

Europe - building + a common home

IV International European Forum
EUROPE WITH A VIEW TO THE FUTURE
Selected speeches

Edited by: Kacper Dziekan,
Anna Fedas, Basil Kerski



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Introduction



Europe with the view to the future



Kacper Dziekan
Anna Fedas
Basil Kerski

“Europe starts here!” is a motto of the European Heritage Label, which welcomes the guests visiting the European Solidarity Centre [ECS] in Gdańsk. In 2015, the EHS hall, Gate no. 2 of the Gdańsk Shipyard and the Solidarity Square with the monument to the fallen shipyard workers of 1970 (sights symbolising the birth of the Solidarity movement), and the ECS – strongly involved in educational work and the promotion of Solidarity’s heritage – were awarded the European Heritage Label by the European Commission. This choice has demonstrated the importance of Solidarity in the development of modern democracy and European integration. The Gdańsk tradition obliges the ECS team not only to be concerned about the state of democracy in Poland, but also in Europe. For this reason, one of the main pillars of the ECS’s programme is the European Forum EUROPE WITH THE VIEW TO THE FUTURE.

Our forum has an interdisciplinary character; politicians, analysts, scholars, writers, artists and journalists meet every year in Gdańsk. The main goal behind initiating the event in 2012 was the bringing together of various regional perspectives, the meeting of Eastern Partnership experts and those who focus on the southern neighbourhood and the development of Western states. We were driven by the idea that a fundamental debate about Europe is only possible if we connect different competencies. EUROPE WITH THE VIEW TO

THE FUTURE is not only a forum for Polish experts. The majority of our panellists are guests from abroad. Many of them are contributors to the English-language bimonthly *New Eastern Europe*, published by the ECS in cooperation with the Wrocław-based Jan Nowak-Jeziorański College of Eastern Europe (KEW). Our European forum gives NEE's authors a chance to meet one another and the editorial team to gather new inspirations for future issues of the magazine.

Since 2013, at each forum we have announced the name of the author of the best book about Europe published in Poland – the laureate of the Ambassador of New Europe Prize. This is also a joint project of the ECS and KEW, realised in cooperation with editorial teams of *Nowa Europa Wschodnia* magazine and *New Eastern Europe*. The winner of last year's edition was Serhii Plokhyy, Harvard University professor, who received the award for his book *The last empire: The final days of the Soviet Union*.

Each year, the forum is accompanied by cultural events related to current topics important for Europeans. Within the framework of the 2016 edition these included: an exhibition titled VÁCLAV HAVEL – CITIZEN – PRESIDENT (photographs by: Oldřich Škácha, Alan Pajer i Bohdan Holomiček) and a Gdańsk premiere of "The Event" (directed by Sergey Loznitsa) about the 1991 Yanayev putsch.

This report presents a selection of speeches from the fourth edition of EUROPE WITH THE VIEW TO THE FUTURE (19–21 May 2016). The Warsaw NATO summit in July 2016 and the 25th anniversary of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the signing of the Polish-German Treaty of Good Neighbourship set two key directions of the debate. The fall of the USSR caused by Central European revolutions marked the end of the Yalta division in the post-war history of Europe. Independence of nations of the former Soviet empire fundamentally changed the political landscape of the continent. After the revolutions of 1989 – 1991 a new European order was born, which encompasses not only the independence of Ukraine or the Baltic states, not only sovereignty of Central European nations which was manifested by the accession of those countries into NATO and the European Union, but also the unification of Germany.

With the annexation of Crimea and stirring up the war in Eastern Ukraine, Russia questioned the post-communist European architecture. During the fourth edition of the forum, we stressed the impor-

tance of the post-1991 order, and its democratic origins, by defying Putin's propaganda, which interprets the fall of the Soviet empire as a historical catastrophe, and the evolutionary process of building the new order as part of the policy to impose their political systems by the victors of the Cold War – the United States and Western European states. This propagandistic interpretation diverts one's attention from the fact that the new European architecture was established through negotiations by democratic, sovereign societies of Central and Eastern Europe. The aggressive critique of the West and the negative evaluation of the 1989 – 1991 revolutions is used by Moscow not only to legitimise Putin's authoritarianism, but also the new imperial foreign policy.

The Polish–German Treaty of Good Neighbourship and Friendly Cooperation signed in Bonn on 16 June 1991 was part of the new European architecture built after the collapse of communism. During the forum, we recalled this important for Europe, but forgotten by many, event. The significance of the treaty and the dynamics of the Polish–German relations were analysed not only by experts, but also the key actors of the transformation period, including the former Polish Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki who, together with the Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski, signed this important document in Bonn on behalf of the Republic of Poland. The former Bundestag President – Rita Süßmuth, and Markus Meckel – one of the architects of the unification of Germany and the first democratic head of GDR's diplomacy, also participated in the debate.

The authoritarian Russia with its imperial policies, which question the existing borders in Eastern Europe, is not the only threat to peace in Europe. New national egoisms within the European Union, caused by fear of globalisation and long-term economic crises in many European states, especially in the south of the continent, also pose a challenge to Europe. Brexit is not the only expression of these short-sighted, egoistic attitudes, also the lack of European solidarity towards refugees and these countries of the EU, which accepted a greater share of responsibility for supporting those fleeing the Middle Eastern and North African wars. European solidarity, such a crucial term for the policies of the European Union, is losing credibility. The response to the migration challenge has shown that many European countries have a problem with connecting national interests with the European common good today.

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New national egoisms within the European Union, caused by fear of globalisation and long-term economic crises in many European states, especially in the south of the continent, also pose a challenge to Europe.

The European Union is not only struggling with the effects of the financial and economic crisis, but also with the understanding of European politics, including its neighbourhood policy. As many speakers stressed, this is a cultural crisis; the reluctance to connect national and regional perspectives with a European perspective and the inability to translate the subsidiarity rule into the challenges of our times constitute substantial burdens for Europe. The forum has argued that the European Union should not become merely an economic community, but rather a cultural project. Krzysztof Czyżewski highlighted the importance of Christian values as a source we can draw on in building our common home in a multicultural Europe. Regardless of whether we are people of religion or culture, we should not depart from the Christian tradition, as it is, Czyżewski stressed, connected with the idea of hospitality, understood as hospitality for the “Other”. According to Czyżewski, the 21st century is not only the time of wayfaring and migration, but also a great test of empathy and dialogue with the “Other”. Our European home will only be stable if we, Europeans, understand what benefits hospitality brings. This idea is the main message of the fourth European Forum EUROPE WITH THE VIEW TO THE FUTURE organised by the European Solidarity Centre.





European identity crisis





Marzenna Guz-Vetter

Deputy director of the European Commission Representation Office in Poland and the head of the political section. She worked as political adviser in the European Commission Representation Office in Germany (2008–2015), where she specialised in EU-Russia relations, neighbourhood policy and enlargement. She wrote for Polish and German media. Her PhD focused on the chances and challenges in the Polish-German borderland in the context of Polish membership in the EU.

We are heading towards disintegration of the European Union



Marzenna Guz-Vetter

I think that in Europe we cannot limit ourselves to Christian values only. Of course, Europe means predominantly these values, but it currently has a number of different faces. It is a multicultural Europe, often of those who do not identify with any faith and nevertheless are wonderful people. We should, therefore, above all remember about human rights, international conventions we are obliged to adhere to, and about respecting human dignity. The balance of migration and the refugee crisis, which has been going on for over a year, is shameful for the European Union and countries such as Poland. Poland thinks of itself as perhaps the most Christian country in Europe, and yet it has not accepted a single refugee. It is also time for a bitter reflection to what extent the declared Christian values translate into genuinely Christian actions and the implementation of the beautiful Polish adage "Guest at home, God at home."

SOLIDARITY AND PRAGMATISM

Solving the problem goes beyond securing the future of refugees. It is a problem connected with the future of European integration, and even with a potential possibility of its disintegration. If some

states are overstrained by the wave of migrants – and according to estimates in the coming years between 2 and 5 million people may come to Europe and these people will be accepted mainly by Germany – it is clear that a strong protest against the phenomenon will be born within German society. It is completely natural. We can currently observe the same process in Austria. Therefore, in the interest of all member states, including Poland, is to approach the problem with solidarity and pragmatism. This is the only way to retain European integration. Otherwise we will find ourselves in the situation of reborn nationalisms and populisms, and the whole European project can be ruined because of the scale of social protests against migrants. It may have negative consequences for countries like Poland, which joined the EU and are interested in preserving it in its current shape as long as possible.

Talking about the next actions of the European Commission, we should mention the agreement with Turkey. It is a very hard nut to crack. Talks are still underway and it is clear that there are difficulties. The agreement covers many aspects, including lifting visas for citizens of Turkey holding biometric passports. At the same time, Turkey is obliged to fulfil some conditions regarding security issues. The talks are underway and are aimed at preventing the crisis.

The agreement with Turkey is part of a broad plan of actions taken and initiated by member states and the European Commission. Its aim is, above all, to close the Balkan route, which was achieved and which halted the inflow of refugees to Greece. It should also be noted that all the actions are closely monitored by trafficking mafias and some signals are quickly distributed through the Internet. Until the agreement with Turkey, there was a signal that there is a green light on the Balkan route to Germany. What we observe now is that last month 2,000 more migrants arrived at the coasts of Italy than Greece. Therefore, the route is changing. It will now lead through the countries of North Africa and Libya, which is politically unstable and internally divided. More and more people will be coming to Europe from Africa. It is an issue which we have to solve systemically for years to come, as it will not disappear just like that.

BREACHING HUMAN RIGHTS

I would like to point out to the fact that the lack of systemic solutions and the fact that such countries as Germany have the highest num-

bers of refugees – several hundred thousand people accommodated in various types of camps – leads to human rights violations in the camps. As has been revealed, Christians coming from endangered regions are brutally treated by Muslims, women are raped, children molested... We have 90,000 underage asylum seekers. A question thus arises, how to protect those people, who – as teenagers – live in the camps? Who will take care of them? The lack of systemic solutions and distribution of responsibility across all member states put us, the European Union, in an increasingly bad light, since these issues have been raised by various agencies such as the UN, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International.

The next issue is EU's increasing involvement in border protection. For example, Frontex missions to protect the waters of the Mediterranean Sea are meant to be expanded. The problem is connected with very pragmatic aspects. Frontex's boats cannot enter territorial waters of Libya. As they are not allowed to do so, the traffickers, who, by the way, earned 5 billion euro on human trafficking, provide the poor people with petrol and equipment which allows them to reach the international waters. Only then they are being rescued. Such issues related to international politics have to be solved.

NOT ONLY FEAR

It is not true that Polish society fears refugees in principle. I think that there are many city and borough councils and many people who really want to help. I know that such an initiative was created in Stettin, where people were helping in Löcknitz located close to the border. They organised a collection of bicycles and laptops for refugees. Poles in Berlin also organised a charity collection. I know that many city councils, like the one in Słupsk, would happily accept refugees and even have suitable accommodation, but until now no screening has been conducted on the bureaucratic level to show which boroughs are ready to accept refugees. Therefore, many borough and city councils are asking: How can we accept them? What can be done in this regard?

