Act on Foundations became the basis for the development of non-governmental organizations in Poland.”<sup>4</sup>.

The institutional and legal framework for voluntary sector was initially set out in the early 90s and has developed since then. The latest law (the Act on public benefit organizations and volunteering) allows organizations – once they have passed a special registration procedure – to receive 1% of an individuals’ income tax. In May 2004 Poland became a member of the European Union. As a result, the Polish voluntary sector has access to new sources of funding. New challenges for non-profits appeared at the same time, among them the management of the European structural funds and the social economy.

Nowadays in Poland over 50,000 registered organizations (including organizations of public benefit) work. Most of active

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<sup>4</sup> <http://english.ngo.pl/x/100986.jsessionid=31962235FE20FF731CFF1847BCED9EDA>

organizations operate in the field of sport, social care, health protection, culture, education and community development. In Poland 8 millions citizens are members of these organizations (18% of Poles are involved in voluntary activities), 1/3 of the organizations employ permanent staff.

The undoubted fact is that during the transformation of the state NGOs have contributed to the positive development of democratization process in Poland. However, we would like to show actions of NGO that help developing democratization of Ukraine.

Turning point in Ukraine that began the process of democratization was the Orange Revolution. Many organizations have worked to reach the objective of democratization. One of these NGO is for sure International Renaissance Foundation (IRF).

“In 2004 the International Renaissance Foundation (IRF) centered much of its attention on support of public initiatives and on operation of own projects pursued to guarantee fair and free election process in Ukraine. For these purposes IRF funded projects in the following avenues:

- Support of monitoring NGO coalitions;
- Monitoring of election campaigns coverage in mass media;
- Information and awareness campaigns;
- Exit poll empowerment;
- Support of civil initiatives aimed at voters' rights protection;
- Voter mobilization;
- Support of public councils and civic boards activities.

Over the period from the autumn 2003 to December 2004 IRF allocated to the non-government organizations of Ukraine lots of funds for implementation of elections-related projects. The funded projects did not aim at empowering specific political forces but pointed toward the creation of an environment conducive to compliance with the Ukrainian electoral legislation standards, respect of the voters' rights and freedoms as well as the spread of information for the free choice of every citizen."

"The IRF has supported and promoted the civil coalition "New Choice – 2004"

Civil coalition "New Choice – 2004" is a voluntary association of Ukrainian NGOs involved in projects that seek to secure fair, free and democratic 2004 election of the President of Ukraine.

The mission of the Coalition was to ensure fair, transparent and democratic election of the President of Ukraine in 2004, to consolidate civil society organizations in promoting the informed choice of the electorate, and to promote respect of the voters' rights and of the equality of the election process participants."

In the course of their activities coalition members had a number of working meetings with the representatives of different branches of power, Ukrainian NGOs, and the international community. This year such meetings, specifically, were held with Valeriy Mishura (Jan 23, 2004), Madeleine Albright (Feb 21, Serhiy Kivalov (June 9). The Coalition nominated its representatives at the Central Electoral Commission. Concurrently, the coalition members addressed Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovych with a letter as to the discussion of possible cooperation between the Government and the

NGO community, in order to lay the grounds for a fair presidential race.”

The Coalition prepared and conducted a string of regional events, including press conferences, press centers and round table sessions. Their intention was to present the goals and tasks of the Coalition, to involve NGOs from the regions and to sign the Fair Elections

Charter launched by the coalition member organizations. These meetings amassed an attendance in excess of 300 persons representing regional civil organizations, outlets of political parties, the authorities, local self-government bodies, and the mass media. Another accomplishment of the Coalition was its drafting and communication to the Verkhovna Rada of proposed legislative amendments envisaging equal opportunities for all presidential challengers in the candidates’ debates on the national television channels. The Coalition actively worked to consolidate the efforts of the Ukrainian civil society aiming at free and fair elections in Ukraine.

The New Choice Coalition was applying its every effort to inform the media and the Central Election Commission of Ukraine on the findings of the NGO election monitoring.”<sup>5</sup>.

As we can see the operations of the IRF has had a great influence on the presidential election in 2004. They tried to prepare Ukrainians to the democratic elections.

Another good example of organization that has had a great influence on the process of democratization in Ukraine is PAUCI

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<sup>5</sup> [www.irf.kiev.ua/files/eng/news\\_381\\_en\\_pdf.pdf](http://www.irf.kiev.ua/files/eng/news_381_en_pdf.pdf)

“The Polish-Ukrainian Cooperation Foundation – PAUCI was established in April 2005 as a legacy organization to the Poland-America-Ukraine Cooperation Initiative. Since 1999, this initiative served as a unique tri-lateral program aimed at sharing best practices of Poland’s successful transition from a centrally planned economy to a liberal, market-oriented democracy. The mission of the PAUCI Foundation is to build the capacity of Ukraine to integrate more closely with the European Union and NATO through the application of Polish and European experience and to facilitate extensive cross-border dissemination of knowledge and experience in key areas that impact human capital and civil society., PAUCI Key Focus Areas: Advocacy for closer integration with Euro-Atlantic structures, Administrative and local government reform, International and EU business standards, Ethical standards in public life, Youth empowerment.

PAUCI achieves its aims through a combination of grant-making programs for Polish and Ukrainian NGOs and its own implementation activities. To date, PAUCI has funded over 185 partnership grants to more than 424 organizations throughout Ukraine and Poland totaling nearly four million US dollars. In addition to financial support, Pause’s Expert Exchange program (EEP) attracts highly qualified Polish and Ukrainian experts to transfer practical know-how between Poland and Ukraine to produce tangible results. The program works bi-laterally by placing Polish experts in Ukrainian NGOs and local government and providing internships for Ukrainian experts in Poland. PAUCI also conducts “Euroatlantic Meetings” for students and various professionals in the cities of

Ukraine to build a deeper understanding of the pros and cons of Ukraine's perspective membership in the EU and NATO. PAUCI Club meetings aim to inform Polish media, experts and NGOs about developments in Ukraine and promote Ukraine's movement towards the EU."<sup>6</sup>.

Polish NGOs have helped in a Ukrainian democratization process as well. One of them is Stefan Batory Foundation. "Civic Initiatives in Belarus and Ukraine" is the program that supports that democratization process.

"The Program planned for 2003-2009, aims to support democratic changes and the development of civil society in Belarus and Ukraine. Stefan Batory Foundation cooperate with non-governmental organizations from Belarus and Ukraine that support grass-root initiatives, engage in building partnership between non-governmental organizations and public administration sectors and in civic education activities.

The Program is carried out in the framework of three basic schemes Local initiatives and regional partners Advocacy Civic education that involve grantmaking to Belarusian and Ukrainian non-governmental organizations, selected on the basis of open competitions or individually invited to apply for grants. Their grantees are invited also to take part in study visits, meetings and training organized in Belarus and Ukraine as well as in Poland and other countries."<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> <http://www.pauci.org/en/about/about>

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.batory.org.pl/english/byukr/index.htm>



Our last example of the organization supporting the democratization process is The Eurasia Foundation. “It is a privately managed non-profit organization supported by the United States Agency for International Development and other public and private donors. Since 1992, the Eurasia Foundation has invested nearly \$335 million through more than 7,700 grants and operating programs in the countries of the former Soviet Union.

“Vox Populi” is the program launched by The Eurasia Foundation. The Vox Populi initiative seeks to introduce innovative ways to incorporate input from citizens and independent experts into the process of administrative reforms in Ukraine. That project is supported by Westminster Foundation for Democracy. WFD's contribution will fund public hearings and roundtables in the Ukrainian oblasts of Volyn, Mykolaiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Chernivtsi and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. WFD accounts to the British Parliament and funds projects around the world which are aimed at building and strengthening pluralist democracies.”<sup>8</sup>.

Organizations that were created by social imitative and that help to improve democratization process are efficient tools, not only in Poland and Ukraine, but also in the whole world.

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<sup>8</sup> <http://www.eurasia.org>

## **Conceptions of European integration in Ukrainian perspective**

This essay shows the most common conceptions of integration in the European Union, concerning its broadening and deepening process. First part focuses on two visions of Europe as a whole: first one will be a holistic, exclusive vision of Europe and the second, opposite, will be a synergetic, inclusive idea of Europe.

Second part of this speech focuses on European prospects for Ukraine.

Talking about the conceptions of Europe and the European Union we should start from explanation what precisely we understand under the term *Europe*. It is really hard to define this term and many scientists have a serious problem with it.

The first problem is connected with the impossibility of defining the geographical borders of Europe, especially the Eastern and South-Eastern one. This border was changing during centuries. We have to be aware that since the end of the 18th century the Eastern border of contemporary Europe has been set on the Ural Mountains, so if we have problems with such an “easy” thing like defining geographical borders, how we can define their cultural aspect.

What is more, many scientists like Bernard Burrow claim, that Europe is a mental phenomenon or historical one. For them

Europe does not exist outside our minds and historical facts. Facts which we call Europe<sup>1</sup>.

Consequently we have to notice another factor which could help us to define Europe – these are the values, European values. It is said that the borders of Europe are defined rather by values than some geographical guidelines. Certainly, geographical borders set the framework, but the values define the exact borders.

As we can see, it is possible to point out some factors like geography, history, or the European values that enable us to create various definitions of Europe and highlight borders of this phenomenon. That is why in many cases our understanding of the term *Europe* is different and depends on the comprehension of others.

So if it is so hard to define the term *Europe* it is also really hard to name the criteria of being a European. This way of thinking leads us to a question: is it possible to find one and the only one good conception for European integration?

The answer for this question is simple – no. No, because if we do not have one definition of Europe, we can have many solutions and ideas for European integration.

Nowadays, we can distinguish two main conceptions of Europe and in the same time of European integration. The first one is the idea of holistic, exclusive Europe. This conservative conception aims to build a culturally prescribed Europe based on Christian mythology, shared meanings and values, historical myths and memories, the Ancient Greek philosophy and Roman legacy, homogeneity.

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<sup>1</sup> Adam Szymański, *Turcja a tożsamość europejska*, [in:] Franciszek Gołembski [ed.], *Tożsamość Europejska*, Warszawa 2005, p. 132.

Holistic Europe does not intend to include any other culture or religion except for the Christian legacy. This is why many major politicians both implicitly and explicitly advocate the idea of the EU Constitution Treaty article regarding the Christian roots of the Union<sup>2</sup>.

This vision of Europe has its strong and weak points. Advantage of this exclusive way of thinking is the fact that it is easier to shape a common European identity. It seems to be obvious that building our identity as Europeans is much simpler if we have common roots and values. The second factor that helps us to do it, is the psychological mechanism based on a simple division between *WE* and *THEY*. The action of this mechanism is natural and unsophisticated. If outside our neighborhood we see potential enemies we treat people who are around us as our close friends with whom we want to integrate. In this conception the EU seems to be cut off from the rest of the world by a bubble which surrounds the whole “old EU”. Inside the bubble there is only one possibility – deepening, because broadening leads to loosening the European identity. Deepening separated from enlargement could be beneficial for the EU, because it gives many possibilities of achieving political integration in a shorter time and thanks to this, gaining a stronger position on international political scene<sup>3</sup>.

However, the vision of exclusive Europe does not have only good sides. We have to notice that if we agree on this conception of European integration we would have to be aware that there exist some disadvantages of such idea. The first question that arises is

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<sup>2</sup> Anyhan Kaya, *EU integration process: Prospects and challenges for Turkey*, “Wspólnoty Europejskie”, nr 10 (167) 2005

what we would do with many cultural minorities in Europe if we accept the vision that EU is the community of European values and a Christian club.

Next, it will appear the issue of Muslims who live in Europe. This minority does not want to be assimilated with societies in which they live, so they create townships or ghettos totally separated from national culture of the country they stay in. The solution of this issue could be the integration between migrants and Europeans but this process is being blocked by the vision of exclusive Europe. The result of such a way of thinking is growing intolerance and “ghettoisation”. What is more, it disables the peaceful coexistence between Europeans and immigrants from non-European countries. The integration between *us* and *them* is becoming impossible.

On the contrary to this exclusive vision of European integration, there stands the conception of a synergetic, inclusive Europe. This progressive idea suggests politically dynamic Europe based on cultural diversity, dialogue, heterogeneity. The advocates of synergetic Europe promote coexistence with other cultures, and emphasize that the EU is, by origin, a peace and integration project. Joschka Fisher, Michel Rocard, and Gerhard Schröder are examples of politicians emphasizing the secular character of the EU. The political Europe project goes along with the idea of unity in diversity, aiming at building a meta European identity embracing cultural and religious differences<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> Piotr Mazurkiewicz, *Europeizacja Europy*, Warszawa 2001, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> Anyhan Kaya, *op. cit.*, p.13.

The term *meta European identity* needs some explanations. Some scientists believe that it is possible to create European nationality based on political institutions. They say that in frames of inclusive Europe, where people are aware of existence of other cultures and understand each other, it is possible to build their supranational or meta European identity thanks to the mixture of down top and up bottom processes. Up bottom processes consist of ingredients such as building supranational institutions which targets at governing the whole EU or creating common internal and external policy. Thanks to these processes citizens of the EU gain some formal frames where they can initiate some down top processes that are informal and focus on building peaceful coexistence. This factor should lead to the integration between citizens of various European countries<sup>5</sup>.