The fact that there is no such a system in Poland is a result of a very low or even non-existent education level when it comes to civic attitudes. By that I mean what in Germany is called *politische Bildung*. Hence, young people asked by Polish sociologists why they voted for very right-wing candidates in the recent election, answered: "because

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More and more people will be coming to Europe from Africa. It is an issue which we have to solve systemically for years to come, as it will not disappear just like that.

they are such funny people”, “the sounded cool”. Young people are not aware of the consequences of their choices. There is a lot to be done when it comes to Polish education, just like the Polish church, which is still very authoritarian. At religion classes nice pictures are still the most important, while there is a lack of debate about what “Guest at home, God at home” means. The refugee crisis we have been experiencing should make us, citizens, think.

WORRYING TENDENCIES

I think that we are facing very dangerous processes, heading towards disintegration of the European Union. On the one hand, in many countries we observe the process of rebirth of instincts of greater sovereignty, I mean, among others, the United Kingdom and the Brexit referendum. On the other hand, in many EU countries we see the rise in populist and nationalist tendencies. In my opinion they have an economic basis and are connected not only with unemployment, but also with the growing income gaps. Also, in the European Union we have a growing group of people who are increasingly less and more wealthy, which leads to many social tensions. It seems to me that we are currently in a very dynamic moment, because if disintegration tendencies strengthen, we will again end up in a Europe of great powers, which, as history has shown, is not good for anyone and can lead to fierce conflicts. It is also not good for Central European countries, which have been in the Union only since 10 years. The history of European integration shows that reason has the upper hand. I think that step by step, actions will be taken to strengthen the community, and the refugee crisis will be a test case.





Krzysztof Czyżewski

A practitioner of ideas, culture animator, poet and essayist, co-founder of „Borderland of Arts, Cultures, Nations” centre in Sejny and the Borderland Foundation. A co-founder of the International Centre of Dialogue in Czesław Miłosz’s family manor house in Krasnogruda at the Polish-Lithuanian border. The organizer of an international flying literary café “Café Europa” which he launched during the wars in the former Yugoslavia. The café’s meetings, connecting poetry reading with music and discussions, have taken place in Sarajevo, Stockholm, Warsaw, Barcelona, and New York, among other places.

To build a common home

Krzysztof Czyżewski



How to build a common home in a multicultural Europe, without which it has no future? I am trying to formulate the answer from within the Christian tradition, which we should not escape, no matter if we are people of religion or culture. There is no Christianity without hospitality, understood as hospitality towards the other. In the Polish language this expression [pl. *gościnność* – translator's note] – has a particular overtone, as it consists of two parts: “guest” (*gość*) and “other” (*inny*). It means that real hospitality is not directed towards “our own”, but the “foreign”, the “other”. Only then it is fully implemented.

Hospitality is one of the basic principles of community building in our world. Us, Christians, have almost radical principles in this regard. Christianity is an extremely difficult religion. In times of crisis or war, being a Christian is a particular challenge. For instance, in the Book of Leviticus we read: “The foreigner residing among you must be treated as your native-born. Love them as yourself...”. This expression is extraordinarily difficult to implement. It is very radical, but in fact it entails a pragmatic knowledge about community building. One will not build a safe home and achieve good life, if they do not open up to their neighbourhood. Hospitality, the art of coexisting with the others, determines our safety. A real home is built through one's opening to the collective, not concentration on one's “own”.

This is another very important element of the tradition – coexistence. There is no community without an empty chair on the Christmas Eve, a place for the other, for a guest, who can become part of our celebration. Pope Francis, when he came to Lesbos to see refugees

said: "Each one of you, refugees, who knocks on our door has the face of God". This is very Christian also in a sense that only the foreigner completes our community.

SIDING WITH THE PREJUDICED

There is one more aspect worth mentioning in the context of the current migration crisis and the overlapping crisis of European integration. Siding with those who fulfil the Christian commandments is not enough. A Christian, in this deep understanding, will always side with those, who do not cope with the challenge of hospitality, just like many other commandments. A Christian will always be – just like Pope Francis – with those who are afraid, who have doubts, who cannot overcome their prejudice and sometimes hatred towards others. We very often forget about this Christian challenge, entrenching ourselves on the side of those, who can muster up hospitality. But the place of a Christian is on the side of those who cannot cope with this.

This is the problem we are currently facing. There is a fragment from the Book of Isaiah which was Jesus' favourite: „These people honor me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me. They worship me in vain; their teachings are merely human rules.” Those who claim to be protecting Christian Europe today, building walls and cultivating the god of nationalism, act on human orders, as they cannot rise up to the challenges that Christianity has put in front of us.

Nevertheless, I do not think about people like them only, populist politicians and fundamentalist ideologues, but also about those, who try to take the commandment of hospitality seriously. They cannot abandon those, who do not cope with the challenge. They cannot turn away from them, stigmatise them as xenophobic or exclude them from the circle of "civilised" Europeans. Also in this regard we do not live up to the challenges of Christianity.

Speaking about Law and Justice's (PiS) leader, Jarosław Kaczyński, and the situation in Poland it should be noted that this is not a voice of one politician only, but that of fear of hospitality, which is shared by large part of our society. Let us remember that Poland, unlike Western Europe, over the whole post-war period was an ideologically homogenous country. At least that was the policy of the Communist regime. We cannot ignore that a society needs time to prepare for multiculturalism. This fear is natural and strongly embedded

within us. There was not enough time. Since 1989 I have been strongly involved in facilitating the best possible use of this time to open our society for the multicultural paradigm. This is an ongoing process. I understand the fears and a populist politician can build on them. In order to take the weapon away from his hand, one needs to go down to the lowest, organic level. If I was to answer the question: what have we lacked, I would point to a lack of investment in civil society, its education and activeness, associations and institutions, which in a long run would allow us to deal with the rising cultural conflicts and crises, such as the migration crisis, on the level of local communities. We faced a similar challenge in Poland when Pope Francis called for each parish to accept migrants. It would seem that a society which in vast part identifies itself as Catholic should *en masse* respond to Francis' appeal, but again it turned out that we follow human orders, not Christian ones.

Statistically, in Poland 73 per cent of the population would have nothing against accepting migrants, but almost 30 per cent refuse to accept them in their communities. Instead of making accusations, we should try to understand the causes of this situation, and above all ask what to do if we want the statistics to change in the coming years?

We need time, which cannot mean postponing the problem for tomorrow. Migrants are waiting at the borders and Europe needs solidarity, also from Poland. We have not approached this challenge with dignity and honour. I do not want to complain, but point out what we should be doing in order to change the situation in Poland in a year, two or three, and to increase the openness of Polish and Central-Eastern European societies. This process – our western partners realise this very well – takes decades. We are at the beginning of this path. The current migration wave, after the Chechen one and a small one from Yugoslavia, is the first challenge on such a scale that we have to face.

DECENTRALISED OPENNESS

I am talking about Christian values because they are often on the lips of those who want to protect themselves from the “others”, understanding by that the protection of Christianity from Islamisation. Therefore, a constant work on the continuity of open Christianity seems extremely important to me. Just like President Lech Wałęsa said, in this former state fabric, whose religion and culture were dedicated to the fight for independence and self-determination, we have

to start searching for space for “others”. This cannot be done through pushing religion into the sphere of private life. One should search for the potential for change and reassessments within Christianity. Just like in Islam and other religions, which have to become more humanistic and universalistic and better prepared for the encounter with modernity, whose reality is a close neighbourhood with others. Building a connective tissue between very different islands on the archipelago of contemporary society is one type of cultural work that we still underappreciate.

It seems to us that only hard tools, such as technology, media attention or economic solutions are able to defuse the crisis. This is all very important, but far insufficient, as what we are facing is a cultural crisis. Fear, which we are talking about, often derives from helplessness in a situation, when we experience insufficiency of language and narratives describing the world surrounding us. I agree with Lech Wałęsa, who spoke about the need to “dialogue out” a narrative, with which we will be able to identify and find our place in the changing world. In a situation, when this narrative contradicts the reality around us, nationalism and other radical forms aimed at detaching oneself from it come to the surface. Therefore, an unforgivable mistake of our post-1989 systemic transformation was to marginalise culture, broadly understood, that includes education, describing the world and the tissue of human relations.

I took part in an OSCE conference in Berlin dedicated to the phenomenon of nationalism, xenophobia and racism in Europe. I realised the helplessness of wealthy Western societies in confronting it, societies which devote vast financial means to this aim, but in large part directing them to support research programmes, creating databases, media and monitoring, and in exiguous part to work at the grass roots in local communities. We invest in knowledge and exacerbating fear, not in people and social change.

For years I have been trying to put in practice what Lech Wałęsa spoke about today: “Let us not create huge workplaces, let us not think about big numbers and systems. Let us create lots of small, local centres that would be close to people, which would be solving and working on those problems”. Most of the time, we work within the same structure which concentrates on what is large and on top, but we do not believe that delegating those matters to smaller, but more numerous social circles would bring better and longer lasting results in a long term.

HOW TO IMPLANT HOSPITALITY?

The whole time I have been considering how to deal with migration processes in a long term, as it is a slightly different discourse than rights and obligations imposed upon us by the European Union, which are also understandable and are also part of European solidarity. How to do it realistically? How to create a hospitable civil society in this part of the world, desolated by totalitarianisms of the 20th century, that would be engaged in building no longer its own, but a common home? Statistics show Poland and other Central European countries in a dramatic light. It seems that there is no hope, that we will never cope with that. But in these countries and cities live the same people, who were building Solidarity a few decades ago. The European Solidarity Centre in Gdańsk is not a museum, or at least not only, but a modern incubator of reflection and solidarity practices in today's world. There is a lot of work ahead. The hospitality of Munich, a city which managed to change its image in Europe so thoroughly since the 1930s, has been developing for years. The 19th century *Bildung* was reborn in the force of multicultural society. Just like the Polish positivist tradition should be reborn in the era of open borders, migration and the European Union.¹

This is what we are fighting for, for change within the same society. We are trying to understand where the escape from freedom comes from, the nationalism rush and fear of others. The Marxist belief that existence determines consciousness, understood in a very narrow way – that if we improve people's material situation, they will begin to think like us and they will vote for us – proved to be illusory in Central Europe. Here, again, Marx lost. We can try to improve people's material situation, and culturally and mentally they will follow other paths than the path of hospitable Europe. This is the problem we have to grasp.

WE NEED MUSLIM EXPERTS

I worked in the Kurdish-Turkish borderland, where for years we were trying to create a centre for Turkish-Kurdish dialogue in Diyarbakır, which is now in complete shreds. The collapse of peace with the Kurds in July 2015 has had really serious consequences. That part of the country is turning into ruins and if the situation does not improve, Europe will probably have many new incomers from Kurdistan.

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**Rationalisierung
und Bildung bei Max Weber.
Beiträge zur Historischen
Bildungsforschung,
red. J. Oelkers, R. Casale,
R Horlacher, Bad Heilbrunn
2006.**

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Someone said that the 21st century is the century of migration and trekking. I would add that it is a century of “you” in the second person singular, and thus a time of empathy and dialogue with the “other”.

We should talk about the Turkish-European relations in relation to the migration crisis, but not only, also in a wider sense, in relation to the contemporary cultural war. Today, we have a problem with radical currents of Islam, which are in a strong conflict with the European culture, but we have to remember that in disarming this conflict, Muslims will be the most important. We need migrants as experts, who have experienced fundamentalism and war, which pushed them out of their homes. When we think about Europe which has a problem with solidarity and building a common front in action, one of the most important experiences, which can be applied to Europe, comes from these borderlands. We cannot treat the problem of incomers as a separate, and especially as a pathological, issue. We have to understand that in order to rebuild solidarity in Poland and Europe and to build dialogue with Islam, we need the incomers from those regions of the world, with whom, whether we want it or not – we have found ourselves in confrontation and dialogue. Let us look not only for religious fanaticism and terror on their side, which clearly cannot be ignored, but also for experience and competences that Europe needs, just like it needs new citizens involved in intercultural dialogue. I worked with refugees from Africa and the Middle East in Norway and I know that they are not the only ones who need hospitality in the new world, Western societies do too, struggling with the disappearing community ties and the decreasing democratic involvement. Incomers in Gdańsk constitute not only a challenge when it comes to integration of people from other cultures, but also an opportunity to integrate Polish society split by deep internal divisions, for which the others from different cultural traditions cannot be blamed. One of the most dangerous contemporary illusions is the belief that we can build solidarity within society while closing ourselves up in a homogenous fortress. Central European countries are the best example that xenophobia and closing of borders lead to the greatest social disintegration.

Thus, I will stress once again that Europe should recognise the role of Turkey not only in solving the migration crisis, but maybe primarily in dealing with cultural tensions and building a new European narrative, in which Islamic cultures cannot be missed.

THE EUROPEAN UNION AS A CULTURAL PROJECT

From the very beginning we believed that the European Union has to move beyond the European Coal and Steel Community and become a cultural project. It has always looked quite utopian and was

pushed the margins, but today, we are in a situation in which it is the cultural dimension that will settle the crisis within the EU. Either we will manage to build Europe as a cultural project and will deal with the crisis, or we will face disintegration. The outside borders of Europe or nation states are not the most important. The key are the internal European borders, which run through our cities and communities, the cultural borders, which are very deep. The presence of migrants only helps to intensify them and puts us in a situation, in which we much cope with the art of coexistence of different people, cultures and traditions. I do not know what price we will have to pay, I do not ignore the threats that we are aware of, but I believe that from this crisis Europe will emerge as a cultural project, and the means to that is a wise investment in cooperation between people in places where it is real and brings social change.

Someone said that the 21st century is the century of migration and trekking, I would add that it is a century of “you” in the second person singular, and thus a time of empathy and dialogue with the “other”. The time co/dependence and co/existence comes after centuries of rule of the Cartesian “I”, which resonated well with national sovereignty and individual freedom. The European crisis has made us realise that the time for building the “connective tissue” and studying the art of dialogue is coming. For the future, we need a new alternative, but movements such as the Alternative for Germany do not provide one. We need Europe as a cultural project.





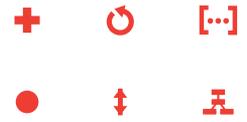


David Kipp

A German political scientist, researcher at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, and an expert in migration. His main areas of interest include European and international migration policy and development cooperation. He was a researcher at the Development and Peace Foundation in Bonn (Stiftung Entwicklung und Frieden) and an adviser to Bundestag deputies (2009–2015).

The difficult process of opening the borders

David Kipp



In 2015, between 800,000 and one million refugees came to Germany. 477,000 people submitted asylum applications, which is 135 per cent more people than the year before. Despite the fact that the number of new refugees who arrived in Germany until July 2016 significantly decreased – to around 240,000 – the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees has difficulties coping with the high number of cases concerning refugees. This contributes to the fact that precise statistics are difficult to gather.

GERMANY'S POSITION

At first, the liberal declaration of Chancellor Angela Merkel about the “open doors” in relation to accepting refugees met with an applause on the international arena and in Germany. Currently, however, Merkel's politics is in the firing line. Other member states of the European Union were reluctant to replicate Merkel's leadership, and in domestic politics, the far right Alternative for Germany party [AfD] won several times in the local elections, which resulted in the growing criticism of the Chancellor also from their own centre right party – the CSU, and their coalition partners – the CDU.

However, Chancellor Merkel maintains her position, claiming that Germany will cope with the challenges connected with accepting

and integrating refugees, summarising her position with one sentence: "We can do it". She later distanced herself from this concrete phrase. Merkel's political struggles aside, accepting refugees on such a big scale can be and is a challenge, but it is also an incredible achievement. How can we explain Germany's ability to accommodate such a high number of people, considering the fact that the majority of EU countries struggle with accepting a much smaller number of refugees?

THE POLITICS OF OPENNESS

It is necessary to look at this issue through the prism of Germany's wider historical context. Merely 14 years ago, the commission headed by the famous German politician, Rita Süßmuth, recognised Germany as the country of immigrants. Large part of the political establishment had earlier denied that. Such a belief is relatively new in Germany and not necessarily shared in other parts of the EU, especially by the political establishment in Central and Eastern Europe. Therefore, patience will be necessary in the future while raising the topics of migration on the European level: we should remember that the opening of borders is a process, which can be difficult. It is easy to notice the anti-immigrant reaction in Polish politics, the rise to power of the right-wing Law and Justice party, but it should not affect our vision: part of the Polish society is still open to refugees.

For example, I have heard that Gdańsk created a new grassroots policy of integrating migrants. It is the same in Germany. Not everyone in Germany is open to refugees, but there are cities and towns, which happily accept a higher proportion of refugees and will support their integration more than it is expected from them.

The European Union should do anything possible to support such initiatives. And this requires greater flexibility. It means a process of a diversified speed – not outvoting and imposing from above, but encouraging society to open up to refugees. Why does the European Commission, for example, not give a positive financial encouragement to local governments and communities for accepting refugees, but it discourages them?

If we look at the new proposals of common asylum system reform in Europe, we will understand how difficult it is to move forward.

REFUGEES' NEEDS

For a while Germany together with the European Commission and the Benelux countries tried to build support within the EU for relocating 160,000 refugees from Greece and Italy. We all know that this initiative did not materialise. The number of refugees is continuously declining, because the Western Balkans route remains closed. The situation is paradoxical, as it seems that member states agree for the *status quo* and do not feel the pressure, while Greece is struggling with the biggest problem and has neither the possibility nor the political will to take care of 50,000 stranded refugees and emigrants.

Despite criticism, the EU-Turkey deal has helped to lower the number of refugees and migrants coming to Greece and to save their lives. However, together with the recent changes in the Turkish government it is doubtful that the agreement will secure solutions for the future.

Even if we ignore the situation in Turkey, there are other reasons why the deal is risky. The EU has not met three promises it gave to Turkey. First, it agreed for the relocation of a large number of Syrians from Turkey and so far, only 177 Syrians have been relocated to EU member states. Second, the EU did not send the promised technical support to Greece. Largely delegating border security alone. Specialists in refugee matters and judges are needed in order to review asylum applications. Third, not enough is being done to ensure respect for the rights of people sent back to Turkey, their situation lacks transparency.

TRENDS IN THE EU REFUGEE POLICY

The deal with Turkey illustrates three main trends in the current refugee policy of the EU: the tendency to strengthen border control, accommodating refugees in camps and debate focused on the fair allocation of refugees across EU countries (relocation of refugees and the determination of their quotas in each country). Solutions to the refugee crisis that all the EU countries will be able to accept are limited.

The European Commission in a lower or higher degree again uses the provisions of the Dublin convention to create a new, common for all EU states asylum policy, which would ensure a corrective allocation mechanism for those member states experiencing disproportionately high pressure on their reception systems. Those member

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Patience will be necessary in the future while raising the topics of migration on the European level: we should remember that the opening of borders is a process, which can be difficult.

states, which do not want to take part in the relocation mechanism, in solidarity will have to dedicate the amount of 250,000 euro for each applicant who is a political refugee.

We are not sure whether the mechanism will work. It is important that the process of relocation is organised as a priority, so that member states see it as a valuable instrument regulating the influx of refugees.

Greece should also accept the solutions, and the relocation mechanism should gain the trust of refugees. Most importantly, refugees should receive information on the possibility to be relocated to their countries of choice, as there may be people among them who do not have a clear preference as to which country to pick based on language or family ties. In the future, relocation could take into consideration refugees' qualifications, which may be compatible with the demand on the job market in individual EU member states.

COSTS

The European Commission rightly proposes a massive strengthening of the European Asylum Support Office (EASO) in order to work out administrative measures to collectively process asylum procedures. It would be more cost-effective and it would support those countries that have had no system of support for refugees in place. According to the study by the Centre for European Economic Research, it would help to save between 5-12 million euro in one year!

However, it is still unlikely that any change will take place in the hearts of those citizens of member states who are against implementing the European culture of hospitality. On the contrary, the attitudes are getting increasingly nationalistic, which is already a huge burden for the functioning of the Schengen zone. Member states need to be reminded that, in line with the decision of the European Commission, the lack of a collective decision in relation to refugees forces EU states to generate direct costs amounting to 5-18 million euro a year. Germany and Poland will have to bear additional costs of 500 million euro for road transport and trade in goods.



EUROPA

WYSZŁOŚĆ

THE FUTURE

CONFERENCE



Generational dialogue





Basil Kerski

A Polish-German manager of culture, political scientist, editor and essayist. The director of the European Solidarity Centre in Gdansk and the editor-in-chief of the bilingual Polish-German magazine DIALOGUE. Editor of *Przegląd Polityczny* and the author and editor of many German, Polish and Ukrainian books on history, politics and literature. As an expert in international politics he worked in the US-German Aspen Institute in Berlin and in Bundestag.

Parallel transformations

Basil Kerski



Conflicts settle in minds and hearts – a point made by Seth G. Jones he presented at one of conference debates about security politics. I agree with it. *Soft power*, political culture, civilians' attitudes are a decisive factor in international politics, often underappreciated by security experts. We have experienced the importance of the civil dimension during the European revolution of 1989-1991. Moreover, today we are also experiencing, for instance in the United Kingdom, the importance of subjective perceptions, collective attitudes and cultural traditions in European politics.

THE DIFFICULT TASK OF BUILDING A POSITIVE AND CREDIBLE NARRATIVE

Something bad happened in the recent years that we draw negative inspirations from challenges, we do not see any opportunities for growth in them, our societies are full of fears and hostility towards political elites, towards complex structures of a democratic state, which restrict the executive power. These angsts, this fear manifest themselves not only in a passive observation, but also in actions which destroy the foundations of our democracy and European cooperation. Democracy is being criticised, the need to introduce strong-arm rule is proclaimed, the European Union is being criticised, and nation states idealised, in particular the model of a culturally and ethnically homogenous nation. A return to the nation and a strong rule is meant to save us from the challenges of the 21st century.

Today, it has become a difficult task to build a positive and credible narrative about what we have and what we have achieved in Europe over the last decades: about peace within the European Union, about

well-being in comparison with people of other continents or with past times. Why is it so difficult to convince citizens to believe in a positive narrative about European integration, especially in Eastern Europe, in this part of the continent, which benefited so much from the process in the recent years?