However, constructing common identity in conception of inclusive Europe is harder than in the previous case, because here we do not have a potential enemy so we cannot build it using the *WE and THEY* mechanism. In this case they are our friends and we should pursue to know each one better and better. Thanks to those relations we would be able to understand them better and integrate with them. It is easier to borrow some values from other cultures and use them in the field of our own.

After all, if we take into account the minorities issue as we have done it in the first part devoted to the holistic conception of Europe, we can notice that here the problem of other nationalities just vanished. It is possible because this vision, as it was said earlier, assumes that Europe is open for all cultures and additionally, people

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<sup>5</sup> Piotr Mazurkiewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-86

who live within its borders are interested in getting know other cultures, also those of non-European origin. As a result of this point of view we receive an idea that people willingly integrate with each other and that we exchange and adapt some cultural patterns of behaviour between cultures<sup>6</sup>.

In this part there were marked some main points of two visions of Europe in the theoretical aspect. These two conceptions exist parallelly in minds of European politicians and scientists, which of this two would be promoted depends on political options in European countries and awareness of European citizens. Now Europe has to choose one of presented conceptions. The choice of the conception will determine further political decisions concerning enlargement and deepening. This decision for sure will have a great impact on countries that want to be the EU members, especially for Turkey or Ukraine. We can see that in the future the EU will face new problems and challenges. It is connected with a probable membership of countries from the Balkans and Eastern Europe.

Following this problem we can find that the issue of Ukraine as a country which has undertaken political and economic reforms is one of the main themes in the discussion about the future of Central-Eastern Europe after the Orange Revolution in 2004. Unexpected reaction of Ukrainian society to falsification of presidential voting made an impression on European governments and elites.

It is easy to notice that modern Ukraine is exposed to the choice between two conceptions of future. It is strictly conditioned

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<sup>6</sup> Stanisław Tokarski, *Tożsamość Europy a kultury pozaeuropejskie: Podróż na Wschód – w poszukiwaniu korzeni*, [in:] Franciszek Gołembski [ed.], *Tożsamość*

by the history of this country which is situated between two different civilization influences.

The first one is an impact of culture and patterns from Western Europe represented by countries of Central-Eastern Europe. This assemblage of values contains fundamental elements like respect for human rights, democratic model of country based on law. What is more, it includes development of modern civil society and basic freedoms of every citizen.

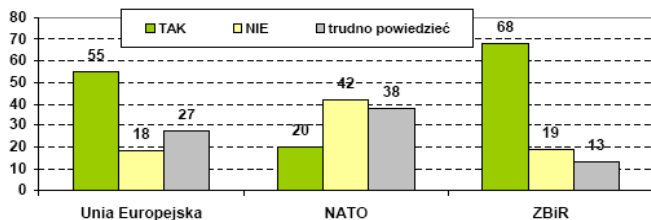
On the other hand we can mention civilization of Eurasia represented by influence of East Slavic values such as authoritarian style of governance, orthodox Christianity values and feeling of common collective identity.

We can brightly see that there are cultural borders between particular regions of Ukraine and among the society. Generally speaking, Western Ukraine with Lviv and for example Galicia Region represents pro-European point of view and many citizens support policy for integration with European Community. On the other side we can notice that in central regions of state for example in Kiev, there are - in a similar number - many supporters either of European Integration or pro-Russian course of economic and political cooperation. Going far to the Eastern regions we can observe an increase of public support for integration with the Community of Independent States and for Belarus-Russia Union. What is interesting for politicians and observers, in every region we can mark quite large number of citizens who maintain balanced policy which is,



according to them, the most beneficial for Ukraine from political, social and economic point of view.

Wykres 1  
Zwolennicy i przeciwnicy przystąpienia Ukrainy do różnych organizacji międzynarodowych

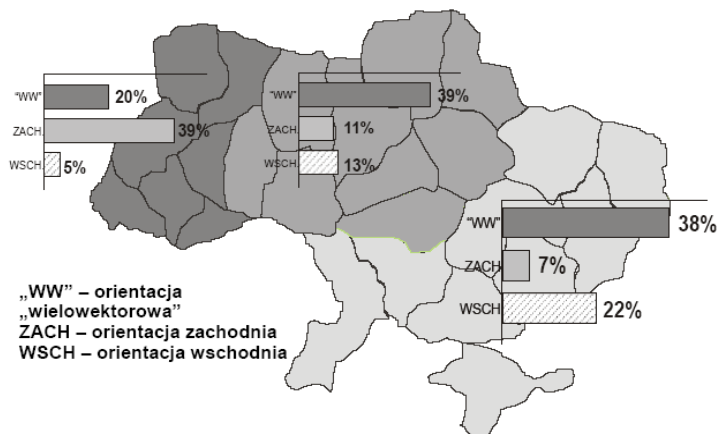


Dane:  
Fundacja im. Stefana Batorego 2003

Joanna Konieczna, *Między Wschodem a Zachodem*, Fundacja im. Stefana Batorego, Warszawa 2004

Mapka

Regionalny rozkład orientacji w polityce zagranicznej



Joanna Konieczna, *Między Wschodem a Zachodem*, Fundacja im. Stefana Batorego, Warszawa 2004, Punktem wyjścia dla zastosowanego podziału Ukrainy na regiony jest propozycja Oleksandra Stehnija i Mykoły Czuriłowa (1998)

The government and president of Ukraine have a possibility to choose among three general ways of foreign policy which emerged from internal division in the country.

Before the occurrences of Orange Revolution, Ukrainian authorities officially presented foreign policy based on “the European choice”. In fact, they played with declarations about it and did not make any reforms or changes which could have deepen a cooperation between the Community and Ukraine. On the other hand, they had a very good cooperation with Eastern neighbours, especially with the Russian Federation.

Bilateral relations between Ukraine and the European Community began in 1991 when Ukraine gained the independency. In the declaration from that year, the European Community supported political changes in this state and gave a hope for good relations and dialogue in the future. In 1994 there was signed a special agreement between Ukrainian government and European Commission called “Settlement of partnership and cooperation”. It is worth noticing that Ukraine was the first of post-Soviet countries which was a signatory of such agreement. In this document Ukrainian government obliged to continue process of transition; to support democratic processes, to respect fundamental human rights and to harmonize economic relations with European Community. In next years common Committees were established to cooperate in many fields such as law, economy, cultural exchange and possible perspective integration. It should be mentioned that this type of cooperation did not bring expected results. Unfortunately, there was no good progress in deepening the cooperation. What is more, Ukraine was far and far

from fulfilling basic criteria to become a member of the European Community which are called Copenhagen Criteria<sup>7</sup>. Ukraine did not implement any of them: there were no satisfactory achievements in stability of state institutions which could guarantee rules of democracy. The government did not respect human rights and law at all. Moreover, there was no real free market economy and ability to be competitive on common market. The hardest criteria was to implement *acquis communautaire*<sup>8</sup> and cooperation in the field of Common Foreign and Security Policy.

After Orange Revolution and the success of Wiktor Juszczenko in presidential voting in 2004 the situation has changed. New president and all governments during 2005 were enthusiastic about pro-European policy and they changed the attitude to the European Union. New authorities revised hitherto foreign policy. In February 2005 there was signed a new agreement between Ukraine and European Community called "EU-Ukraine Action Plan". Till now, the Ukrainian government fulfilled parts of it such as "Political dialogue and reforms" and "Regional and international matters – common foreign and safety policy". To gain all aims of this agreement, Ukrainian authorities made another plan called "Road Map" that gave details on the adaptation of reforms to the expectations of the European Union. Till now, 70% of this plan has been achieved. The most important event in 2005 was the EU-Ukraine summit in Kiev. During this conference the EU awarded Ukraine with the status of free market economy which is the most important thing in

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<sup>8</sup> A. Marszałek, *Integracja europejska*, Warszawa 2004.

the Ukrainian way to a membership in World Trade Organization. Additionally, it was said that Ukraine made a great progress in building a democratic state based on the rule of law. Moreover, Ukraine joined the EU safety and satellite navigation project called Galileo<sup>9</sup>.

In 2006 after the parliamentary elections in March, it is hard to estimate what the foreign policy of new government would be. Maybe it would be a return to a balanced policy caused by energetic crisis and other economic relations with Russia? The fact is that Ukraine made a great improvement on the way to the integration with the European Union. The question is if the European Union knows how to cooperate with Ukraine in the future and what perspective for bilateral relations is? It is expected that a new agreement for future cooperation will be signed in 2006 but we still cannot predict what it will look like and what it will contain precisely. We will have a possibility to see what the EU-Ukraine summit which is planned for July 2006 can bring to the bilateral relations<sup>10</sup>. The next step in these relations is new politics made by the EU authorities that is based on special European Instrument of Neighbourhood and Partnership.

Now, it is really hard to foresee in what way the EU is going to develop and what conception of European integration has the biggest chance to win. It depends on many factors such as future of European Constitution Treaty and the quality of the EU after the enlargement with Romania and Bulgaria in 2007. In these circumstances we do not have any possibility to estimate what the foreign

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<sup>9</sup> Grzegorz Gromadzki, Ołeksandr Suszko, *Miedzy satysfakcją a rozczarowaniem. Relacje UE-Ukraina rok po pomarańczowej rewolucji*, Warszawa-Kijów 2005, p. 14

policy of EU would be towards Ukraine, Turkey and other countries that aspire to join the EU and have fulfilled their political and economic interest as soon as possible.

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 16

Katarzyna Kuczek

**The European Council Common Strategy (1999/877/CFSP) on Ukraine – strategic partnership or consecutive political correctness?**

Some piece of law, despite the passage of time does not lose anything from its value. The fact comes true in a question of the EU – Ukraine relations definitely. Recent developments shows that the country has already come the part of essential metamorphosis in the field of economy and politics, but the way to the full transformation still requires a lot of sacrifice and shared efforts. The EU as an institution particularly supporting prodemocratical transformation on the continent put all the possible means to help Ukraine in conforming processes. When the year 1989 brought the collapse of the communist system, Poland and all the countries of Central and Eastern Europe were encircled by such assistance. Nowadays when Ukraine is going through changes the EU lends a hand to facilitate them. Whether effectively? That is just a controversial subject. Regrettably the Union is being accused of passivity, sounds for conversion of rhetoric into specifics appears too often. Aptness of those remarks will be discussed in this paper.

UE Common Strategy on Ukraine approved by the European Council on the 11 December 1999 was till not that long ago a fundamental, next to the Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation (PCA), document regulating common diplomatic relations. The act

defines the EU visions in relation to the partnership, clarifies principal objectives, specific initiatives and calculates necessary to reach them means<sup>1</sup>. The European Council used extremely lofty phrases to express the sense of common, as it claims strategic partnership. Due to the fact that Union recognizes that common cultural roots are a vital piece in building stability and pace in the region of the East Europe. That is why it reminds about nuclear safety and settles the case of Chernobyl quite frequently<sup>2</sup>. The EU notices contribution of Ukraine for building stability in the area, it acknowledges its European aspiration and notices the virtues of cooperation. To assure the proper implementation of the Agreement the EU sees the following purposes in relation to collaboration with Ukraine:

- Supporting democratic system and economical transition by the consolidation of law democracy and public institution, as well as creating conducive to economical and social reforms environment. To be more precisely the first platform should be reached by constructing: the full effective rule of law, sector of the NGO, free Media and the independence of the public institutions. These steps are prerequisites for developing the second aim - market economy, being a measure of building economical benefits to all the inhabitants. Accordingly the EU encourages gathering structural reforms, especially in the agriculture, constant privatization and liberalization that will lead to establishing the macro-economic price stability. The EU points the necessity of solving problems with debt service obliga-

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<sup>1</sup> European Council Common Strategy (1999/877/CFSP) on Ukraine.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*.

tions. It makes further cooperation on the approximation of legislation towards UE norms and restrictions dependent.

- Ensuring stability and pace on the European Continent. The aspiration should be achieved through the close cooperation in the field of international organizations occupying maintenance of security in a free and democratic Europe. Partners must also strengthen its work in the export control and filling international resolutions.

- Cooperating in the field of environmental protection the same as for energy and nuclear safety. Ukraine ought to take all necessary precautions to assure the gradual improvements in the environment condition. It is also obligated to undertake the energy sector reforms. It is encouraged to make efforts to close the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant.

- Assuring common collaboration in the context of the EU enlargement. As after the process of accession the UE and Ukraine shares border, this ought to contribute to the range of mutual profits. This purpose in turn is reached successively by stimulating processes bounding for the WTO membership, creating the free trade zone with UE, stimulating a favorable for investment surrounding. The European Council wanted to focus common works on combating illegal immigration, assuring border security, forcing against organized crime, adopting visa policy to the EU requirements, developing cross – border and regional initiatives between neighbors and finally on seeking satisfactory solutions in relation to the issues of transport<sup>3</sup>.

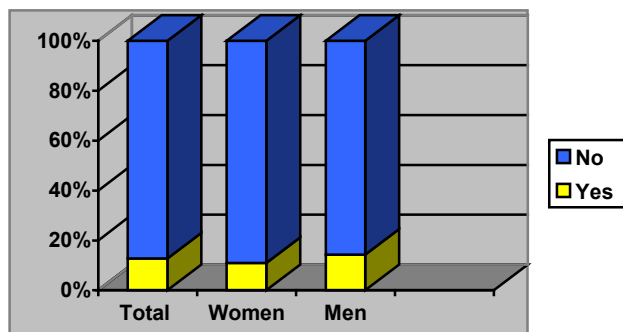
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<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem.*



Undoubtedly targets are pompous and the whole Strategy sounds as an epic poem. However the style doesn't go hand in hand with its popularity. And knowing the tendency of the UE to publicizing strategies, the popularity ought to be much bigger. After the importance of the Strategy, an intimate knowledge about the legal act is rather small. Results of conducted while opinion pool data shows that questionaired are deficient even in a consciousness of the Strategy existence. All research used in the paper were carry out according to the method of unrepresentative trial (of the views of the students of University of IT und Management in Rzeszów) in the randomly chosen period<sup>4</sup>. Answers on the question "Have you have ever heard about the European Council Common Strategy (1999/877/CFSP) on Ukraine?" were shaped as it is shown on the graph below:

**Graph 1: The level of knowledge about the Common Strategy**



Source: Compiled on the basis of own surveys

<sup>4</sup> The methodology of research has been used in M. Szewczyk, *Polityka Audiowizualna*, UKIE, Warszawa, pp. 106-107.

An analysis based on surveys says that 87 percent of all the students claimed not to have ever heard about the Strategy. There was possibility to notice the trend of rising the level of knowledge along with growing age. Due to outcomes it may be supposed that UE hasn't attached a great importance to commercialization. But this unfamiliarity with the Strategy may be also a fact to back-up a subsequent thesis: the EU hasn't treated common relations in the way that covers Ukraine's aspirations. To dispute about the matter it is needed to define the term of the strategy. If it is understood as a primary, economical, social and military goal; expressing a dominant direction in relation to specific entity. Also as an effect of a compromise that takes in consideration all the sides interests and pursuits and to reach them it engages all possible financial, human and political resources. It can be supposed that the European Union has deviated from true: appropriate term understanding. As T. Woźniak claims willingness of integration with the EU has been strongly declared by Ukraine from certain period of time. When Brussels in turn avoids word of integration, and replaces it by rather safer term of deeper cooperation. The EU touches upon cultural exchange and tight border<sup>5</sup>. J. M. Barosso thinks that the future of Ukraine lays in Europe. But instead of the discussions about the membership Ukraine must concentrate on achieving solid net results. According to the EU those is definitely to less. From its own side Ukrainian executives are disillusioned with the reserve of the Union that treats common relations as with Asian or African nations. As an effect two tendencies have appeared towards Ukraine: one "wait for events"

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<sup>5</sup> <http://www.tolerancja.pl/?kat=10&id=4>, 21.03.2006.

development – than we will see” and the second one to execute current plans without expanding privileges. In both cases there is no way to assign them the name of “strategy”<sup>6</sup>. If Union doesn’t intend to change the policy direction it will be forced to transform the style of its writing papers at least. In the mentioned document the expression strategy in different meanings is used twenty four times.

After all reasoning, based only on the factor of popularity and the word-formation would be a faulty, I will try to trace the resources that UE has predicted for the execution of the Strategy. Due to the article 39 of the document to cited objectives EU will make use of the relevant instruments and means available to the Union, the Community and the Member States. Later, in the next pages, it defines those auxiliary means, as the ones mentioned in the PCA and all the EU and MC programs, policies and instruments. Considering the tasks that EU has set to Ukraine the size of the support ought to be tailor to the requirements. Is it so? The Title IX of the PCA was devoted to the matter. In four articles European Union has enumerated that Ukraine will temporary benefit from financial support of the organization. This assistance will include technical help in the form of grants and mainly will be based on the TACIS’ framework. The program takes into account needs of the country, sectoral absorption capacities and reforms’ progresses. The help is coherent with other institutions and individual Member Countries financial assistance. Actually the major program that is targeted at stimulating changes on Ukraine is TACIS. The instrument consist of national as

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<sup>6</sup> G. Gromadzki, O. Suszko, *Miedzy satysfakcją a rozczarowaniem*, The Stefan Batory Foundation, Warszawa-Kijów, 2006, pp. 2-6.

well as regional programs in areas related to transport, justice, combating terrorism and organized crime, energy and appropriate organization of natural resources with special attention to water. TACIS contains cross-border part that promotes developing links between neighboring countries and societies. For years 2002-2006 subsequent points have been marked:

- Stimulating legal, administrative and institutional reforms
- Supporting economic changes and privatization
- Leveling negative consequences of transition

EU provides help through the macro-financial support, by the humanitarian aid in Echo and European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHP), via established Science and Technology Center<sup>7</sup>. The total quantity of grants for Ukraine in millions of Euro is presented in table below:

**Table 1: EU assistance for Ukraine**

|              | 1991-1998     | 1999         | 2000        | 2001         | 2002       | 2003         | 2004         | 2005         | Total         |
|--------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| <b>TACIS</b> | 711,3         | 97,8         | 58,5        | 127          | 102        | 105,6        | 113,3        | 143,1        | <b>1458,6</b> |
| Fuel gap     | -             | -            | 25          | 20           | 20         | -            | -            | -            | <b>65</b>     |
| Echo         | 12            | 6,3          | 1,3         | 0,9          | -          | -            | -            | -            | <b>20,5</b>   |
| Loans        | 565           | -            | -           | -            | 110        | -            | -            | -            | <b>675</b>    |
| STCU         | -             | 3            | 4,5         | 4            | 4          | 4            | 4            | 5,5          | <b>29</b>     |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>1288,3</b> | <b>107,1</b> | <b>89,3</b> | <b>151,9</b> | <b>236</b> | <b>109,6</b> | <b>117,3</b> | <b>148,6</b> | <b>2248,1</b> |

Source: Compiled on the basis of [http://europa.eu.int/comm/external\\_relations/ukraine/intro/index.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/ukraine/intro/index.htm)

<sup>7</sup> [http://europa.eu.int/comm/external\\_relations/ukraine/intro/index.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/ukraine/intro/index.htm)

TACIS funds dominate the whole budget for Ukraine. It has been scheduled to increase substantially the amount of transferred money over the period 2002-2006 from 102 million Euro in 2002 to 143 millions Euro in 2005. As a direct result of TACIS realization Ukraine has been powered in approximately 1500 millions of Euro and in the accumulation of entire transfers the amount of 2248 millions were rolled in to the country. Unfortunately, there is no doubt that the amount is a drop in the sea. Facing of rising requirements it seems obvious that Ukraine has to make significant changes independently from the EU material assistance. But simultaneously the fact of the matter is that the country passes through changes almost with any investments from the outside. The help about 6 billion of dollars cannot be compared for instance with 55 billions that Poland received in the same time. After all contained in the Strategy and the PCA declarations EU claimed that Member Countries should make additional efforts to cooperate more effectively. The Council and the Commission should seek profitable for both sides solutions and support them by developing stabile legal frameworks, as well as the health system, social security, political dialogue and many others<sup>8</sup>. It's cannot be hidden that quite costly activities won't be achieved in a satisfactory to both sides way only by the support, recognitions and exchanging politnesses.

Whether the common relations can be qualified as a political correctness? In subjective view-no. Of course if the term is described as international connections between countries, organizations and other entities of world legislation, based on minimum, rules

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<sup>8</sup> European Council Common Strategy (1999/877/CFSP) on Ukraine.

necessary to avoid clashes and wars. It doesn't return the real sense of the general reciprocal attitude. Parties are much more involved in a variety of activities that definitely transcends the required slightest relations. Notwithstanding not always accurate solutions, Ukraine should be doubtless assured its future in EU structures. It should be taken into account that the EU has already come through the serious crisis of identity after the biggest enlargement in its history and the European Constitution rejection. Tiredness of changes causes bigger than usual closure for increasing the territory. It is also worth remembering that EU is known for restraint to assessing new countries. It is hard to hidden that the EU used to functioning in the *stricte* airtight surrounding of rich and wealthy West Europe countries. It shouldn't be a surprise that each attempt of limiting that state of affairs awakes resistance or at least fear. In that case what are the solutions? Ukraine must focus on the implementation of the requirements first. Argument in this tender may be a fact that without almost any help Ukraine is going through dynamical changes. During the past three years its economical growth reached from 6 to 7 percent per year. The refusal of signing the treaty of Ukraine's association with the European Community doesn't mean that the EU wants to create another iron curtain on its border. The Union goes rather in a direction of stability in the East region of Europe. That is why procedure of sealing the boundary shouldn't be taken as a deny of future membership. Regarding that through Ukraine are going the main trials of flipping the drugs and illegal immigrants from the Far East, the EU's conduct seems to be more than reasonable. Conception of "Wider Europe" presented in 2003 points the necessity of low

adaptation. As Leonid Kuczma has confirmed Ukraine had chosen the European Union as an alternative to further evaluation. Since then Ukraine has made good headways with implementation of the EU legal acts. Under the circumstances of the Union indecision, there is any other way than further transformation in the European spirit. Endeavourers will be finally perceived. The profitable support can be gained from Poland's side that doesn't make any secret of its favor to Ukraine European pursuits. For Ukraine Poland could be a excellent negotiator and supporter naturally. According to T. Śmietana if the EU wants to create around its border the area of economical and political stability it shouldn't limit its activity in relation to neighbors only to programmes of assistance it rather ought to stand them in front of details. It should get down to the nitty-gritty that pretenders must fulfill. This will let them to move on to other rungs of the ladder in integration process<sup>9</sup>. The fact that the association agreement doesn't need to be finalized by the full participation in the EU structures should be used by Ukrainians while negotiations.

The good example of Ukraine's progresses is just the Common Strategy. The targets of it, as well as strategic goals with regard to the Country were positively opinioned by the European Council. Basing on it the document was in force till the 23 June 2004. Since that time Ukraine may be considered as:

- The country with open and pluralistic democracy, governed by the rule of law and the one with a stable function-

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<sup>9</sup> <http://www.tolerancja.pl/?kat=10&id=5>

ing market economy that gives benefits to all the people of Ukraine.

- The nation that puts all possible efforts on the cooperation for stability and security in Europe and the wider world, and in finding effective responses to common challenges facing the continent

- The entity that collaborates with Member Countries of EU in the fields of economy, politics, culture, justice and home affairs<sup>10</sup>.

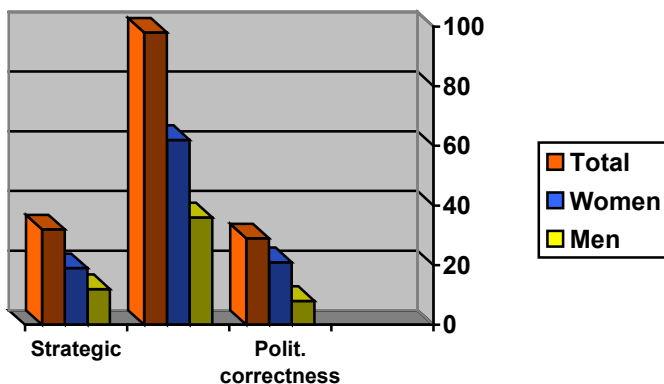
It is necessary to remember that ending of the act's viability doesn't mean that aims were reached in the proverbial 100 percent. Nowadays in the age of globalization, when transformation is going so fast, the need of actualization with raising the requirements at the same time is crucial matter. Considering that, when the act was being created, common relations were mainly based on the diplomatic dealings, that were just molding its form and shape and usually resembling those of political correctness. Nowadays, after the huge transition that Ukraine has come, they are much more advanced. If then the common relations aren't already correctness and yet strategic partnership, the following question occurs: "What character have the relations between Ukraine and the EU?" Under the opinion of examined that have had three answers to choose:

- strategic that is being guided for future membership
- auxiliary that is being understood as a hold of prodemocratical and market economy changes
- just another, consecutive political correctness



The results are presented on the graph two:

**Graph 2: The character of EU - Ukraine relations.**



Source: Compiled on the basis of own surveys

The great majority of interviewed sees those relations in the context of material and pecuniary assistance, what is probably caused by the Poland's parallel experiences in receiving grants as a form of support. The part of them claims that they assume the appearance of strategy, what in turn may be a detail showing Poles backup for changes.

Summing up, the argumentation appeals to the following conclusion: the EU – Ukraine connections aren't taking the form of political correctness, as well as the strategic affiliation, although they are heading for this state consistently. Most aptly present relations may be defined as a unique form. This structure remains the EU

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<sup>10</sup> European Council Common Strategy (1999/877/CFSP) on Ukraine

searches its own identity. And this uniqueness lies somewhere between both mentioned. After that, relations still require many efforts to reach the aim – becoming the strategic partnership and to avoid failure – political correctness.

Patrycja Soboń

## **The European Neighbourhood Policy – prospects for better relations between the European Union and the EU's new neighbour – Ukraine**

### **1. Introduction**

For the last few years the situation on the international European stage has significantly changed. Since 1<sup>st</sup> May 2004 a lot of things, issues connected with Europe have had new meanings. It is not difficult to notice that the European Union has also a new dimension. After the five rounds of enlargement, the EU has expanded from six – member entity into the world's largest trading bloc with 25 Member States and a European population of almost 460 million. Due to the fact that the EU has grown into big, complex and varied European Community, the economic, political and social stability has been wobbled. The European Union also has changed its borders. According to all these things, it is not surprising that lately there has appeared many collective voices against further enlargement. It seems to be very realistic perspective that the next enlargement will not take place in the medium term. That is why this problematic issue brought the necessity of creating a brand new policy towards new EU neighbouring countries. Countries-neighbours, not countries-candidates for being members of the EU.