I think that over the past two, maybe three, years, we have consciously found ourselves in the process which we recognised intellectually already 10 to 15 years ago – although it is one thing to recognise it and another to find oneself in the effects of the process. What do I mean? We are currently in the process of two transformations which took our societies by surprise. At the beginning of the 1990s, shortly after the collapse of the Soviet bloc, Jürgen Habermas wrote that the transformation in Central and Eastern Europe is a process of a delayed modernisation. Many European political scientists, philosophers and commentators shared this view at the time and expected that our part of Europe will repeat the economic and political processes of democratisation and welfare state building which took place after the war. Habermas irritated me a bit at the time, as I had the impression that there was a certain lack of interest in our revolutions behind his point. I had an impression that part of Western intellectuals thought that in fact the revolutions of the turn of the 1980s and 1990s do not constitute a fundamental change for the whole continent, will not bring any new experience to the political culture of Europe, and are not a civilizational breakthrough.

Thankfully, the theory of late modernisation, which incorporated Central and Eastern Europe to the West emerged at the beginning of the 1990s. It was not only the expression of the way of thinking of Western elites, as at the time many people in our part of the continent thought that the process of transformation rests on adaptation and the attempt to join Europe that is integrating and modernising. How long it will last and what methods should be used in modernisation efforts remained open questions. It turned out, however, that none of us realised the new civilizational process taking place before our eyes – that the revolutions of 1989–91 were accompanied by a radical and deep technological revolution.

TWO REVOLUTIONS

Preparing the exhibition at the European Solidarity Centre, looking at the dates of the revolution in the media sphere and public opinion,

we have noticed that they overlap with the dates we know well from our history. For instance, the summer of 1980 is an interesting date, the beginning of the Solidarity revolution. In June of that year, CNN began operating in Atlanta, the first TV channel which changed the media and public sphere not only in the United States, but also around the world in the decade of the Solidarity revolution. In January 1989, several days before the beginning of the Round Table proceedings, the international World Wide Web network was inaugurated. The Round Table radically sped up the collapse of communism, while the World Wide Web sped up the process of globalisation, deepened digital revolution and fundamentally changed the public sphere, the foundations of our democracy. The two revolutions overlapped, just like after 1789, when the Enlightenment revolution met the process of early industrialisation.

There is one more symbol of deep transformation. Many of us, Poles, know the photograph from January 1990, which depicts a woman painting a crown over eagle's head² on a shield with the Polish coat of arms. Thanks to the systemic changes, the name Polish People's Republic disappeared and we became a Republic. Not all of us are aware, however, that at the same time, when the name and the coat of arms of the country changed, Poland received a new online identity and its famous abbreviation ".pl". We did not realise that, but it turned out that we were the participants of a new double process.

A double revolution – the collapse of the Yalta order and communication revolution speeding up globalisation – led to deep changes in the whole continent. The economy and politics changed not only to the east of Elbe. Post-communist Europe was overtaken not only by a wave of democratisation, but also globalisation. So many changes at once became the real, unexpected challenge for Europeans. Some of them saw those changes as an opportunity, many as a threat to the world as they knew it. It seems to me that the root cause of the new crisis of European identity, the new wave of populism, is our mental, cultural and political lack of preparation for the double transformation.

DOES THE YOUNG GENERATION HAVE A PROBLEM WITH EUROPE?

In our public debates, we often encounter a theory that the young generation has a problem with Europe, does not understand the successes of transformation, demands even faster changes. Indeed, the



Photograph is displayed at the permanent ECS exhibition and in: "Permanent Exhibition of the European Solidarity Centre. A Catalogue", eds Paweł Golak, Basil Kerski, Konrad Knoch, Gdańsk 2014, s. 180–181.

generation of people born in or after 1989 who remember neither the catastrophic economic and social situation of late communism, nor the geopolitical conditioning of transformation has appeared on the political scene. I also have sons in this age and since a year I have been carefully listening to their conversations with their peers. Frankly speaking, I do not see any “problems with Europe” and fear among them. They feel that the world requires from them constant education and it is not easy for them to build their own vision of development, but from few of them I have heard populist comments about the European Union. I would even say that today the loudest anti-European voices, in which one can hear a dream of violence, fall out of the lips of representatives of the generation who lived through the 1989 revolution, and belonged to the winners of the process of changes in Europe over the past two decades – Cameron, Le Pen, Orbán... The claim that the younger generation has a “problem with Europe” is misguided.

We live in interesting times, as we have a choice. A number of very different political identities are offered to us. However, a worrying phenomenon is that there is an offer which talks about violence in an attractive way. I think that it is a new European disease. As a child, I experienced a bit of war, someone who at least touched it, does not dream of war as a solution to crises or a new beginning. It is baffling that these kind of dreams appear in culture, in journalism... These are not voices of twenty year olds, however. Is Jarosław Marek Rymkiewicz 20?

Today, it is clear that the 20- and 30-year olds enter the public sphere and want to play their part in it, but the process is taking place in the context of a new generational conflict. A significant problem of transformation in Poland was the fact that it did not succeed in passing the civilizational experience onto the youth. It results from the fact that the language of education in Poland is very authoritarian. A young person has to meet his mentor, a father figure and feel his inferiority in relation to them. We did not succeed in passing on historical competences to people who simply cannot know what Europe looked like before 1989. Many future commentators begin to rebel against it. They rebel against what the generation of transformation protagonists claimed to be their success, and a right order.

WE HAVE TO LOOK AROUND IN SEARCH FOR HOPE

We have to be careful not to close ourselves in the collective, self-perpetuating public debates. I do not call them “national” on purpose.

When I follow the reports of the Polish media, I have an impression that they create an artificial reality. One month ago I was at a congress of representatives of museums and institutions of culture from 49 European states, which took place on the occasion of European museum awards. The poorest institutions, which did not receive any awards convinced and impressed me most. The institutions from Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia and other countries in the region spoke about transformation combined with ideology of great hope, which was the method of old elites to find one's place in a new reality. Communism was replaced by national myths. The effect was a horrendous slaughter in the heart of Europe.

I spoke to my peers, Europeans from the post-Yugoslavian states, who live only several hundred kilometres away. This is a generation of young Europeans who experienced wars and bloody ethnic and religious conflicts. I was surprised to see how different our views are, but also how much freshness and enthusiasm for Europeans' collective action, for European integration and the will to confront the politics of hostility and nationalism they have. They had this belief which was characteristic for Polish oppositionists in the 1980s that the future is open that one can positively influence the political dynamics. The hope is in Europe, but one has to look around and not close themselves in their own national or group debates, complaining about the lack of European enthusiasm.

THE NEED FOR NEW ELITES

What may be the most difficult is the reconstruction of politics which deals with real challenges and is brave, as it realises that solutions that are long-sighted, good for our countries and societies can be unpopular today. Citizens trust brave politicians who offer seemingly unpopular solutions, peaceful actions and are able to build trust through dialogue with the citizens. Populism, loud rhetoric is not bravery, extensive party programmes often are not complex proposals to reform the state, and a good promotion is not a dialogue with the citizens. Today, European politics lacks bravery, reform proposals and a dialogue with the citizens focused on real challenges. The role of the elites is the protection of the peaceful language of dialogue, managing the public debate, so that it is a space for dispute about healing of our economy and democracy and not a scene to declaim populist views.

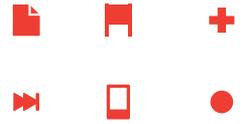




Urszula Doroszevska

A Polish sociologist, adviser to the president of the Republic of Poland and an opposition activist in the Polish People's Republic. From August 2006 she worked as an expert in the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland Lech Kaczyński, and from April 2007 as deputy director of the Foreign Affairs Office. She was ambassador to Georgia [2008–2013] and director of the Polish Institute in Minsk [2013–2015].

We came, we got to know each other, we became friends



Urszula Doroszevska

For the past several years I have been a state official, but from the beginning of the 1990s I have actively taken part in all actions organised by Poland in Ukraine, and other countries of the USSR, linked to our democratisation project. Since the beginning of the 1990s, mainly together with the Americans, the Polish governmental and non-governmental organisations have developed cooperation with the countries of the former USSR – Ukraine, the South Caucasus, Belarus.

Later on, this cooperation was closely connected with the European Union, and we tried to transfer this Western way of thinking about the state and democracy through different projects to the countries which freed themselves from the Soviet systemic model forever, as we believed at the time. Part of these countries' societies accepted it with enthusiasm. Polish people were often treated there as specialists in introducing systemic changes.

25 years have passed, and one begins to sum them up – what did we manage to achieve? We managed to do a lot, but not everything that we planned. The democratisation project, as we have seen, in many countries does not work, as we imagined, but a close cooperation with the neighbouring countries has brought us good neighbourhood. I think that it is our huge success that we are recognised and have an active cooperation with both Ukraine and Belarus, or the Kaliningrad region.

In principle, most Polish cities have partner cities in Ukraine and this exchange of thoughts, people and youth is developing. This is something that is of great importance to us – building stability in our part of Europe. The threat of instability, which we have observed in the recent months, is also a threat to our good relations with our neighbours. I am referring to the anti-Ukrainian hate or troll farms that we can find on the Internet. This is the Russian response to integration in our region. Of course, at the same time we have to mention our good cooperation with Russian intellectual circles, which are mentally close to us, such as Memorial.

In reality, the collapse of the Soviet Union meant for us the regaining our neighbours, as for years we were cut off from Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania and other countries. We did not know those societies, which could have led to hatred. For 25 years we managed to get to know each other. When the process began, we were going there and initiated certain activities, fearing that the stereotype of a Polish landlord is still alive there.

It turned out that it no longer exists. However, we made a huge effort to prevent the stereotype from returning. I think that thanks to the fact that from the very beginning we arrived there offering help and friendship, we were able to build our cooperation on that.







Wojciech Duda

A Polish historian, publicist and publisher. A co-founder of *Przeгляд Polityczny* and from 1991 the quarterly's editor-in-chief. He was an adviser to the deputy speaker of Sejm and Senate [1998–2006] and the principal adviser to prime ministers Donald Tusk and Ewa Kopacz [2007– 2015]. Co-author of a publication series *Once upon a time in Gdańsk* [*Był sobie Gdańsk*].

Faded generational experiences

Wojciech Duda



Speaking of a generational experience, I will refer to my own biography. For me, just like for some of those present here, 1989 was a constitutive experience for generational memory. Back then, this time was referred to as the People's Autumn. Timothy Garton Ash called the year "the year of miracles". Some saw in the events of that Autumn an imitation of the achievements of others, but for us, 1989 was the year of freedom, whose taste we discovered in 1980. I am recalling this experience because it illuminates the perspective on all the following years. The point of reference for this freedom was Europe. When we say that "the Polish path to Europe led through Berlin", what we have in mind is the great dream which came true in 2004, when our country joined the European Union. Today, this generational experience is fading. We live in post-traumatic times, in which we lost the memory of the sources of the trauma which marked the post-war epoch.