## **2. The origin of the European Neighbourhood Policy**

“The European Neighbourhood Policy is a new policy that invites our neighbours to the East and to the South to share in the peace, stability and prosperity that we enjoy in the European Union and which aims to create a ring of friends around the borders of the new enlarged EU”. These words were said by the Commissioner for External Relations and European Neighbourhood Policy, Ms Benita Ferrero-Waldner, just after the fifth round of enlargement of the European Union. So it seems to be quite obvious that the new policy was introduced by the European Commission as a response for different needs connected with the last turn of the process of enlargement.

At the beginning the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) was outlined in a Commission Communication from 11<sup>th</sup> March 2003 as a document *Wider Europe – Neighbourhood: a New Framework for Relations with Our Eastern and Southern Neighbours*. That Communication considered how to strengthen the framework for the European Union’s relations with those neighbouring countries that do not currently have the perspective for being a member of the EU. The Communication clearly proposed that the EU should aim to develop a zone of prosperity and a friendly neighbourhood – so called ‘ring of friends’ – with whom the EU would enjoy close, peaceful and co-operative relations. After some discussions, which took place among the members of the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union, about the document “Wider Europe”, it turned out that the conception is not as effective and efficient as the EU’s Member States expected. Due to

this fact the new document was created and proclaimed. It was a *Strategy Paper on the European Neighbourhood Policy*, which was published in May 2004 and which established the ENP as a new EU policy for external relations. This document set out in concrete terms how the European Union proposed to work more closely with new neighbours such as Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Moldova, Morocco, Palestinian Authority, Russia, Syria, Tunisia and Ukraine. In this document the European Union offered its neighbours a privileged relationship, building upon a mutual commitment to common values, especially a democracy and human rights, rule of law, good governance, market economy principles and sustainable development. The ENP proposes to work with neighbours to advance freedom and democracy in neighbourhood by deepening political cooperation, on the basis of shared values and common interests, to promote prosperity in neighbourhood by supporting neighbours' economic reform processes and offering significant economic integration, and to promote security and stability by working with neighbours to address development, environment and counter-terrorism issues – in line with the European Security Strategy. The European Neighbourhood Policy went beyond existing relationships to offer a deeper political relationship and economic integration. It is quite obvious that the level of the relationship will depend on the extent to which these values will be effectively shared. It is very important to emphasize the fact that the ENP is not about enlargement and does not offer an accession perspective. On the contrary, this policy is aimed at a long-term cooperation between neighbouring countries, so it implies the

fact that these states will not be able to become a legal member of the EU in a near future.

All new policy' priorities pointed by the EU and the partner countries are incorporated in agreed *Action Plans*, which cover a large number of key areas for specific actions such as political dialogue and reforms, trade and measures preparing partners for gradually obtaining a stake in the EU's Internal Market, justice and home affairs, energy, transport, information society, environment, research and innovation and social policy. At present, the implementation of the first seven ENP Action Plans (agreed in early 2005 with Israel, Jordan, Moldova, Morocco, the Palestinian Authority, Tunisia and Ukraine) is beginning. Their implementation will be promoted and monitored through sub-Committees and the European Commission will report their progresses in early 2007. A further five ENP Action Plans are under negotiation with Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, Egypt and Lebanon. When they agree, a similar implementation and monitoring will also begin for these countries<sup>1</sup>.

If it comes to the financial dimension of the neighbourhood policy, the European Union provides both financial and technical assistance in order to support the implementation of all objectives mentioned in the ENP. At present, assistance to the countries of the European Neighbourhood Policy is provided under various geographical programmes including TACIS (for eastern neighbours and Russia) and MEDA (for southern Mediterranean neighbours), as well as thematic programmes such as EIDHR (European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights). For the current budgetary period

(2000-2006), the funds available were approximately €5.3 billion for MEDA and €3.1 billion for TACIS, as well as approximately €2 billion in European Investment Bank lending for MEDA beneficiary countries and €500 million for TACIS beneficiary countries. It is not meaningless that from 2007, as part of the reform of EC assistance instruments, the MEDA and TACIS programmes will be replaced by a single instrument – the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI). This will be a much more flexible, policy-driven instrument. It will be designed to target sustainable development and approximation to EU policies and standards – supporting the agreed priorities in the ENP Action Plans (as well as the Strategic Partnership with Russia, which was previously also covered by the TACIS programme). It is assumed that the ENPI will also significantly improve cross-border cooperation along the EU's external land and maritime borders with partner countries, giving a principle aim of avoiding new dividing lines. For the next budgetary period (2007-2013), the Commission has proposed €14.93 billion. Funds will be allocated to individual country programmes and they will depend on their needs and absorption capacity as well as their implementation of agreed reforms<sup>2</sup>.

It is very important that planned new forms of technical assistance are being extended to also partner countries. Legislative approximation, regulatory convergence and institution-building will be supported through mechanisms which proved successful in transition countries that are now EU Member States i.e. targeted expert

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<sup>1</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/policy\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/policy_en.htm), 20.04.2006

<sup>2</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/funding\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/funding_en.htm), 20.04.2006

assistance (Technical Assistance and Information Exchange – TAIEX ), long-term twinning arrangements with EU Member States’ administrations – national, regional or local – and participation in Community programmes and agencies<sup>3</sup>.

The ENP is still a relatively young policy, first mooted in 2003, with implementation of the first ENP Action Plans only beginning early last year. But during 2005 there were seen the first slender shoots of progress, across a wide range of issues and actions, on which the policy definitely will be continued during the coming years.

### **3. Ukraine – the EU neighbouring country**

The official relations on line European Union and Ukraine go back to the earliest 90’s and base on a variety of agreements. Among all these documents the most important are following: the *Partnership and Co-operation Agreement (PCA)*, which entered into force in 1998, and the *EU-Ukraine Action Plan*, adopted and endorsed by the EU-Ukraine Cooperation Council on 21 February 2005. The last document provides a comprehensive and ambitious framework for work with Ukraine, identifying all the key areas of needed reforms. It is very important to note that the EU considers Ukraine as a priority partner in the European Neighbourhood Policy framework. The EU considers this as a “realistic vision for the future”, but for now Ukraine is not seen as a country in line for membership. Due to this in February 2005, the EU and Ukraine signed

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<sup>3</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/funding\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/funding_en.htm), 25.04.2006



and updated three-year Action Plan on bilateral relations. What is more, in December 2005 the EU granted a market economy status to Ukraine<sup>4</sup>.

#### **4. EU-Ukraine agreements and future prospects for better relations.**

If it comes to the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement, it has to be mentioned that this document is an important instrument in bringing Ukraine in line with the legal framework of the single European market and of the World Trade Organization system. This agreement provides a prospect for establishing a free trade area conditioned on further economic reform. Ukraine was the first country of the former Soviet Union to conclude a PCA with the European Union in June 1994. After ratification by Ukraine, the EU and its Member States, the PCA came into force in March 1998. The PCA emphasizes respect for shared fundamental values as an essential element of the EU-Ukraine partnership. It also provides a framework for political dialogue, harmonious economic relations, sustainable development and cooperation concerning other spheres. For example the institutional collaboration on EU-Ukraine line based on the presented agreement. The PCA establishes a number of bilateral institutions and provides the basis for taking further decisions as necessary. The main bilateral structures, set up by the PCA, include:

- Bilateral Summit meetings (annual) between the Presidents of Ukraine and the EU Presidency together with the

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<sup>4</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/comm/external\\_relations/ukraine/intro/index.htm#pol](http://ec.europa.eu/comm/external_relations/ukraine/intro/index.htm#pol), 25.04.2006

President of the Commission and the EU's High Representatives.

- Co-operation Councils at ministerial level (EU-Presidency, European Commission, High Representative, Government of Ukraine).
- Co-operation Committees (senior civil servants level, chaired alternately by the European Commission and the Ukrainian side).
- Sub-Committees (experts level; supporting the work of the Co-operation Committee).

At present there are seven subcommittees, which operate and discuss different kind of issues.

The political dialogue with Ukraine covers four main groups of topics: horizontal security threats such as terrorism; disarmament and non-proliferation; regional and international issues; and democracy and human rights, including media and press freedom. On democratic principles, fundamental freedoms and human rights, the EU has supported Ukraine in its efforts to implement the relevant commitments under the PCA, as well as its membership in the OSCE and the Council of Europe, including through an active dialogue and the provision of targeted assistance. The EU has stressed that shared values are the basis for Ukraine to come closer to the EU within the European Neighbourhood Policy. The political dialogue is mainly conducted through yearly Summits, at the Co-operation Councils, and in Ministerial and Political Directors' meetings in the Troika

format. For example, The EU's Political and Security Committee meets with the Ukrainian side under each Presidency<sup>5</sup>.

The (7th) Summit was held on 8 July 2004 in The Hague. This meeting was the first after the historic EU enlargement on 1 May 2004 through which the EU and Ukraine became direct neighbours. Summit leaders agreed on the importance of a further reinforced relationship between the EU and Ukraine and confirmed the need to work together to contribute to increased stability, security and prosperity on the European continent, and to avoid the emergence of new dividing lines. The meeting was hosted by the Prime Minister of the Netherlands, Mr Jan Peter Balkenende in his capacity as the President of the European Council, assisted by the High Representative for the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy, Dr Javier Solana, and by the President of the European Commission, Mr Romano Prodi. It is value to mention that just after the fifth round of enlargement there appeared a need to extend the application of the PCA agreement in full to the 10 new EU Member States. Due to this the Protocol of the PCA was signed by the EU and Ukraine on 30 March 2004<sup>6</sup>.

The latest EU-Ukraine summit was held on 1 December 2005 in Kiev, so in the time when the European Neighbourhood Policy has become a European policy towards EU's neighbours. The leaders of the European Union and Ukraine met in Kiev for the EU-Ukraine Summit. It was the first such meeting since the election of

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<sup>5</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/comm/external\\_relations/ukraine/intro/index.htm#pol](http://ec.europa.eu/comm/external_relations/ukraine/intro/index.htm#pol), 20.04.2006

<sup>6</sup> <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/04/855&format=HTML&aged=1&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>, 20.04.2006

President Yushchenko. Leaders welcomed the fact that commitment to democracy and reform had opened new prospects for Ukraine and EU-Ukraine relations. During this meeting there appeared a very important issue. On trade and economic relations, leaders welcomed the European Commission's assessment that Ukraine has met the technical criteria for granting Market Economy Status (MES) for trade defense, and welcomed EU Member States' support for granting MES to Ukraine on that basis. EU leaders reconfirmed the goal of promoting deep economic integration between the EU and Ukraine and, in order to achieve it, looked forward to an early start of negotiations of a Free Trade Area once Ukraine has joined the WTO. EU leaders noted good progress made on the feasibility study on a Free Trade Area between the EU and Ukraine. EU leaders underlined strong support for Ukraine's early accession to the WTO, and stressed their commitment to continue to offer assistance in meeting the necessary requirements<sup>7</sup>.

The big step towards Ukraine was preparing and proclaiming the EU-Ukraine Action Plan concerning the objectives for closer collaboration within the new EU policy. The history of this process was following. Upon completion of Country Reports for seven ENP countries, including Ukraine, joint Action Plans were negotiated. Consultations with Ukraine on a European Neighbourhood Action Plan were launched in January 2004 and concluded in September 2004. The EU-Ukraine Action Plan was jointly adopted at a special Cooperation Council on 21 February 2005. It is based on the PCA

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<sup>7</sup><http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=PRES/05/337&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>, 20.04.2006

and an important step towards the overall process of developing the increasingly close relationship between Ukraine and the EU, going beyond co-operation, to economic integration and a deepening of political co-operation. The Action Plan provides a comprehensive and ambitious framework for further work with Ukraine. The AP is highly versatile. The quality and duration of implementation will depend on Ukraine's continued commitment to common values and its capacity to implement jointly agreed priorities and effective bilateral cooperation and coordination<sup>8</sup>.

It is important to mention that another document was agreed a few years ago, called The EU Common Strategy on Ukraine. The strategy was adopted in December 1999 at the Helsinki European Council in response to the recognition that more coherence was needed between the EU and the Member States' policies vis-a-vis certain partner countries. It covered a period of four years so it ended three years ago. But it is important to point that the Strategy aimed at developing a strategic partnership between the EU and Ukraine on the basis of the PCA, while acknowledging Ukraine's European aspirations and welcoming the country's European choice. It set three principal objectives:

- To support the democratic and economic transition process in Ukraine
- To meet common challenges on the European continent (stability and security in Europe, environment protection, energy and nuclear safety)

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<sup>8</sup> EU-Ukraine Action Plan, dostępny na stronie  
[http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/action\\_plans/ukraine\\_enp\\_ap\\_final\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/action_plans/ukraine_enp_ap_final_en.pdf),

- To strengthen co-operation between the EU and Ukraine in the context of enlargement; assist Ukraine's integration into the European and world economy; enhance co-operation in the field of Justice and Home Affairs.

The main purposes still exist and moreover both sides try to do their best in order to achieve all presented goals<sup>9</sup>.