In May 2010, I participated in a very symbolic celebration, when the Polish Prime Minister [Donald Tusk – editor's note] was awarded the Charlemagne Prize. At the time, for the first time I had a chance to see how Europe can receive a Polish prime minister. The Polish prime minister was welcomed in Aachen by great and titled politicians, whose prominence is measured by their entries in encyclopaedia. I saw how they listened to him, with such an attention. At the same time, I remember the morning holy mass in the Aachen Cathedral, where Charle-

magne's grave is located. It was an absolutely symbolic thing and I have the impression that this type of emotions and images can constitute and renew the European thinking. We could hear a similar expectation in today's debates, especially when it was stressed that Polish *raison d'état* is rooted in Europe. We do not have any other point of reference.

The problem each generation is facing is connected with the polemical character of freedom. There is no chance to agree on what Europe is. However, if we are to constitute a community of European fate, I am convinced that the destiny of Poland is only Europe and the values that constitute it. We should treat them as absolutely primary, as there is no other form of democracy than one defined by the rule of law, constitutional tribunal, human rights and several other fantastic Western inventions that we had accepted as ours in 1989.

Today, we can draw optimism from common sense. Increasingly often I have the impression that the huge quantifier – generational experience – is exaggerating and generalising. Time suggests that there can be several points of view. This is characteristic for our times. The question about the future is a question about a common denominator. Can we find it?

We can observe two main threats. On the one hand, we can see a great need for radical hope, a belief that we can take over the future, shape it according to our expectations, namely make the perspective of bright tomorrow come true. But radical hope – no matter if in the right-wing or left-wing version – always ends with symbolic violence, and then with a real one. Therefore, I do not agree with the belief that we are thrown in the stream of time and are subjected to the power of fate, which leads us towards inevitable destruction. This is one of the most deceiving signs of a deep crisis, which we are observing today among a sizable part of public opinion. Public opinion is subject to a large influence of demagogues, who claim that one can wave away reality and put it under the political will of a charismatic leader. On the other hand, I can see the limitations of the language we use to describe the world. When we speak about contemporary reality, a number of analogies arise, we look for metaphors in order to familiarise ourselves and understand the changes taking place. Each of them without a doubt says a bit of truth about our situation. Someone says "Weimar", someone asks "how much fascism is in fascism", thinking about the reality behind the windows in Poland or Central Europe. We cannot name the experience we are part of, but the worse thing is giving in to mytho-

logical measures, as a consequence of which the reality is disappearing and the minds are governed by political myths.

Our time is not a time of big visions. When we look at the comprehensive projects of the 20th century, we see that there was a radical hope behind each of them, which means a radical change. Therefore, I would like to warn you against attempts to realise radical hope. The art of politics rests on taking responsibility for one's actions and searching for very complex and difficult answers.

During today's debate, we could vividly see a phenomenon, which today we refer to as five big crises of the European Union. Someone else can say, however, that indeed, there is such a phenomenon, but above all we are dealing with complex geopolitical and internal EU problems. Is that the end of the world as we know it? I believe that it is not, and that it will not happen.





Piotr Andrusieczko

A Polish ethnologist, political scientist, journalist and publicist, specialising in Ukraine. He is a regular contributor to *Nowa Europa Wschodnia* and editor-in-chief of *Ukraiński Żurnal* magazine published in Prague. Since December 2013 he has been reporting on the events in Ukraine for Polish media and in April 2014 he became *Gazeta Wyborcza*'s correspondent in Ukraine. He was awarded the title of "Journalist of the Year" in the Grand Press contest.



After the protests at Maidan, an incredible energy for action appeared in Ukraine, and its reservoir is still visible. I think that in a sense it inspired people also outside of Ukraine, but I do not know, how long it will hold out. Indeed, we have to do with a very difficult case. Ukraine found itself in a state of war, part of its territory was taken away and in addition, it is struggling with all the problems it struggled with before the war – changes, transformation, problems with identity and civil society – or even political nation-building, which has taken shape only now, and it was taking shape in very difficult circumstances.

Today the question of the need to enter into dialogue with Russia has been strongly emphasised. I, of course, just like all the commonsensical people, am in favour of dialogue and discussion, but I cannot find the answer to the question of what such a discussion should look like and with whom on the other side it should be carried out, as we have to do with aggressive actions and an aggressor who had taken part of foreign country's territory.

Perhaps my problem is based on the fact that in 1989 I was 18 and I remember quite well what the situation was like. I remember what the USSR was and what the geopolitics looked like... Perhaps my perspective is also distorted because of the fact that I pay more attention to what is happening in the East. I am more sensitive to that and I realise what contemporary Russia is and what

it offers to the world. I do not see too many positive aspects in the Russian vision.

At the same time, we do not realize that in the East people are watching us and in my opinion, their hopes are still connected with the European Union. However, I am observing worrying signals. There is a growing number of people in the Ukrainian young generation who are running out of patience. They still have hopes connected with the European Union, but they materialize them not through fighting for Europeization of Ukraine, but they simply leave for the European Union. We can see a growing number of young Ukrainians in our country. They do not want to go back, but instead they want to integrate into Polish society. This is a positive phenomenon for us, but a negative one for Ukraine. The country has faced the question of how Ukrainian society will develop further? In our conversations about Europe, therefore, we have to look at a wider context, paying attention to what hopes are connected with Europe beyond its borders.







EUROPA

Z WIDOKIEM NA PR. ZŁOŚĆ
EUROPE WITH A VIEW FUTURE
ЕВРОПА - СІМ ЧЕ



European union's neighbour- hood policy

PANEL IV

JAK ZMIENIŁA SIĘ POL
NA SKUTEK KONFLIKT
HOW HAS CHANGED T
DUE TO CONFLICTS IN

1 | Bennich-Rijörkman / Iris
Patrycja Sasnal / Łew Zach



Patrycja Sasnal

A Polish political scientist and publicist. She was a Fulbright Foundation fellow, a researcher associated with the American University in Beirut (Lebanon), and a student at Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris III in Paris. She has published on US and EU foreign policy in the Middle East, challenges of Arab states' transformations, and the Arab-Israeli conflict in *Al-Ahram*, *LeMonde.fr*, *EUObserver*, *Polityka* and *Gazeta Wyborcza*.

What is neighbourhood?

Patrycja Sasnal



I am professionally interested in Europe's southern neighbourhood. Recently, we have seen an increased interest in the southern states due to the events in the area. Earlier on, it was the East which was the priority. After the changes in Central-Eastern Europe and the collapse of the USSR, the most important event of the neighbourhood policy was the inclusion of the neighbouring states into the European Union, which eventually took place in 2004. At the time, the term "neighbourhood" referred to neighbours from the same apartment block – neighbours who are fundamentally similar, live in a similar surrounding, whose children go to the same school, are similarly rich or poor.

The politics of the common core, a common "apartment block", changed into the politics of buffer zone. Neighbourhood is understood as an in-between zone, which is meant to separate us from something "other", "foreign". This politics is followed by gradation of otherness. And it seems that this is what the neighbourhood policy is all about today. I have to refer to documents, although not to the documents of the European neighbourhood policy, but a global vision of Europe in general.

The first one of them comes from 2003 and it is the European Security Strategy of Javier Solana, which develops a theory that Europe's neighbourhood, so both the South and the East, are meant to be a belt of well-being and stability. Today, in 2016, this vision is changing, as Federica Mogherini announced the revision of the strategy and in June a new security strategy will be presented, in which neighbourhood will mean partnership. It means that the European Union will be cooperating with neighbourhood states on partnership basis.

It is meant to be based on five pillars: economic development and workplace creation, energy cooperation, security, common approach to the issue of migration and, finally, cooperation with the neighbours' neighbours, that is with all of those who are based outside of the buffer belt, such as Sub-Saharan Africa and Russia.

THE TRAP OF STABILISATION

What problems do I see with this conception? First, in Mogherini's speeches we read that again the aim will be stabilisation, but this time a multidimensional one – social and economic, and not only political, which was discussed earlier. There is a problem with the term "stabilisation". Often "stabilisation" means stagnation disguised as stabilisation. We could observe this phenomenon in the South on the example of Europe's policies towards the governments of Egypt, Tunisia or Libya. No matter what they were like, as long as there was no social unrest, it was fine. Stabilisation meant no changes and stillness. Meanwhile, in my opinion the word "stabilisation" is associated with a certain transience. In political science there are at least five definitions of "stabilisation". Three of them highlight the importance of society – all of us who provide this stabilisation, which means that stabilisation is guaranteed by agency and not the structure. Stabilisation is guaranteed by a certain kind of dynamics between the agency and structure.

The second problem connected with this policy is based on its lack of freshness, it somehow refreshes the old. It is believed that stabilisation will ensure security in Europe. Why do I think that this is a wrong approach? Because we did not do our internal European homework to begin a global European policy. There is not enough of the feeling of unity or common security inside of Europe and we would already like to begin working outside of our borders. We are an easy target to play when we are divided. Therefore, first of all: unity.

CHESS PLAYERS AND BOXERS

I wanted to mention two issues related to the behaviour of Russia and the European neighbourhood policy. Many people call for a dialogue with Russia, which may look as removing the blame from Russia for what is going on in some parts of the neighbourhood, and may prove to be a costly game, at least for the time being. Of course, there is a stereotype, not unfounded, about a Polish Russophobia and

clearly Western European thinking is inclining towards agreement, as dialogue is a value. Nevertheless, I think that in order to see the value of dialogue in dialogue itself, it is important that it is a value for both sides. It does not seem to me that the Russian side also sees it as valuable. Of course, we need to maintain relations with Russian society, but a dialogue with the authorities is extremely risky.

By the way, European countries and Europe as a whole resemble chess players surrounded by boxers. Russia is not the only boxer. Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Israel – this is a camp of boxers. They accept the primary value of hard power, and not soft power the whole Europe leads in. We live in our word of peace and dialogue, intellectual entertainment, healthy lifestyle, democratic elections. But as soon as Europe – those idealistic chess players surrounded by boxer states, leaves its territory, it falls victim of the boxers. We can imagine what happens in case of conflict between a chess player and a boxer: the chess player is defenceless, they simply get hit. What is the cure? Unfortunately, first we in Europe should learn to box in common, and teach the boxer to play chess. Maybe it is a too far-reaching metaphor, but I will give you one example on how the boxer beats the chess player. Our common value is community within the European Union and the imperfect, but still, the unity of values. The activities of Russia are aimed at maximal weakening of this unity. For example in Syria, Russia occupies the area in our closest neighbourhood, it can muddle in the migration crisis and heat up the terrorist threat. In Europe itself, Russian traces are seen in the attempts to weaken Chancellor Angela Merkel, Russian flags flutter at demonstrations of Pegida and other far right groups, Russian high officials make scandalous comments after the events in Cologne. These are the results of activities festering divisions within Europe. Refusing to see it, turning one's head away and joining the discussion table is not a serious approach, "the dog will always sense weakness and bite". As long as we do not show power, we cannot give away the field.