At the end of this paper the technical assistance of EU towards Ukraine must be presented. It is very significant to note that the EU is the largest donor to Ukraine. Assistance provided by the European Community alone has amounted to more than € 2 billion since 1991. This includes assistance under the TACIS programme (including its national, regional, cross-border and nuclear safety components) as well as macro-financial assistance, support under thematic budget lines such as the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) and humanitarian assistance provided by ECHO. Under the national TACIS programme assistance, over the period 2002-2006, has focused on three priority areas: support for institutional, legal and administrative reform, support to private sector and economic development and support in addressing the social consequences of transition. Funding under the national TACIS programmes for Ukraine has been substantially increased over the period 2002-2006 from € 47 million in 2002 to € 88 million in 2005 and expected € 100 million in 2006. In addition to support provided under TACIS National Programmes, regional assistance under the TACIS programme addresses in particular issues related to increased

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30.04.2006

inter-state cooperation in transport, energy and sustainable management of natural resources focusing mainly on water. In the area of Justice, Liberty and Security priorities include enhanced integrated border management, combating organized crime and international terrorism and improving migration and asylum management. Support for cross-border cooperation focuses on economic and social development of border areas, efficient border management and people-to-people contacts.

In the context of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) assistance starting from 2007 will be provided under the new European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI). ENPI will replace the current TACIS programme as well as a number of thematic activities. Ongoing TACIS projects will of course continue to run until their planned dates of completion. Under ENPI assistance will not be limited to Technical Assistance but will cover a wider range of instruments and delivery mechanisms including Twinning and TAIEX. Through twinning the European Commission is encouraging partnerships between the administrations of Member States and candidate countries to enable the latter to adopt the *acquis communautaire*. TAIEX (Technical Assistance Information Exchange Office) has been designed to provide five main services: documentation, information and advice on Single Market Legislation, workshops and seminars, study visits to the European Commission and Member States, expertise to provide the beneficiary countries, and finally, the creation of databases on the deployment and

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<sup>9</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/comm/external\\_relations/ukraine/csp/index\\_csp\\_old.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/comm/external_relations/ukraine/csp/index_csp_old.htm), 30.04.2006

results of technical assistance provided. Work on a new Country Strategy Paper for the period 2007-2013 is currently ongoing and will be finalized by spring 2006, so quite soon from now. Assistance provided under ENPI will be determined on the basis of the policy objectives laid out in the EU-Ukraine Action Plan jointly endorsed by the EU and Ukraine in February 2005<sup>10</sup>.

## **5. Summary**

The EU and Ukraine are much determined to work together as it was shown above. This cooperation seems to be very valuable to both sides. It is not surprising due to the fact the Ukraine became a strategic EU bordering country. At each EU-Ukraine summit Ukraine declares that its strategic goal is to be fully integrated into the EU. On the other side the EU leaders all the time welcome Ukraine's European choice, stressing that Ukraine's commitment to democracy and reform opens new prospects for a considerable enhancement of the level and quality of EU-Ukraine relations. Let's hope that the reality will be as gracious as the EU and Ukraine wish, and all bilateral declarations and aims will be reached by both sides in the nearest future.

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<sup>10</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/comm/external\\_relations/ukraine/intro/index.htm#tech](http://ec.europa.eu/comm/external_relations/ukraine/intro/index.htm#tech), 30.04.2006



Pavlo Oleskevych

## **Ukraine – near foreignness of the European Union?**

### **1. Status of Ukraine in the 90s**

Before 1991 Ukraine as an independent state was a dream rather than political reality. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union this old dream of the Ukrainian people finally came true.

From a strategic point of view, for a few years right after Ukraine received its independence in 1991, the West considered Ukraine vitally as an important link or a “milestone” of the European safety. But in 1996 the last strategic atomic rockets were taken out from military bases in Khmelnytc’k and Pervomajs’k to Russia. So Ukraine, to the great regret, begun to be considered as a weak state, an “outsider”.

Ukraine, while it is situated between Russia and the rest of Europe, proclaimed a “bivectorial foreign policy”. It declared a status of a neutral and non-aligned state. It attempted to set a strategic partnership both with the East and with the West.

### **2. Geopolitical pluralism of Ukraine: is there any viable “bivectorial” strategy of the Ukrainian foreign policy?**

Though the West supported “geopolitical pluralism” among former Soviet republics, it actually wanted Ukraine to remain in the structure of CIS as the only former Soviet state which can be a coun-

terbalance to the hegemony of Russia. Thus, Ukraine moved into directions of both the West and the East. Nevertheless, recently there has been a sharp worsening of relationships with the East. And the relations with the West vice versa became better.

#### **a. Western (European) choice**

In April 2002 Ukraine proclaimed as its strategic purpose the entry to NATO, although its relationships with NATO were already taken to the political dialogue and military collaboration.

Membership in the European Union for Ukraine is a much more attractive choice, although only a small part of Ukrainians consider themselves as Europeans or understand the mechanisms of the European integration. On the other hand, considerable part of Europeans approaches sceptically the integration of country such as Ukraine that would be the biggest member state regarding the territory and the fourth biggest regarding the amount of population. Certain problems in Ukrainian accession to the EU and NATO are raised because European integration was repeatedly and quite selfishly used in internal political discussions in Ukraine.

#### **b. Eastern (Eurasian) Slavonic choice**

After regaining the independence Ukraine resisted to the attempts of Russia to integrate former Soviet republics again. It even created the group of the states – GUUAM (Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Moldavia) for providing of alternative trade-routes over the Black Sea in order to be saved from the dependence on the supply of power mediums from Russia. But economic dependence on the supply of the Russian power mediums has yet existed. There are also close social relationships (in fact, half of all

Ukrainians have relatives in Russia). These circumstances cause the renewal of amities with Russia. In September 2003 this tendency was reflected in creation of Common Economic Space (CES) with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan. Nevertheless, simultaneously the crises related to the Kerch channel, the project of a dam at Tuzla and a supply of Russian gas to Ukraine, constitute the evidence that there are serious contradictions between Russia and Ukraine.

### **3. Intentions and strategies of main players in relation to Ukraine**

There is no doubt that main ambitions and intentions of Russia appear the renewal of its influence on territories of the former USSR. This strategy is fruitfully rooted in the corporate and authoritarian environment of Ukraine. From the Russian point of view, Ukraine belongs to the core of the Russian empire. It is related to the ethnic contacts and historical backgrounds.

The policy of the USA during the nineties came out from the principles of safety rather than an aspiration to support political and economic reforms in Ukraine. In relation to Ukraine Europe acted even more inconsistently, except for the fact that Ukraine acceded the trade rules of the EU (Partnership and Cooperation Agreement) and conditions of the joint EU-Ukraine Action Plan.

However, now let us look at the changes in attitude of the West towards Ukraine: Ukraine was proclaimed as a country with market economy status.

Main partners and more active participants of the process concerning development and implementation of the policy towards

Ukraine are: the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Canada and Poland. Other Western countries from the Ukrainian point of view remain passive enough. Number of reasons predefines it. The main reason is an absence of interest or historical relations with Russia. It is logical that intentions of the West were perceived with suspicion and caution, as attempt to create a “sanitary border” from the Black to the Baltic Sea or even, in a strategic sense, to “go round” Russia.

Europe used to perceive Ukraine as a backward country somewhere on the European geographical and cultural backyards. Though such an appeal was changed after the Orange Revolution, many EU member states up to now consider Ukraine as the quasi-Soviet state that much depends on Russia.

#### **4. Consequences of expansion of NATO and the EU**

##### **a. The way to NATO**

The collaboration between Ukraine and NATO, started with signing the NATO-Ukraine Charter in 1997, has developed at many levels. However, there exist also internal limitations of development of collaboration with NATO, some of them are obvious (absence of resources), some rather hidden (most of Ukrainians still perceive NATO through the prism of Cold War. This opinion is supported by the Ukrainian military structures which still perceive NATO as an enemy).

##### **b. Prospects of the EU**

Particular achievements in the EU-Ukraine relationship, since the approval of the joint Action Plan, have included signing the Memorandum of Understanding on Energy Co-operation, the open-

ing of negotiations on visa facilitation in parallel to negotiations on a readmission agreement, as well as granting a market economy status to Ukraine and the establishment of the EU Border Assistance Mission on the border between Ukraine and Moldova, including the Transnistrian segment.

The European Neighbourhood Policy opens new partnership, economic integration and cooperation perspectives:

- the perspective of moving beyond cooperation to a significant degree of integration, including a stake in the EU's Internal Market, and the possibility for Ukraine to participate progressively in key aspects of EU policies and programs;
- an upgrade in the scope and intensity of political cooperation;
- the opportunity for convergence of economic legislation, the opening of economies to each other, and the continued reduction of trade barriers which will stimulate investment and growth;
- increased financial support;
- possibilities of gradual opening of, or reinforced participation in, certain Community programs, promoting cultural, educational, environmental, technical and scientific links;
- support for legislative approximation to meet EU norms and standards, including technical assistance, twinning and targeted advice and support;
- deepening trade and economic relations to follow Ukraine's accession to the WTO;

- consideration will be given to the possibility of a new enhanced agreement, whose scope will be defined in the light of the fulfilment the overall evolution of EU-Ukraine relations. The advisability of any new contractual arrangements will be considered in future.

So, we hope that participation of new members, especially Poland, in development and implementation of the EU foreign policy will stimulate the embodiment of these perspectives. These countries have to bring in important experience of transformation of their own societies and knowledge on cultural and political character of new neighbours.

## **5. Elements of the future strategy**

### **a. In search of a new positive paradigm**

Ukraine's ability to influence on regional and international stability is a factor that really makes it a key country. Such country is in a position both to create economic foundations and to guarantee safety at least in the region.

### **b. Internal situation in Ukraine**

The key to success lies in Ukraine, not abroad. Ukrainian authorities must adhere to rational and substantiated hopes, to avoid the conduct that is hard to foreseen. From this point of view the necessary pre-condition of further development of relationships with EU and NATO is an active collaboration in such spheres as international safety and observance of laws. Ukraine should keep on protecting and developing pluralism in a public sphere, particularly in an non-governmental sector and mass-media.

## **6. Recommendations: what it is needed to do?**

### **a. Role of the USA: the guarantor of strategic stability.**

The USA must limit influence of Russia on Ukraine. To resist Russian expansion into the countries where Russia still engages in the sphere of its interests (former USSR) by their general destabilization and the injury of supremacy of law, strategy of transformation must concentrate on effective management and efforts directed at reforms.

### **b. Role of EU: establishment of scopes of socio-economic development.**

Ukraine is a key transit country for the economic relations between Europe and Asia. The EU must offer a clear economic policy concerning Ukraine. Such policy must provide for:

- further opening of EU market for the Ukrainian export - agricultural products and steel, that is a necessary precondition of diminishing of dependence of Ukraine from the export to Russia;
- creation of new work places in order to provide for the economic growth in the border regions of Ukraine, that must prevent the subsequent increase of immigration;
- opening a labour-market for Ukrainians with the goal to support Ukrainians' funds transfer to a motherland.

### **c. Role of new members of EU: transfer of know-how and possibilities**

The Eastern policy of Central European countries must play a special role in relations between the EU and Ukraine in the following aspects:

- transferring to Ukraine of know-how related to transformation of society, reforms and civic education;
- a help to create local funds for effective management and democracy;
- a removal of illegal migration: delivery of employment permits to the Ukrainian workers and providing their basic rights.

#### **d. Role of Russia: adjusting relationships with Europe.**

Russia substantially depends on economic relations with Europe. Thus, Russia must be interested either in stabilizing Ukraine as a key transit corridor to Europe, or in eliminating all obstacles on the way of subsequent development of relations between Ukraine and the EU. In order to adjust the relationships with Europe, Russia would have:

- to adhere (as well as Ukraine) to the rules of WTO;
- to facilitate movements of persons and goods.

### **7. Conclusions**

Ukraine has enormous potential which is now being used. Recent experience of social and economic transformation in the countries of Central Europe proves that bold intentions can become reality. And in the near future Ukraine indisputably will hold a deserved seat among other states of Europe.



Sanko Margita

## **Eurointegration of Ukraine**

Every modern state which aims to behave as “civilized” cannot move away from other countries and keep away from the international relations. Ukraine is not an exception.

The relations with Western Europe are the closest international relations of Ukraine with a world.

Entering into a new millennium, Europeans are going through a new page of the history. The authority of country, on an international scene, relies mainly on the results of its foreign policy. A “multivector” lies in the basis of foreign policy of Ukraine, as the Ukrainian state has interests either in the West or in the East. A “multivector” is simply necessary for Ukraine, as allows to support good relationships with all states and guarantees state security. Additionally, Ukraine did the “European choice”. In any terms the “European vector” of Ukrainian diplomacy is a priority.

Our state occupies a geostrategic role in Central Eastern Europe. For relatively short period of time, since the proclamation of the independence of Ukraine in 1991, the country not only became firmly established on an international scene, but it also became one of regional leaders. Ukraine is a competent member of different international organizations. Former American president Bill Clinton, during the summit of NATO countries in 1997, named Ukraine as

the heart of Europe. Integration into European structures will be a main factor that will determine the foreign policy of the state in the future.

Of course, signing the Partnership Agreement and the whole collaboration between European Union and Ukraine was the most important page in history of our country. The document mentioned pawns bases for political, economic and cultural dialog between two sides and also opened up to Ukraine a way to association with the European Union. The election in Ukraine was considered as a great success of Ukrainian diplomacy. This event underlined the important role of our state in support of safety and stability not only in Europe, but also on our planet.

Ukraine chose the way which the state in a new age will go by. Ukraine had the ponderable grounds to expect a “positive signal about possible membership” from the European Union. But the summit of the European Union in Helsinki, unfortunately, was not happy for Ukraine. As a result of the summit, Latvia, and Malta joined the European Union and Bulgaria, Romania were promised to access the EU.

Finally, the status of official candidate on the entry to the European Union was granted to Turkey. And Ukraine was not let into the European Union. Instead, a strategy of the European Union in relation to Ukraine was accepted. The first stage of Strategy is counted on the nearest four years and foreseen as “complete reformation and democratization of Ukrainian society”. Officially Brussels laid down to Ukraine a set of hard conditions, realization of which

promises us a dialogue about the a possible taking of Ukraine into this organization.

Without any doubts, Ukraine is considerably late in development of the relationships with the European Union; it is comparable to other countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The most important reason for slow rates of eurointegration of Ukraine is the “Ukrainian character”. Problems are added to Ukraine by its neighbours. Today we must look for the mode of crossing the borders with the European Union by the citizens of Ukraine. Ukraine has a lot to do in order to prove to the European Union that Ukrainians are Europeans too.

Although, integration into European structures is a priority of our diplomacy. Efforts of Ukraine on the way to the European Union would be impossible without understanding and support from the USA. Moreover, USA advises Ukraine to develop, to reform and to integrate into the European structures. A former Secretary of the USA Madlane Albright listed Ukraine among priority countries which USA should pay the special attention. One of all tasks of Ukraine American commission is acceleration of entry of Ukraine into European Union, World Organization of Trade and other European structures. Common statement of European Union and the USA in relation to Ukraine, accepted in Bonn in 1999.

It is not impossible to go round relations of Ukraine with NATO. In general, the relations develop. International safety remains one of staples of collaboration. Participation of Ukraine in the program “Partnership for the safe of world”, common studies, peacemaking rescue operations are instruments in an effective dia-

logue. Ukraine considers Eastern expansion of the alliance as a step to the stability in Europe. Nowadays, Ukraine is bound by such a partnership and a question of entry of Ukraine in NATO doesn't stand. Nothing disqualifies Ukraine from the entry in any military-political structure which constitutes an important element of national or European safety.

Proclaiming the European choice, Ukraine aims to join the civilized nations of Europe and world as quickly as possible. However this process needs a political and economic consent, patience and time. The American researcher Charles Douche said that integration motion in the development passes three stages: 1) "stage of intellectual persons" when motion is supported only by some representatives of intelligence; 2) "stage of large politicians" when more wide political circles join the motion; 3) "stage of mass motion".

Doing even the superficial analysis of a modern situation on Ukraine, it is possible to assess that Ukraine entered into the third, finishing stage. The fact how much it will proceed relies mainly on the citizens of Ukraine. So, for acceleration of rates of the European integration to Ukraine it is necessary to continue political, economic and public transformations in the state. Among the most important tasks we should select the following:

- providing an economic and political stability of country;
- reduction of indexes of unemployment and criminality;
- paying more attention to a defence of human rights;
- improvement of investment climate;
- harmonization of Ukrainian legislations with the European Union standards;

- deprivation of Ukrainians from Soviet ideology which imposed a destructive impact on their mentality;
- revival of Ukrainian culture and language.

In general, Ukraine does not need to force the process of associated membership in the European Union. The decisions on internal problems will allow Ukraine to declare itself as a strong European country; the country will naturally approach the European structures. This will allow our state to overcome obstacles for a competent membership in the European Union. And a question “When and how will Ukraine enter the European Union?” will not cause a smile on the face of representatives of the European Commission anymore.

As almost every society, we have a progressive youth. They are trying to prove that the European Union is a step into our future life. And as we hope, this life would be better from the one we used to have. But our society doesn't think about our youth. Our government doesn't help our youth to “create” a way into the European Union. But, nevertheless, youth needs help from other countries. So, I think, we must organize different conferences, trips and meetings which are close to this problem, the problem of European integration. At first sight, our youth doesn't do anything to help Ukraine joining the European Union. But, as everyone can see, we organize different programs to help young people to understand that it is needed to be in the European Union. As I said, our youth is a progressive strength, especially students. In my opinion they are doing their best to show the rest of the society that we want to live normal life. Students work in different international programs. And the only

people who are trying to help us are our parents and teachers. They do their best to help us to see the world. For example, our teachers invite different people from other countries to tell us about life abroad. Those people try to say that we can live normal life, but we must prove that we want it. I think we must send our students abroad to study there. We must organize more and more conferences with foreign students to solve different problems of our country. And with your help, I think, we can prove that we are Europeans, too. So let's be together and lead us closer to Europe.

Volodymyr Kosarevych

## **Prospects of scientific and technical development in Ukraine**

The development of science and technique is an important society progress that gives welfare to members of society, their spiritual and intellectual growth. That is why we need state support in development of science, purposeful policy to provide the usage of achievements of national and world science and technique in order to satisfy social, economic, cultural and other needs.

To satisfy these needs *the law on scientific and scientific-technical activity was accepted in Ukraine*. This law will settle current problems connected to the development of science and technique and scientific-technical progress in general. The scope of this law is prescribed in Article 2 of the law.

The purpose of the law is the settlement of the relations related to scientific and scientific-technical activity as well as a creation of conditions for an increase of efficiency of scientific research and use of their results for providing a development in all spheres of public life.

The basic tasks of this Law are as follows:

- legal status of subjects of scientific and scientific-technical activity;
- economic, social and legal guarantees of scientific and scientific-technical activity, freedoms of scientific creation;

- primary purposes, directions and principles of state policy in the field of scientific and scientific-technical activity;
- plenary powers of public authorities related to the implementation of the state adjusting and management in the field of scientific and scientific-technical activity.

Necessary bases at the level of education are the important factor for a growth of scientific and technical progress. Some terms, necessary for this purpose, have already existed, these are: governmental scientific programs, agreements (like a memorandums between Department of Education and Science of Ukraine) as well as scientific or other organizations which operate in the area of science. And some, I hope, still will be developed and accepted, taking into account previous shortages, failings, errors and etc. *The law on collaboration between Department of Education and Science of Ukraine and the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine* is an important step for creating communication between various scientific establishments (including governmental bodies), with the purpose of close collaboration and maximal and effective use of the already acquired achievements of science and technique in different industries and directions. In the first article of this law there are perspectives of development in such directions mentioned, such as:

- development of scientific, scientific and technical, problems in a development of science, education and economy;
- forming and implementing the regional scientific, scientific and technical and innovative policy;



- development of scientific, scientific and technical, socio-economic, theoretical and methodical problems of development of science, education and economy;
- forming and implementing the regional policy;
- providing development of scientific, educational and technical activity of common scientific establishments, educational establishments, regional centers, faculties, departments, laboratories; input of new forms of integration of science and education;
- creation of general scientific and scientific-educational complexes;
- search, selection and formation of talented young people; creating terms for an increase of prestige of scientific and scientific-educational activity.

These and a lot of other points of the law prove that the prospects of scientific and technical development in Ukraine exist, and they are stopped up on early stage – stage of gaining of education.

A next important document that brings in the prospects to develop a scientific and technical process was signed on 28 October, 2003. It was a memorandum “*About the mutual understanding between Department of Education and Science of Ukraine and Corporation Microsoft*”. Article 1 of the document says that “Sides will develop collaboration in industry of using modern information technologies in activity of Ministry”. Article 2 lists the following measures:

1. Assistance to computerizing educational establishments of Ukraine by the use in educational process the Micro-soft computer programs;
2. Providing the development of research works in information technologies industry in research and higher educational establishments inferior to Ministry;
3. Stimulation of pedagogical, organizational and methodical work from achieving the most gifted school-boys, students, young specialists and scientists;
4. Continuation collaboration of Sides on localization of Microsoft products with the purpose of their use in Ukraine;
5. Development and realization of other common measures.

One more important document for scientific and technical progress is the “*State scientific and scientific-technical program*”. The entire program is extraordinarily important and necessary. One of most achievements of humanity in the last century is a computer. This achievement is useful and necessary, because at present it is heavy to live without this achievement of science and technique that got to all spheres of human life. That is why it would be especially desirable to mark the fourth point of the program – “*New computer facilities and technologies of informatization of society*”. The point is divided into sub-clauses:

#### 4.1. State scientific and technical program

“New home intellectual computer facilities”

4.1.1. Creation intellectual highly productive multiprocessor computers for the decision of tasks in the spheres of economy, protection capabilities, education.

4.1.2. Development of the typical facilities of the computing engineering.

4.1.3. Development of competition capable models of neuro-computers.

4.1.4. Development of the problem-oriented systems and program-vehicle facilities of digital treatment of signals.

4.2. State scientific and technical program

“Systematic analysis, methods and facilities of process control of a different nature; methods of optimization, software and information technologies in the difficult systems”

4.2.1 Development of the methodological, algorithmic and program facilities of systems analysis of a different nature processes.

4.2.2. Creation of program facilities and technologies of support informative-analytic researches in the difficult distributed systems of organizational management.

4.2.3. Creation of program facilities and technologies for providing of Ukrainian-language computer informative environment.

4.2.4. Creation of the informative-program network technologies for electronic business.

4.3. State scientific and technical program

“TV communications systems and informative resources “

4.3.1. Creation of the perspective TV communications systems and technologies.

4.3.2. Creation of TV-communicative infrastructure for the transmission of informative streams on the basis of digital wide stripe microwave and optic-electronically systems and technologies.

4.3.3. Creation of corporate electronic informative resource from scientific and technical and economic information and the system of its management.

4.3.4. Creations of data-bases consideration, registrations and examinations of scientific-technological activity.

4.4. State scientific and technical program

“Scientific and educational device building”

4.4.1. Development of the devices and equipment with a high spatial settling power.

4.4.2. Development of measuring and program-vehicle complexes for application in the sphere of science and education.

4.4.3. Development of the metrological providing, tools, systems of automation and computerizing of measuring and control of difficult objects of a different nature.

Of course, all these programs, laws, memorandums and agreements are necessary for a subsequent development of the science, for a creation of development prospects of different fields of science and technique, but no less important is the system of encouragement of scientists to their scientific activity, that nowadays is unfortunately not in the best state (for example, researchers and

scientists in Ukraine get the wages that are approximately 15 times lower than their European colleagues). But so far all possible have been done to support research workers in their activity, and the order of the president of Ukraine testifies it. According to this order (Decrees of President of Ukraine from April, 9 in 2002 № 315 and December, 24 in 2002 № 1210) young scientists – PhD candidates and doctors in different fields of sciences – were awarded with grants of the President of Ukraine.

Marcin Szewczyk

## **Patrzenie na ZACHÓD**

### **1. Wstęp**

Chciałbym Państwu przedstawić kilka refleksji związanych z realizacją w Polsce działań informacyjnych, które wspierały i wspierają procesy integracyjne Polski z Europą. Uczynię to na przykładzie Regionalnych Centrów Informacji Europejskiej.

### **2. Granica i świadomość**

Polska pomimo swego członkostwa w Unii Europejskiej i niepodważalnej przynależności do państw europejskich, paradoksalnie wciąż pozostaje w drodze do Europy – do Europy Zachodniej.

Wyobraźmy sobie, że stajemy przodem do północy. Po prawej WSCHÓD, po lewej ZACHÓD. I tak jest zawsze. I tam, po lewej jest po prostu lepiej.

To oczywiście pewien stereotyp świadomości i patrzenia. Powstały jeszcze kiedy to hordy, czy też małe grupy barbarzyńców zmierzały ku zachodniemu krańcowi kontynentu euroazjatyckiego. Część z nich aby palić i niszczyć jak ludy mongolskie, część aby przez układy polityczne i rozwiązania siłowe znaleźć swoje nowe miejsce w Europie jak ludy gockie, a część wreszcie aby rokrocznie pokojowo przemieszczając się powoli na zachód odnaleźć swoją nową identyfikację jak Słowianie.

I właśnie ten stereotyp bogactwa i wartości zachodu najsilniej utrwalił się wśród ludów słowiańskich. Azjatyccy koczownicy nigdy nie znaleźli swojego stałego miejsca w Europie a plemiona germańskie wzmocniły podstawy wspólnego europejskiego dziedzictwa.

Niemcy nie patrzą na Hiszpanię czy Francję mówiąc o nich Europa Zachodnia i podkreślając, że „tam jest lepiej”. My w ten sposób czynimy. I nie ma znaczenia, czy to Polacy patrzą na swoich sąsiadów zza Odry, czy też Ukraińcy na Polaków. Ale tam widzimy to co lepsze.

Granica świadomości nas – Europejczyków, jest zależna nie tylko od sztywnych granic, zasięgu języka, czy rynku. Przede wszystkim jest granicą mentalną, niemalże duchową. Granicą możliwych form działania. Można by zaryzykować twierdzenie, że tak daleko skąd patrzy się na ZACHÓD z myślą, że można *tu i teraz* zrobić aby było tak samo dobrze, tak daleko sięga Europa.

I jak dla nas, bezwzględnie Ukraina czy Polska były zawsze i są w Europie i w jej cywilizacyjnym kręgu, tak dla naszych partnerów z Europy, to nie jest już aż tak oczywiste. Oni nigdy nie powiedzą o sobie Europa Zachodnia. Wystarczy samo określenie *Europa*. A my – mieszkańcy Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej musimy zawsze pamiętać, że nigdy nie byliśmy Europą Zachodnią i zawsze się od nie je różniliśmy. Nie powinniśmy postrzegać tego w kategorii problemu, a jedynie świadomej notyfikacji, która pomoże rozumieć obecny kształt naszej wspólnej Europy.