LET US NOT ABSOLUTIZE DIALOGUE

In the political science discourse we can observe the mythologization of dialogue. It is clear that there is a value in dialogue. Philosophy even talks about dialogue as "me" relational towards the other person, as something as primal as subject and object and at the same time very peculiar. However, it is important what stands behind a dialogue. Therefore, in political science there is a distinction that

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We can imagine what happens in case of conflict between a chess player and a boxer: the chess player is defenceless, they simply get hit. What is the cure? Unfortunately, first we in Europe should learn to box in common, and teach the boxer to play chess.

government-government relations are one type of dialogue, while “second gear diplomacy” or “public diplomacy” government-society or society-society are different levels of dialogue. If we talk about government-government dialogue, we have to know what kind of governments we are dealing with. This refers to Russia, Egypt, Algeria, China and any other country. We happily still live in European Union democracies, where in most part there is no big difference between society and the government. They are representative. But if we talk about other states, they are often non-representative, and even when this is not the case, they represent values, which we do not agree with.

Today, there are three huge hotspots: the Middle East, Russian policy towards Ukraine and South China Sea. Out of the three, two are in our immediate surrounding. If we, as Europe, do not realise that we are in extreme danger and should unite immediately, aim at greater integration, create a European army and aim for unity instead of divisions, we will perish. It will turn out that we are an aberration in history and peace in Europe – only a post-war prank.





Volodymyr Pavliv

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Ukraine - an irritating, but harmless neighbour



At first, I would like to say that Mister Consul General is obliged to speak well of our country, but I, as a journalist, do not. For that reason I will allow myself to make several remarks unpleasant for Ukraine, although deliberately controversial.

First, when we speak of neighbourhood, we have to ask ourselves: what kind of neighbour Ukraine has been for the European Union and Poland over the last 25 years of its existence? Let us put it straight – it was an irritating, but harmless neighbour. A neighbour who did not know if they prefer to follow the West or the East, who did not know if they want democracy or not. And everything was fine and could have lasted for a long time, but all of a sudden this country, or the events in the country, became a problem for the whole European Union and more widely – for the whole Europe. Why? Theoretically, Putin's Russia is to blame. However, I would not agree with this. The success of Putin's Russia in Ukraine over the past two years was first of all the result of the inept state governance by all the elites from the independence era, starting with Kravchuk and Kuchma, to Yushchenko and Yanukovych. Second, how can one speak of neighbourhood between the EU and Ukraine, if Ukraine itself cannot be a good neighbour? Over the past 25 years it was a good neighbour neither for the European Union, nor for Russia. Third, how can the external neighbourhood issue be regulated if we have a huge problem with the neighbours from Donetsk from the part outside of Kyiv's control, as well as the one which we do control? Not to mention Crimea. These are issues which have not been resolved over the past 25 years. Ukrainian intellectuals have always said that those regions of Ukraine which came to form one state, and which for centuries were part of other, often mutually

hostile, empires, cannot be mechanically connected just like that. There has to be a national discussion on the basis on which people from Donetsk and Lviv can live together in one state. Such a discussion never took place and this partly led to the events we are now observing. What is worse, the discussion is still absent in Ukraine.

Ukraine has been this kind of neighbour, but what kind of neighbour it can become? As a journalist with 20 years of experience I am shocked that in the post-Maidan Ukraine for the first time journalists are in prison. Not for actions hostile towards the state, but for voicing opinions, which the Ukrainian state has doomed hostile! There was no such situation under Yanukovych, Kuchma or Yushchenko. The second issue which frightens me are the paramilitary organisations, which have suddenly become military organisations. I mean the volunteer battalions. They are armed to the teeth groups, I know their members as people of nationalist, neo-Nazi views, and sometimes even racist. According to various data, there are about four million weapons in possession of people in Ukraine.

One more very important issue – if we look at the contemporary political scene of Ukraine, we will notice that there is no left. There is no communist party, there is no socialist party, left-wing youth organisations were crushed by the right-wing militia... Is that a state? If someone gets to power through events, God forbid radical ones, in the near future, these will be right-wing forces. Not only right-wing in a political sense, but also nationalist. Can such a country really be a good neighbour for the European Union? In know I am exaggerating. This is the job of a journalist. However, I am observing it with dismay.

ON THE WAY TO DEMOCRATISATION?

With Mister Lev Zakharchyshyn we have known each other for longer than the independent Ukrainian state exists. Together we worked in anti-communist youth organizations in Lviv. Now, I am the employee of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, I am a believer. Moreover, in my publications one can find plenty of Russophobic content. I am not a representative of the left. I am just concerned that there is no balance on the Ukrainian political scene, which from my point of view is very dangerous. All the controversial points I have made had two purposes. The first one was for us all to understand that Ukraine will

be unable to organise an honest and effective dialogue with Russia, as long as it does not begin an intra-national, intra-state dialogue with various groups, from various Ukrainian regions. And that is impossible without decentralisation, delegating vast powers from the capital to the regions. Now every such initiative is seen as treason and condemned as separatism. Therefore there is no possibility to even discuss the issue.

The second reason why I said it all is that I would like the building of politics of good neighbourhood between the European Union and Ukraine not to be treated mechanically and instrumentally, but as a support for the legitimate authorities in Ukraine. If the EU supports legal authorities in Ukraine, one has to ask the question of who is the legal authority in Ukraine? These are oligarchic clans. And if it is oligarchic clans indeed, they only care about their own interest, they will use right-wing movements and radical militia to crash the remnants of democracy. Even if the discussion is about such straightforward topics as freedom of speech, or the right to decide about local issues by local government. Even that is no longer allowed, as it is immediately being condemned by central media as a reflection of separatism. From the beginning people in balaclavas and camouflage have been present at such conferences saying: No, this is treason, off you go! No discussion! There are several such examples.

I only wanted to point out that no state should be treated like a disabled child and helped like a child. It has to be dealt with like an adult. Helped where the help brings results, and not supported where it does harm.

IF WE CANNOT FIGHT, WE HAVE TO TALK

I would very much like to be an uncritical patriot. It is nice, safe, everyone thinks this way, but under the condition that Ukraine is able to militarily defeat Russia. Can it? No! If we talk about boxers and chess players, who is supposed to be the boxer on the Ukrainian side? The European Union? Do you want to fight against Russia? The Americans are also not eager. And if there is no second boxer, it means that we have to talk. And how the dialogue can be constructed if the Ukrainian side – which is a weaker side in comparison with Russia, as it is a corrupt country without a unified nation – always begins with accusations that Putin and Russians had invaded us? Even if this is true, we have to start with acknowledging our own sins.

As both Moscow and Kyiv are equally responsible for what happened in Crimea and Donbas. In order to have a dialogue, Kyiv should acknowledge its fault. If it could be solved with force, I would not be proposing dialogue, which will be long and humiliating. But if we cannot fight, we have to talk.





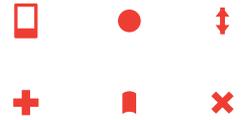


Lev Zakharchyshyn

A Ukrainian diplomat, politician, local government official, social activist, entrepreneur. He is Consul General of Ukraine in Gdańsk. In the past he was the head of Towarzystwo Lwa [Lion's Association] (1989–1990) – one of the first independent socio-cultural Ukrainian organisations, deputy head of the Lviv Oblast Council (2006–2008), and director of the Department of International Cooperation and Tourism at the Lviv Oblast' state administration (2009–2015).

Ukraine is not a neighbour, but a relative

Lev Zakharchyshyn



In my opinion, the ineffectiveness of neighbourhood policy derives from the fact that it was built in a very schematic way. The idea was to draw a ring around the European Union, invest money there, gain loyalty of the regimes which would protect the European Union. But from what? This is what the discussion not only within the EU is all about – what the neighbourhood policy should protect the community from?

The European Union is not only not equivalent with the European continent, but it is also not synonymous with the European civilisation. The United States, Canada, Australia and other countries which came out of this civilisation are part of it. What do they all have in common? In my opinion, three basic elements: Greek democracy, Roman law and Christian ethics.

We can dispute different things, but what is not a matter of discussion is that the three elements laid the grounds for the European civilisation. This is how we should look at neighbourhood policy – what countries are next to us. If we talk about Ukraine, I am certain that it also belongs to the European civilisation. It is not a member of the European Union, but it is a European country. The events which took place at Maidan in 2005 and 2013 are the confirmation of the fact that the country is guided by the three European values, which connects it with the European civilisation. In this case it is difficult to talk about neighbourhood policy, as it is rather a sort of distant relative, than a neighbour. Ukrainians did not come from a remote planet or continent, but grew up here. The tragedy that Ukraine is going through is not only a Ukrainian

tragedy, but a European one. Russia did not invade Ukraine, but the European Union and the European civilisation, and we have to talk about it openly. Ukraine is shedding the blood of its soldiers not only in the east of the country, but also in the east of the European civilisation.

EUROPE NEEDS UKRAINE

In my opinion, the biggest mistake of the neighbourhood policy was the schematic approach – all countries around the European Union were lumped together. Whether they were Eastern European, Southern European or North African countries. It was a very political scheme, not one based on history and real analysis. The situation drastically changed after the Second World War, as the USSR acquired nuclear weapons and the balance of power in the world changed.

Now, we have new global leaders – India, China... Now the European Union has to consider not only how to maintain what it has, but also how to survive the rivalry against other values. In this regard, Ukraine is one of the strategic elements of European identity and civilisation. In various respects we can talk about pragmatic considerations. Not only values form EU policy, but also interests. Ukraine in this regard is a big European country – around 50 million citizens – with quite well-educated and culturally developed society that Europe may need even more than Ukraine needs Europe. The number of Ukrainians who go to Poland for work is not without a reason. There is a need for labour. Demography, however, is only one issue.

RUSSIA TOWARDS EUROPE

The last issue that I would like to mention is the Russian question. What about Russia? This question is constantly hanging in the air. I think that Russia does not belong to the European civilisation, although in the 18th and 19th century it indeed aimed to be part of it. When Russia was a monarchy, there was a chance for its accession to the European civilisation. The Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, Putin's regime and what is currently happening in Russia are the symptoms of the failure of this model. I do not want to deprive Russia of the chance to be a member of the European civilisation, but I observe that neither Greek democracy, nor Roman law or Christian values are present in Russia. I think that this is a diagnosis we have to rely on. For the European civilisation and the European Union Russia is a competitor and an aggressive one, in possession of nuclear weapons and having territorial claims also in relation to the European Union.

What is the difference between Ukraine and Russia? First, when the government in Ukraine made a decision the society did not agree with, a million people took to the central square of the capital to protest. In Russia it is currently impossible. Different polls suggest that over 80 per cent of the society support government's policy. Russians like this politics.

Second, one of the biggest crises of the European Union is connected with internal tendencies that are gaining ground in Europe. If we look closely what stands behind them, it will turn out that it is Russia. Why do national ideas are currently so popular in the European Union? I think that one of the objective reasons is that for 70 years Europe did not experience war. A generation grew up which does not know what war is. Such an illusion of national power and the sense of being better, soft nationalism, which can turn into hard nationalism, come from the fact that people do not understand how costly war can be. I think that Europe needs to launch a special education programme, so that every child, every politician and every citizen of the European Union visits Majdanek, Auschwitz and other creations of war to learn about the price of radical nationalisms.

The third thing is: in Ukraine, like everywhere, there exist radical and nationalist currents. However, they do not enjoy popular support, as the Ukrainian society knows what war is and fears it. We know war not from the TV or books, but from everyday life. That is why in the last election the representatives of radical parties received less than 1 per cent of the vote. One of the leaders of the Right Sector received less votes than the leader of the Jewish community in Ukraine. That is why the myth of organic Ukrainian anti-Semitism does not stand up to scrutiny.