Jednak o tym, że nie przynależymy do Europy Zachodniej, pozostając poza jej granicami, a jednak wciąż należąc do wspartej na

wspólnej spuściznie Europy, wciąż przypominamy zarówno sobie jak i innym – patrząc zawsze z nadzieją na ZACHÓD.

### 3. Migracje

To z czym Polska nie radzi sobie ostatni zbyt dobrze, to migracja. To właśnie nasz obecny sposób patrzenia na ZACHÓD. To migracja nie osób poddanych presji politycznej, tylko presji ekonomicznej i jeśli możnaby tak określić presji perspektyw i demokracji. I nie chodzi to wcale o zapowiadany *drenaż mózgów* odbierających Polsce tylko tych najzdolniejszych, ale o wyjazdy młodych ludzi, którzy dla siebie nie widzą perspektywy, którzy z nadzieją patrzą jedynie na państwa UE15. Kolejne państwa europejskie kolejno pozwalają na pracę Polaków. W ciągu dwóch lat wyjechało z Polski około 1,5 mln głównie młodych ludzi. Przestali wierzyć, że może im się coś udać na miejscu. Nasz kraj nie miał im zbyt wiele do zaoferowania. Niestety chyba wszyscy jesteśmy to w stanie zrozumieć. Nie można ich zatrzymać siłą. Można ich zatrzymać jedynie perspektywą i realną szansą na to że będą mieli możliwości. Czegokolwiek. Wszystkiego. Trzeba im dać możliwość znalezienia swojego miejsca w polskiej rzeczywistości.

Dlatego łatwo także przychodzi nam zrozumieć tych, którzy pomimo przeciwności i trudnego startu pozostają i próbują budować na miejscu.

Tak praktycznie było przez większość czasu od początku lat 90. Wierzyliśmy, że możemy zbudować coś na miejscu, że nie ma potrzeby wyjeżdżać. Jedną z form tej wiary i zarazem patrzenia na ZACHÓD był wyznaczony Polsce kierunek ku Wspólnocie.



#### 4. RCIE

Na początku wspomniałem o działaniach informacyjnych. Jednak działalność Regionalnych Centrów Informacji Europejskiej nie sprowadzała się nigdy jedynie do przekazywania danych. To właśnie te ośrodki, niejednokrotnie będąc afiliowanymi przy organizacjach pozarządowych pozwalały na znajdowanie własnej drogi i sensu funkcjonowania we współczesnej Polsce. Nie będę omawiał poszczególnych działań przez nie podejmowanych, które nie są reprezentatywne dla całej sieci, ale skoncentruję się na ich cechach wspólnych.

Zaczęły one powstawać od 1999 roku. Zasadniczymi celami ich działań było przekazanie możliwie jak największej liczbie osób spośród polskiego społeczeństwa informacji z zakresu problematyki integracji europejskiej, dostęp do danych na temat procesu integracji Polski z UE oraz korzyściach i kosztach dostosowania i przyszłego członkostwa Polski w UE.

Na poziomie organizacyjnym, który w znacznej mierze determinował ich sposób działania Centra stały się samofinansującymi się jednostkami wydzielonymi z organizacji macierzystych (często organizacji pozarządowych oraz prywatnych szkół wyższych).

Do głównych zadań RCIE należało prowadzenie otwartego punktu informacyjnego dla społeczeństwa regionu, połączone z gromadzeniem i udostępnianiem dokumentów i publikacji z tematyki integracyjnej. Uzupełnieniem tego była otwarta i aktywna działalność edukacyjna oraz promocyjna w ramach realizowanych programów rządowych.

Wymagane doświadczenie w tego typu działalności, powiązana z wykwalifikowaną kadrą konsultantów oraz koordynatorów działań Centrów pozwoliły aby w przeciągu zaledwie kilku lat stały się znaczącymi w swych regionach ośrodkami informacji europejskiej. Poprzez liczne formy działań skierowane do młodzieży oraz przez częstą współpracę z grupami studenckim dawały one możliwość aktywnego udziału w kształtowaniu naszego członkostwa w Unii Europejskiej. Jednocześnie, podobnie zresztą jak i wiele innych organizacji pozarządowych aktywizując młodzież i wskazując im możliwości realizowania swoich celów w Polsce.

W początkowej fazie RCIE nie znajdowały się w każdym województwie. Osiągnęły jednak w okresie poprzedzającym referendum mające zdecydować o naszym członkostwie liczbę 36 ośrodków. Od początku 2004 roku ulegały jednak stopniowej likwidacji. W tej chwili jest nas 16. Są jednak województwa, w których nie ma takiego centrum.

Te zmiany ilościowe charakteryzowały także zmiany głównych kierunków działania RCIE. Początkowo działała ona głównie jako miejsce dobrego dostępu do internetu, niejednokrotnie jedyne go dostępu do książek z dziedziny europeistyki. Do 2001 roku można było traktować to przede wszystkim jako działalność informacyjną. Wraz ze wzrostem ilości ośrodków zmieniały się także kierunki działania. Poza udostępnianiem informacji ważniejsze okazało się intensywniejsze wyjście do mieszkańców regionu, organizacja wykładu, udział w święcie miasta wraz z rozdawaniem ulotek, konkursem wiedzy o Unii Europejskiej i złotymi gwiazdkami na granatowym tle chorągiewki. To w tym czasie nasze kontakty ze studentami przee-

woluowały ku ściślejszej współpracy i zaangażowania ich we wspólną organizację stoisk na targach, konkursów i zabaw z dziećmi. Równolegle realizowaliśmy szkolenia dla konkretnych grup odbiorczych – jak choćby skierowane do nauczycieli. 2004 rok, był okresem ustalania nowych form działania sieci. Właściwie moglibyśmy je zakończyć – Polska znalazła się w Unii Europejskiej. Jednak okazało się, że w dalszym ciągu możemy kontynuować pracę i wciąż potwierdzać w społeczeństwie, że dopełniamy wszystkich kryteriów kopenhaskich. Obecnie możemy zająć się przede wszystkim edukacją, ale do tego jeszcze wciąż od informacji długa droga.

Częściowo Centra stały się ośrodkami wspierającymi studentów na poziomie udostępniania zasobów bibliotecznych, informacji bezpośredniej, dostępu do internetu, organizacji praktyk, staży i wsparcia wolontariatu.

Prze współpracy z niektórymi Centrami powstały nawet Młodzieżowe Centra Informacji Europejskiej, poszerzając zarówno możliwe formy oddziaływania, jak też i pobudzając większą ilość młodych ludzi do aktywnego udziału w życiu społeczności lokalnej.

Sieć RCIE nie jest jedyną polską siecią informującą o integracji europejskiej. Jednak jest jedyną rządową siecią, w skład której wchodzi organizacje pozarządowe, która jest na dodatek w stanie podjąć wspólne jednolite działania. Mamy także w Polsce specjalistyczne sieci informacyjne takie jak choćby rolnicze AgroInfo. Mamy również działającą na zlecenie Komisji Europejskiej sieć Euro-Direct. Jednak działalność sieci RCIE jest najszerza i najsilniej osadzona w środowisku lokalnym.

## **5. Organizacja pozarządowa**

Jestem głęboko przekonany, że istnienie i nieskrępowana działalność organizacji pozarządowych, pomimo, że związane jest chyba z pewnym kryzysem dotychczasowego modelu Państwa i jego przemianami, jest pozytywnym zjawiskiem charakteryzującym demokratyczne państwo prawa. Naturalnie nie jest to jedyny wyznacznik, lecz z pewnością jeden z ważniejszych. Najwyższą rolą tych organizacji jest angażowanie jak najszerszych grup społecznych w swe działania. Nie wolno przy tym zapominać, że tymi, których powinno się jak najbardziej w te działania angażować są młodzi ludzie. Można, oferując im instytucjonalną opiekę pozwolić swobodnie działać i realizować ich cele. Natomiast wsparcie ze strony NGO może im niejednokrotnie umożliwić wogóle realizację czegokolwiek. W tym przypadku rola organizacji pozarządowych powinna głównie koncentrować się wokół dawania szans i stwarzania możliwości.

## **6. Demokratyzacja**

Ukraina wciąż jest u początku swojej drogi do własnego modelu funkcjonowania w Europie XXI wieku. Wypracowywanie takiego modelu dla nas wszystkich rozpoczęło się w 1989 roku. Nam udało się już zrobić krok ku Europie Zachodniej. W Chinach, w tym samym czasie próba podjęta przez studentów na placu Tien An skończyła się niepowodzeniem. Podobnie, choć nie aż tak krwawo zakończyły się okołowyborcze wydarzenia na Białorusi. Ukraina, bez względu na to jaką drogę dalej wybierze dokonała zwrotu ku Zachodowi, ku swojemu miejscu jakie ma w Europie. Świadczy o

tym choćby sama frekwencja podczas ostatnich wyborów – 67% uprawnionych do głosowania – to wyraz wiary w moc własnego głosu. W Polsce tej wiary nie ma. I choć ścieżka ukraińska musi być własną ścieżką, to przecież można wykorzystać to co sprawdziło się u zachodnich sąsiadów – w Polsce. Nie trzeba. Ale można – *Timszel*, jak mówi biblijny zapis. *Timszel*. Tak jak my wykorzystywaliśmy doświadczenie o wiele nam bardziej obcych nam kulturowo Niemców.

Unia Europejska i Zachód ze swoją demokracją nie są doskonałe i pozostają odległe od ideału. Ale jedno jest pewne – obywatelowi dają najwięcej. Dają bezpieczeństwo, dają wysoki poziom życia, dają pełną wolność i możliwość samostanowienia. Jednak trzeba pamiętać, że Zachód jest tylko i wyłącznie wyborem mniejszego zła. I nigdy nie będzie w stanie zrozumieć naszego szczególnego stosunku do *Carskiej Rassiji*, *Sojuzu Sovietskich Socialističesk-ich Respublik* czy Rosji Putina. Zachód zawsze będzie z nią znajdował wspólne interesy. Ponad naszymi głowami i zawsze znajdzie do tego głębokie uzasadnienie i usprawiedliwienie – tak jak obecnie w przypadku gazociągu bałtyckiego.

## 7. Zatem

W Biblii, w liście do Tesaloniczan wyraźnie jest powiedziane: DUCHA NIE GAŚCIE. Zawsze kiedy czyjeś pomysły wydają mi się nierealne, bo wiem że są nierealne przywołuję te myśl. W końcu czasem nawet niemożliwe może się udać.

Jeszcze w 1991 roku przewodniczący Komisji Europejskiej – Jacques Delors mówił, że nie ma możliwości przyjęcia Polski do

Unii Europejskiej. Zaledwie w 13 lat później weszliśmy do Wspólnoty. Należy wierzyć, że demokratyczna Ukraina wkrótce będzie członkiem Unii Europejskiej. Cała, jedna europejska Ukraina – od Lwowa przez Krym do Doniecka. Ma ona szansę poradzić sobie kiedyś z tym członkostwem o wiele lepiej niż Polska. Także dzięki temu, że może korzystać z naszych, polskich doświadczeń. Bo tak właśnie powinno wyglądać nasze patrzenie na ZACHÓD.

Ulyana Hnidets\*

### **Merkmale der Erzählstruktur der „Geschichte von Wilhelm Tell“ von Jürg Schubiger**

In der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur des deutschen Sprachraums der letzten Jahrzehnten verfolgt man einen Paradigmenwandel sowohl im philosophischen und ästhetischen Kontext als auch auf der Ebene der Erzählstruktur. Die grundsätzliche Forschungen haben in diesem Bereich berühmte Literaturwissenschaftler wie H. H. Ewers und W. Steffens gemacht. Dabei entsteht die Frage der Funktion des Erwachsenen in dieser Literatur. In der Kinderwelt übernimmt er die Rolle eines „Anderen“, „Fremden“. Dieser Funktionswandel ist in der ukrainischen Kommunikationswissenschaft folgenderweise bezeichnet: „Tatsächlich ist sehr oft ein Anderer das Zentrum der Perspektiven und der strukturellen Aktualisierungs- und Konkretisierungsmöglichkeiten. Und dementsprechend ist er Fokus jeden Aktes der Identifizierung im Leserprozess“ [2], d. h. er ist derjenige, der den Leser zur Kommunikation anregt. In der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur spielt dieser „Andere“ „Fremde“ die Rolle der Gelenkstelle zwischen Realität und Fiktion einerseits, zwischen Kind und Erwachsenem andererseits. Auf der textinternen Ebene der kinder- und jugendliterarischen Kommunikation distanziert sich diese Zwischeninstanz von dem direkten Einfluss auf einen kindlichen bzw. jugendli-

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chen Leser. Aber genau diese, für den emanzipierten jungen Leser unauffälligen, Zwischeninstanzen, motivieren den Leser zum Nachdenken, zur Identifikation, Interpretation. D. h. sie funktionieren in der kinder- und jugendliterarischen Kommunikationssituation als diejenigen, die durch unzählige Rezeptionsplanungen dem kindlichen bzw. jugendlichen Leser die Möglichkeit geben, ganz privat und selbständig den philosophische Untergrund des Textes zu empfangen.

Die Transformation der Figur des Erwachsenen ist im Laufe des XX. Jhdts. mit dem Funktionswandel des Autors und des Lesers im allgemeinen literarischen Kommunikationsprozess verbunden. Der Autor verliert das Recht, den Rezeptionsprozess zu regeln und zu kontrollieren. Dementsprechend verwirklicht der Autor in seiner literarischen Botschaft die narrative Strategie, in der der Rezipient zu dem gemeinsamen Schaffensspiel eingeladen ist. Illustrationsmuster solch einer Leserteilnahme im Text sind "Die unendliche Geschichte" von M. Ende und "Die Geschichte von Willhelm Tell" von J. Schubiger. In beiden Werken sind die dargestellten Figuren die Träger der Rezeptionsfunktionen der erzählten Welt. Dabei spielt ein kindlicher bzw. endlicher Rezipient die Rolle des selbständigen Kommunikanten auf einem eigenen Bewusstseinsniveau der textinternen Ebene der kinder- und jugendliterarischen Kommunikation.

Der Schriftsteller Jürg Schubiger (1936, Zürich) schafft Literatur, die sowohl für Erwachsene als auch für Kinder geeignet ist. Im Taschenbuch der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur des deutschen Sprachraums ist sein Lebenswerk folgenderweise beschrieben: "Die Texte von Jürg Schubiger zeichnen sich durch eine ausgeprägte



Freude am Erfinden und Fantasieren aus, durch den Spaß am Fabulieren und Philosophieren. In den Geschichten bleibt Rätselhaftes rätselhaft, esteht viel Raum für offene Fragen und zum Nachdenken, die kindlichen Leser müssen mit ihren Gedanken und Fantasien offen gelassenes füllen. Das Staunen über das Alltägliche und die Betonung des Anfangens und des spielenden Veränderns von Texten sind spezifische Merkmale von Schubigers kinderliterarischen Texten und eröffnen für die kindlichen Leserinnen und Leser einen poetischen Freiraum“ [5]. Die Textintentionen beinhalten keine bestimmten pädagogischen Ziele. Schubiger selbst spricht vom “Webmuster“ seiner Texte: “Mich interessieren das Gefüge, die Wiederholungen, Steigerungen, Umkehrungen: Formen, wie das Märchen sie kennt. Ich bin ein Weber von Geschichten-Teppichen. Die Muster entstehen dabei, könnte man sagen, im Gespräch mit der Sprache“ [3]. Von daher spricht Maria Lypp von einer “Kafkaschen Präzision für Kinder“ [3] als Bestandteil des poetischen Konzeptes von Jürg Schubiger.

Die „Geschichte von Willhelm Tell“ ist im Lexikon noch nicht interpretiert worden, so entsteht der Bedarf die Kommunikationsmerkmale durch die immanente Interpretation des Textes zu bestimmen.

In der Geschichte bietet der Autor fiktive Redesituationen an, in denen die Funktion des Erwachsenen in Mitteilungen und richtigen Fragestellungen besteht, aber auf keinen Fall in Belehrungen. In solcher Weise versucht der Autor, den emanzipierten kindlichen Leser zum gemeinsamen literarischen Spiel zu motivieren. Und zugleich sind die Geschehnisse und Figuren als Erinnerungen und

Nachdenken des Autors dargestellt: „In diesen Sommerferien, die ich bei meinen Großeltern in der Mittelschweiz verbracht habe, begann für mich die Geschichte von Willhelm Tell und seinem Sohn Walter, meinem frechen neuen Freund“ (Schubiger). Somit ist die Ebene des Autorbewusstseins im Text durch verschiedene Instanzen dargestellt: erwachsener Erzähler, erwachsener Interpret, kindlicher Empfänger und kindlicher intendierter Rezipient im Text.

Die Erzählstruktur der „Geschichte von Willheim Tell“ kann man als Erzählung in der Erzählung bezeichnen. Die Ich-Erzählung im Text spielt die Rolle der Widerspiegelung der Erinnerungen des erwachsenen Autors über seine Kindheit. In diesen Erinnerungen figuriert der Opa als der Erzähler der Legende und als Figur der erzählten Kindheitswelt. Der Opa erzählt seinem Enkel diese Legende im Laufe von sechs Wochen. Der Enkel als Figur der Erzählung ist so begeistert von der Geschichte, dass sie mit seiner Realitätswahrnehmung zusammenfällt. Eine Weile lang lebt er auf zwei verschiedenen Ebenen seiner Wirklichkeit: er macht sich Gedanken über Willhelm Tell und zugleich verknüpft er diese Geschichte mit eigenen Sorgen. Die Er-Erzählung der Legende tauscht sich mit den Ich-Erzählelementen aus.

Diese Austausch verschiedener Erzählförmen findet statt, wenn der Opa seine Erzählung unterbricht und einen Dialog mit dem Enkel, d. h. mit dem erwachsenen Autor in der Kindheit anfängt. Das bedeutet, der Erzähler der Legende ist nicht nur an der Übermittlung des Inhalts interessiert, sondern er möchte den kindlichen Empfänger die Geschichte selbst bewerten lassen.

Das literarisch-emotionelle Bildnis der Erzählung erlaubt, die Kinematographie-Technik im Text zu verfolgen. Die Geschichte kann man sich als wechselnde Kader vorstellen, als ob in den Erinnerungen des Erzählers die Bilder aus der Vergangenheit und auch die imaginierten Bilder aus der Geschichte von Wilhelm Tell auftreten. Der Ich-Erzähler im Text ist der Träger der Autorperspektive. Im Text ist er der erste Erzähler (**E1**). Auf dem Hintergrund sehen wir das gegenwärtige Bild des Ortes, wo sich ein Wilhelm Tell-Denkmal befindet. Der Kader ändert sich. Vor unseren Augen sitzen Opa und Enkel. Der Ich-Erzähler konstituiert als erzählende Figur die fiktive Redesituation zwischen den erzählten Figuren (Opa und Enkel) der erzählten Kindheitswelt. Der Opa beginnt zu beschreiben, wie derselbe Ort vor ein paar hundert Jahren aussah. Der Kader bringt uns ins Mittelalter. Wir sehen deutlich, wie Tell und Walter sich in die Mitte des Platzes bewegen. Diese Beschreibung ist durch die Stimme Opas vertont. Hier ist er der zweite Er-Erzähler (**E2**). In seiner Erzählung vertont er auch das Gespräch der Legendenfiguren mit eigenen Stimmen. Der Er-Erzähler der Legende konstituiert also als erzählende Figur die fiktive Kommunikation zwischen den erzählten Figuren der erzählten Legendenwelt. Dann, auf einem Fragment ändert sich der Kader und wir sehen schon wieder Opa mit Enkel im Gespräch. Sie sitzen auf der Treppe, oder in der Küche am Tisch u.ä. Diese Kadern sind durch die Ich-Erzählung von E1 vertont.

Also, der Autor stellt den Leser ohne Vorbereitung in verschiedene zeiträumliche Situationen, aber nicht isoliert voneinander, sondern in der Verknüpfung zueinander. Offensichtlich, noch ein Merkmal dieser Geschichte ist die Synthese der drei Zeitschichten.

Sie demonstrieren die Berührungspunkte und Zusammenhänge der Periode der Gegenwart des Autors, der Periode seiner Kindheit, d. h. Vergangenheit und auch die Periode der fernen Vergangenheit - des Mittelalters. Diese Synthese wird durch das Prinzip der Anwendung der mechanischen Zeituhr erreicht, wobei die Zähne eines Rades ideal in die Lücke eines anderen Rades passen. In einer Zeituhr befinden sich mindestens zwei oder auch mehrere solcher Zahnräder, die nur im Zusammenhang miteinander funktionieren können. Diese Zahnräder sind in diesem Kontext bedingt die drei Zeitschichten: die Zähne und Lücken sind da die Kader und Fragmente und die Räder selbst symbolisieren den Kreislauf oder das Ende für den Anfang. Es reicht nur ein Rad in Bewegung zu bringen — so bewegen sich alle anderen. Und umgekehrt — wenn ein Ring aufhört, sich zu bewegen — so funktioniert die Zeituhr gar nicht. Nach der Analogie konstruiert J. Schubiger als organisierendes Prinzip die Erzählstruktur so, dass man durch die immanente Interpretation des Textes den Philosophie-Untergrund dieser Botschaft herauskriegen kann und zwar: alles funktioniert nur im Zyklus, in Berührung und im Zusammenhang. Dazu verweist auch die letzte Phrase der Geschichte: „Wo die eine Tür zugeht, macht eine andere auf“ [4]. Diese letzte Phrase spricht das Kind (Enkel) aus der erzählten Kindheitswelt, wiederholend nach Willhelm Tell aus der erzählten Legendenwelt, aus. Das bedeutet, dass der reale Autor, um seine Kommunikationsabsicht zu realisieren, eine textinterne Kommunikationssituation herstellt, in der ein intendierter Adressat an der Suche nach Weisheit interessiert ist. Das beweist die Transformierung der Rolle des Erwachsenen in dem kinder- und jugendliterarischen Kommuni-

kationsprozess. Seine Funktion kann auch folgenderweise interpretiert werden: "Die Weisheit ist das, womit wir von Anfang an leben, aber die wir auch vergessen haben. Und falls wir sie vergessen haben, dann muss doch jemand da sein, der sie für uns behält..."[1]. In der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur bleibt diese Zwischeninstanz eines "Anderen", "Fremden" für die Kinderwelt unauffällig. Und im Text übernimmt die Position dieses Anderen die Figur des Opas der erzählten Welt, durch die der Autor seinen eigenen kindlichen Rezeptionsprozess wiederaufbauen möchte. Und mit dieser letzten abstrakten Phrase kommt er nicht weiter: "Geschichten zu schreiben, die so selbstverständlich und doch so geheimnisvoll sind, wie ein Schneckenhaus - eine Form, die ein Kind am Wegesrand finden kann. Es hat die Freiheit, sie aufzuheben und etwas damit anzufangen oder sie liegen zu lassen" [3]. Das bedeutet also auch, dass der Autor dem kindlichen bzw. jugendlichen Leser das Recht übergibt, entsprechend dem eigenen Bewusstseins die offen gebliebenen Fragen des Textes auf der textexternen Ebene der kinder- und jugendliterarischen Kommunikation zu klären.

Die Erzählstruktur der „Geschichte von Willhelm Tell“ charakterisiert sich durch die dialogische Natur und durch die Widerspiegelung einer gemeinsamen Welt für die Kommunikanten. Das ist ein Beispiel der Kommunikationssituation, wenn der Erzähldiskurs selbst den Sprecher und den Empfänger prophezeit. Die komplizierte narrative Strategie rückt diesen Text in die Nähe der interaktiven Texte, weil, erstens: hier sich zwei Erzähler befinden: Der Ich-Erzähler, der im Text als Erzähler und als Figur des Enkels der erzählten Kinderwelt dargestellt ist und auch der Er-Erzähler, der im

Text als Erzähler der Legendenwelt und als Figur des Opas der Kinderwelt dargestellt ist. Zweitens, El spielt auch ganz offen die Rolle des intendierten realen kindlichen bzw. jugendlichen Adressaten.

Dementsprechend ergibt sich folgende Modellierung der kinder- und jugendliterarischer Kommunikation in der “Geschichte von Wilhelm Tell“ Von Jürg Schubiger auf der text-internen Ebene:

|                         |  |                   |  |          |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------|--|----------|
| Kommunikative Situation | Dialog   | E1                | Erzähltext   | Ich-Erz. |
|                         |  | E2 (Erwachsener)  | Ferne Vergangenheit  | Er-Erz.  |
|                         |  | E1 (Interpreter)  | Gegenwart  | Ich-Erz. |
|                         |  | E2 – Figur Opas   | Vergangenheit  |          |
|                         |  | E1 – Figur Enkels |  |          |
|                         | R1 – E1 in Rolle des intendierten im Text kindlichen Rezipientes |                   |  |          |
| Kommunikative Situation | Dialog   | E2 (Erwachsener)  | Ferne Vergangenheit  | Er-Erz.  |
|                         |  | E1 (Interpreter)  | Gegenwart  | Ich-Erz. |
|                         |  | E2 – Figur Opas   | Vergangenheit  |          |
|                         |  | E1 – Figur Enkels |  |          |
|                         |  |                   | R1 – E1 in Rolle des intendiertem im Text kindlichen Rezipientes |          |

E1 – Interpreter – Zwischeninstanz im kommunikativen Akt, in dem E2 und auch E1 als die Figuren der erzählten Welt fungieren, um die kommunikative Situation ermöglichen, in der E2 – Erzähler im Erzähltext und E1 übernimmt die Rolle des intendierten im Erzähltext kindlichen Rezipientes.

Das ist ein Kommunikationsmodell, in dem der reale Autor auf eigene Art seinen Kommunikationswunsch zusammen mit der Rezeptionsplanung herstellt, wobei er sich selbst als einen intendierten kindlichen realen Adressat vorspielt.

Die komplizierte implizierte Kommunikationsplanung in der Erzählstruktur der „Geschichte von Willhelm Tell“ von Jürg Schubiger bringt uns zu den Schlussfolgerungen, dass der Text selbst auf einen bildungsfähigen, zum gemeinsamen Schaffenspiel bereiten, aktiven kindlichen- und jugendlichen Leser intentiert ist. D. h. die Textintention richtet sich auf ein bestimmtes Typ des heutigen emanzipierten jungen Leser, der fähig ist, auf eigene Art alten und neuen Werte des Lebens zu verstehen und zu interpretieren.