We should pose the most important question that the European Union, including Poland, has to answer: what are we going to do about the processes from within – Brexit and others? There is an ongoing war. A war on different levels – political, military, informational. These tendencies from within are one of the elements of the war and someone tries really hard to crash and tear Europe, so that nationalist regimes succeed there. Then we will return to the point where the European Union began. We can lose one of the most important features of united Europe – the ability to prevent war. That is why there is a need to focus on preventing the scenario.

TO TALK OR NOT TO TALK?

I am a strong supporter of dialogue. However, dialogue is when a chess player plays against a chess player, and a boxer against a boxer. When a boxer and a chess player meet on a ring, this is called banditry. I am a supporter of dialogue, but when it is based on rules. The regional council of Venice made a decision to recognise Crimea as part of Russia. And this bears a question for the European Union about the consistency of its foreign policy, about what is happening within its borders? The European Union has to respond to the challenge of building European foreign policy.

The European Union could have approached the Russian aggression against Ukraine very liberally. But it currently has to look at the problem in a different way, so that there is a chess player behind a table and a boxer on the ring. I am a supporter of dialogue, but an effective one.





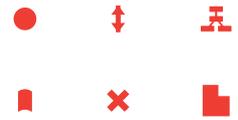


Li Bennich-Björkman

A Swedish professor of political science at Uppsala University, an expert in political developments in post-Communist Europe and the post-Soviet space. The head of the Johan Skytte Prize Committee, known as the “political Nobel Prize”. Since 2010 she has been research director at the Uppsala Centre for Russian and Eurasian Studies. She is a member of the prestigious Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences.

An uncertain future of the European partnership

Li Bennich-Björkman



The fight for geopolitical space of the Eastern Partnership countries has dramatically intensified. One of the most awaited changes which should be mentioned is the similarity of views of many “liberals” and thickheads in Russia when it comes to Eastern Partnership and the future cooperation with the European Union. It leads to the conclusion that an important part of Russia’s political elite currently shares the opinion that Eastern Partnership is a tool used by the West against Russia. At the same time, the Kremlin openly declares that it would not falter to use force in defence of its sphere of interests. It creates a completely new geopolitical context for the Eastern Partnership, which would be difficult to compare to earlier differences in opinions in relation to the programme with Russia or even the pressure exerted on the Eastern Partnership states by Russia in 2013.

THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

The European Union was founded in order to promote peace between member states. Today, however, the EU is increasingly active in the area of trade, diplomacy, development, defence, humanitarian and consular aid as well as civil and military crisis management. Over a decade since the inauguration of the European Neighbourhood

Policy programme, we need technical knowledge about European structures and the drivers of the EU in terms of cooperation, intervention and support for reform outside of its borders. The still limited knowledge on the factors influencing the actions of the European Union contributes to the fact that until now it has been difficult to design reforms which could increase Eastern Partnership's effectiveness.

ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK?

Research shows that EU enlargement, neighbourhood policy and Eastern Partnership in large part are a mosaic created mainly in response to events and expectations. The EU enlargement at the beginning of the 21st century is possibly the best example of a successful promotion of EU minority rights, crisis management and good governance practices among decision makers who previously did not belong to transnational communities of practitioners. However, the attempts to promote the practices of the European security community in the Balkans in the 1990s failed. The European conflict prevention practices outside of the EU did not prevent the outbreak of the war and violence and did not find application in the civil war situation in the region. The EU practice of peaceful conflict resolution was not deemed effective by transnational aid, diplomatic and military communities. The EU failed also in the area of promoting of diplomatic practices and peace building in Russia, as it was unable to influence the change of Russian practice of using the politics of force.

DIPLOMATIC PRACTICES AND CRISIS MANAGEMENT

The failure in the Balkans helped to build competences of EU representatives and contributed to the emergence of a new field of work in the EU: diplomatic and crisis management practices. In 1999, in order to act in accordance with the rules of the international aid, diplomatic and crisis management communities, the EU elaborated the European Security and Defence Policy. In many Balkan countries crisis management operations were closely linked to other support tools provided by the European Union, thanks to which they functioned as transitional instruments between stabilisation and integration. Connecting many different European practices in the Balkan states facilitated the beginning of reform which constituted the first step on the way to full membership.

POST-SOVIET DEPENDENCIES

Why do post-Soviet states, which today are members of the Eastern Partnership, are still so connected with Russia and the community it represents, even 25 years after the collapse of the Soviet Union? In order to understand the difficulties the six Partnership countries are facing, one should acknowledge the differences in historical contexts and similarities in the totalitarianism's legacy and the attitude toward the former colonial power of Russia. These factors constitute basic obstacles for the EU's ability to influence change in practices [and values] of Eastern Partnership's countries and the region. When the Soviet Union's decline began, difficulties emerged even though the "national question" was the recurrent problem over the whole period of its existence. The conflicts which erupted for local reasons, turned into international or regionalised disputes and there is a growing risk of their internationalisation. Connections or even interdependencies between conflicts in the Eastern Partnership region are increasingly apparent, demonstrate the weakness of the region and the need to take a closer look not only at the relations between the EU, the Eastern Partnership countries and Russia when it comes to conflict, but also how the micro-dynamics of violence influences the formation of conflict models. The legacy of tsarist Russia, together with the Soviet national policy [the purposeful re-drawing of borders in Soviet times], the temporary period of increased uncertainty – and even the chaos of the late 1980s and the post-Soviet reconfiguration, which also included new international actors, have highly complicated those conflicts.

THE MEANING OF MENTALITY

Since mentality constitutes the basis for action and agency not only among the elites, there is a pressing need to better understand it. Although the development of the political situation within Eastern Partnership countries has a singular character, the geopolitical choice between Russia and the EU is the key in all instances.

More importantly, the priorities of the majority of those states are clear. Georgia, for instance, clearly flagged its intention to join the EU and Armenia, in contrast, declared the accession to Customs Union. There is some evidence to claim that the declared and perceived EU values are not universally attractive. The European Union should understand and appreciate the competing values and norms systems

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The EU practice of peaceful conflict resolution was not doomed effective by transnational aid, diplomatic and military communities.

in order to successfully deal with the problems in the ongoing public diplomacy initiatives.

A CONSTANT CHANGE

The attitudes in the Partnership countries are uniform neither among the general population, nor among the political, cultural and business elites. Moreover, as data suggest, the level of knowledge on the real possibilities and challenges, benefits and threats connected with the choice between Russia and the EU and – generally speaking – the challenges concerning security which influence the subjective and objective levels of threat, is very low. The Eastern Partnership is currently in the state of constant change. The matter of highest importance is that it does not stay this way, that it is revitalised so that real support can be provided, especially to these three countries which signed the association agreement: Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova.







25 Years of the polish-german treaty



Jan Krzysztof Bielecki

A Polish politician, economist and opposition activist in the Polish People's Republic. He is Knight of the Order of the White Eagle, the oldest and highest Polish order, former prime minister of Poland (1991), minister for European integration (1992), and member of the Council of Ministers for relations with the European Economic Community (1992–1993). A former member of parliament, head of the board of Pekao Bank (2003–2010), and the head of the Economic Council to the Prime Minister of Poland (2010–2015).

To recognise a partner

Jan Krzysztof Bielecki



My first meeting with the then chancellor of Germany, Helmut Kohl, took place on 17 June 1991. What was telling, instead of an hour, as planned, the meeting took 1.5 hours, which apparently meant that it was a good conversation. Frankly speaking, it was, nevertheless, above all a difficult meeting. Already at the time, we began to define the essence and meaning of good neighbourly relations. We spoke through interpreters, which always takes a long time, and what I was mostly concerned with was to quickly explain my position. Apart from the “Treaty of Good Neighbourship and Friendly Cooperation” we had one more big common problem, the issue of the Soviet Union.

It was about the withdrawal of the Soviet army from Germany and Poland and how the 300,000 soldiers can be transported to their homeland. Us, Poles, had an impression that Germans discuss the issue, which could not have been solved without us, directly with Russians. This part of the conversation is mentioned in the autobiography of the chancellor, although only part of it. As I did not want to be too unceremonious, I did not say that “since you, Mister chancellor, say that we are now building a new quality in our relations and everything is going to be beautiful from now on, then why are you putting me in such a difficult situation?” In order to use a more diplomatic language, I said: “Here is the big Soviet Union, here is the big united Germany, and in between, there is a small Poland. I am sitting in Poland, looking in the sky, and on the sky there are planes flying from Bonn to Moscow”. Thus, somehow above the Polish heads, Germans and Russians are debating, saying: “these soldiers will pass Poland using this route, and the others that route”. I therefore asked, is this

good neighbourship? And the chancellor replied that he understands what I mean, highlighting that “from the German perspective it looks as if there was a big France, and a big Poland and in between there is a small Germany, and you are flying to this Europe above Germany”. This was true in a sense, as Tadeusz Mazowiecki said that the way to Europe leads through Paris. It was a right strategy, but it assumed this jump over Germany. Unfortunately, Helmut Kohl’s autobiography only refers to this part of the conversation where the chancellor explains to me that if we want to join Europe, we have to acknowledge Germany on the way, but my observation which began the discussion was not included. My message was that if we are to be good partners, we have to talk with each other. In Poland we were also unable to do so, but the younger generation thought that we cannot put the Soviet Union and Germany on one scale as equal partners. For us, Germany was a democratic, European country, and the USSR was a Soviet empire.

BECOME PART OF THE EUROPEAN CLUB

In 1991 we managed to finalize several issues on the international arena. However, the basic thing was that we found partners for cooperation in the region, whose purpose was European integration. To put it shortly, the situation was the following: Hungary would not sit with us at one table if the purpose of regional cooperation was not European integration. The same was the case with Czechs and Slovaks and that is what we wrote down *expressis verbis* in the Visegrad treaty in February 1991. At the time, Visegrad was an instrument of regional cooperation whose goal was European integration for all of us.

Then in April we signed a treaty with France, about which we could say that it was beautiful in form and weak in content. The treaty referred to *Amitie et Solidarite* [“friendship and solidarity” in French], but its body did not include many concrete points. Even the support for our aspiration to join the EU was not as strongly highlighted as it was in the Polish–German treaty, which in the end was only referring to good neighbourship and cooperation.

The main goal of Poland at the time was to get out of the buffer zone between the USSR and Europe. We simply wanted to get to the European club and become its member.

THE NEW EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURE

The 21st century is a different story – Poland is not only a member of the European club, but it is becoming its valuable part. This is a fundamental difference. Poland is not located in the buffer zone, is not a worse participant, which still asks for a lot and cannot give much, but an important player of the club, which in addition has quite clear views when it comes to its organisation. We are missing people like Helmut Kohl in this club a bit. He deserves a lot of appreciation for his ideas about the so-called European architecture. He was a man defined by his actions, not only words.

On 16 December, Wilfried Martens, Kohl's close friend and a long term prime minister of Belgium, was celebrating his birthday. Kohl decided to organise a birthday surprise for him. There were three of us – Kohl, Martens and me. When I came to the restaurant, it turned out that the personal chef of the chancellor prepared "a few" dishes. They served *Deutsche wurst* [German sausage] for a starter, after which I was barely alive, and that was only the beginning. After the main course and a bottle of champagne in honour of the birthday person, the chancellor, who was in excellent mood, set out his view of Europe. Interestingly, we conducted our dialogue in a certain type of Esperanto – in a mixture of German, French and English. The chancellor clearly stated that Poland has to become part of the European Communities and, what surprised me most, that Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have a chance for a quick opening of accession negotiations.

Let us remember that the conversation was held in December 1991, several months earlier the Yanayev putsch took place, and then we, as the first ones in the world, recognised the independence of Ukraine... In this moment Kohl says: "In Europe, the architecture is very simple. Poland must be a full member of Europe, but we also have to try to sign association agreements with the Baltic states". I replied that only two weeks ago they were part of the USSR! To which he replied, specifying: "No, we are not talking about membership. Maybe in 10-20 years – but they have to be associated".

Why did this vision of the European architecture sound so surprising at the time? Back in the day Poland had just signed the European treaty, establishing the association between our country and the European Community. Despite the efforts of the Polish side, we only

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although we talk about the European values, we have a problem outlining even a few fundamentals of our vision.

managed to include in the document that Poland's membership in the European Community is our goal and not the goal of both sides. Only three years later an official confirmation followed that it is a mutual aspiration. This dinner was the capstone of our cooperation in that period, but I discovered Helmut Kohl's visionary abilities much earlier.

At that time, we encountered the chancellor's well-wishing towards Poland on a number of occasions. Lifting visas for Poles entering Germany in April 1991 was an important moment. It was the first European freedom we experienced in a very tangible way.

We also managed to make an extremely fast decision about compensations for people mostly affected by the Second World War – the victims of medical experiments conducted in concentration camps.

I realised the significance of the chancellor's role for the Polish-German relations, unfortunately in the most painful way, a few years later thanks to the then secretary general of CDU. In one of our conversations he said that our privileged position in relations with Germany derives from the particular views of Helmut Kohl, who apart from the sympathy towards us is also full of guilt for the atrocities of the Second World War. He also added: "As soon as the chancellor in the person of Helmut Kohl is gone, this relationship is going to be based on a usual interstate game of interests. For the next chancellor, a representative of the next generation, the issue of the past will not play such a big role, as it will not be so closely connected with the personal experiences of that person."

He had his vision of the European architecture and he realised that Europe has its borders, but there are many countries within them. For him, such issues as the European architecture, unification of Europe, common values – were not only topics for speeches. He lived according to his beliefs from the morning till the night and materialized these visions successfully every day with full determination.

Today it looks worse, as although we talk about the European values, we have a problem outlining even a few fundamentals of our vision.





Sebastian Płóciennik

A Polish economist, lawyer and the head of the European Union programme at the Polish Institute of Foreign Affairs. A member of the permanent council at the Polish-German forum. He researches German economy and its role in economic integration processes in Europe. He worked in the Willy Brandt German and European Studies Centre in Wrocław and the Institute of International Studies at the University of Wrocław.

The social and political capital built over the years in paying off

Sebastian Płóciennik



In the 1990s I was part of a generation, which today is fondly referred to as “gimbaza” [a pejorative term for middle school pupils]. Teenagers at the time thought that democratisation and Europeanisation process that reconciliation was part of, and that was created by the architects of the Polish-German Treaty of Good Neighbourship and Friendly Cooperation, was already preordained, of course in a positive sense. It was believed that the powers pushing us in this direction were too strong for anything to be able to confront them.

It turned out, however, that this image was too optimistic. The process was much more complicated, it included many unknowns, risks and threats. In other words – nothing was preordained.

What brought me to this conclusion was not really the discourse of reconciliation in Poland and Germany, but an example from a rather different field – economy. At the beginning of the 1990s, thus around the same time, Poland made an attempt to reduce its debts. Jeffrey Sachs, who supported the Polish delegation, mentioned that the German side did not want to agree for the reduction of debts for a long time and relented as the last one. The Federal Republic of Germany [FRG] protected its economic interests and the rule that dues have

to be paid back in full. Sachs claims that we owe him the concession, as he went to the Library of US Congress, from where he took an agreement from 1953 on the reduction of German debts which he showed to the German delegation. Thereby he showed the FRG representatives that they are facing a historical moment, the same one Germany faced a few decades earlier. But it was very close to not signing the agreement.

I have brought this up to show how difficult the talks and negotiations that were meant to facilitate democracy, transformation and Europeanisation in Poland were. I can only imagine that the negotiations before the Treaty of Good Neighbourship and Friendly Cooperation [1991] were equally difficult.

POLAND AND GERMANY CAN CHANGED THE EUROPEAN UNION TOGETHER

How important is Germany for Poland today? This is a question which can be answered shortly: it is hard to overrate its importance. One can cite lots of economic data, the 30 per cent export dependency etc. But what also matters, or maybe above all, is Germany's role in Europe.

In recent years, Germany became a country, which is widely referred to as a leader in Europe. The situation, however, is a bit paradoxical, as not only Europe does not want to accept the German leadership, but also Germany does not want to be the leader. It partly explains the weakness of the European Union, which drifts from one crisis to another. For Poland, the crucial thing is for this drift not to lead to the emergence two-speed Europe – integration circles, which would be closed and which would divide member states into “better” and “worse”.

I am being careful when it comes to claims that a multi-speed Europe is inevitable and that the fears are exaggerated, as it will always be open. The crises which are currently afflicting the European Union are unprecedented and have an enormous damaging power. We do not know what the consequences of the referendum in the United Kingdom will be, we do not know what sort of powers it will release. We also do not know what will happen after the next election in France.

That is why it is so important for Poland to convince Germany to share its point of view, even if it will not belong to the Eurozone and will not support political integration. In the interest of both countries is for the European Union to support "open avant-garde": some countries – if they wish to – could deepen integration, but with the door to it wide open. Thanks to such a structure, the EU could be – to use a term created by an American economist Nassim Nicholas Taleb – anti-fragile. The fragile ones have a tight-knit structure, are "hard", but under the influence of strong stress they fracture. The anti-fragile ones adjust to the changing situation and flexibly respond to pressure. Between Poland and Germany there should be a discussion on how to make the European Union an anti-fragile structure. This is a material for a new community of interests.

VISION CONNECTS US

Over the past two months, in the Polish Institute for International Affairs we have been researching the visions of Europe in the five biggest countries of the European Union which will stay in the community after the possible Brexit. We wanted to find out what they will be aiming for: will they seek to maintain close relations with the United Kingdom and thereby follow a vision of wider Europe, or will they rather try to use this moment to build its hard core? What motivated the writing of this report were the concerns that some states would support the idea of a closed core – an exclusive "avant-garde" which would allow for greater independence of a chosen group of countries, also when it comes to their policies towards Russia or the US, and for cohesive economic policy. We studied those preferences and noticed a large convergence of views between Poland and Germany. Despite the differences we are discussing.

In the German integration policy it is worth to look at the priority of goals. Germany on the one hand is interested in the political deepening of integration so that Europe constitutes an effective and efficiently operating organisation. This efficiency is crucial. Its lack causes the decline in support for the European Union and plunges it in crises, as it is unable to quickly make efficient decisions. This is slowly changing, which we can see from the example of the refugee crisis. At the same time, for Germany it is important that integration is wide. The sources of this approach can be found in the first years of integration, when enlargement was meant to enable future unification.

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K. Szymański,
Let's save Europe
with the Germans,
interviewers:
J. Bielecki,
J. Haszczyński, rp.pl,
18.05.2016 [online],
<http://www.rp.pl/Rozmowy-czwartkowe/305189871-Ratujmy-z-Niemcami-Europe.html#ap-1>
[dostęp: 15.03.2017].

This way of thinking – about the benefits of open, large Europe – is still present in Germany.

Such a broad perspective is, of course, in the interest of Poland, also for economic reasons. Poland prefers the European market and open rules, instead of interventionism or protectionism. Therefore it sees Britons as its allies and for that reason is so anxious about the possible Brexit. Germans who will not accept a simple etatism and interventionism in the economic policy of the European Union think in a similar way. Here comes the community of interests of our countries. Even Minister Konrad Szymański mentioned this in his interview for *Rzeczpospolita* titled “Let’s save Europe with the Germans”³. This is the first signal from the government that it imagines strategic actions for the future of integration above all with the Germans.

TALK DESPITE THE DIFFERENCES

When it comes to the current Polish-German relations, we may be stuck in the trap of being accustomed to spectacular events and the conviction that it can only get better. In economy, there is a sad law of diminishing marginal utility, which can be applied to this situation. When we learn to swim, on the first day we swim for ten meters, and the next day 30 meters: the progress is incredible. Later on, however, even though we are increasingly efficient, the growth of effectiveness is not as high any more. Perhaps we have already reached a similar level in Polish-German relations following our accession to the European Union. Our relations are very intense, but we should not expect any major changes or spectacular breakthroughs.

It raises the question: what to do with this normality? Where to look for new inspirations? In 2011 a government document was released which described in detail the ideas on how to intensify our cooperation in a number of areas. We should realise that there will be areas in which our views will differ or in which we will not be interested to the same extent. I will give three examples.

First of all – the economy. Above all, Germans are interested in the Eurozone and its condition. Poland is not concerned with it to the same degree, as in the foreseeable future it is not planning to join the single currency zone. However, it is interested in the issue of the so-called trap of middle incomes, that is how to stimulate innovation and depart from the model of low labour costs.

Another area is energy policy. Germany wants *Energiewende*, to finish the great revolution. This partly explains the willingness to deepen gas relations with Russia. This perspective is unacceptable in Poland. A full energy independence is more widely discussed.

The third element is security policy. For example, we focus on deterring Russia. Germany, however, thinks that too much emphasis on deterrence precludes dialogue, which in longer term will be inevitable for normalisation of relations with Russia.

We have to talk about each one of these issues, share our perspectives, experiences, doubts and search for consensus. I think that we are on a good way. The social and political capital built over the years is paying off.



**Markus Meckel**

A German theologian and politician (SPD) involved in European politics. His main area of interest are Polish-German relations. He is the head of the Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge e.V. – an association looking after the graves of German victims of war and tyranny outside of Germany. He was the penultimate minister of foreign affairs of the German Democratic Republic.

We took the Round Table ideas from Poland



Markus Meckel

That evening I was in Magdeburg, where I used to live. I headed an ecumenical meeting in church. I saw the falling Berlin Wall on TV and unlike the majority of people in the world, I was not too happy. The first sentence I said to my wife was: "Now it will be more difficult". Two days earlier, on 7 November 1989, we founded the Social Democratic Party [SPD] in East Germany.

Then came the triumph. We experienced it in Magdeburg and in Leipzig... There were no shots and in the end we were praying, celebrating. One young man said: "I hope that I will not meet my father today", his father was a military man. His prayer was heard. Ever since we have known that we can win with democracy.

Democracy came first and it became clear that the existence of two democratic German states divided by a wall was insane.

Democracy first. The unification had to be negotiated. But who could have negotiated for East Germany if not a government chosen in free elections – a free and sovereignly chosen path of East Germany towards unification.

The demolition of the wall on 9 November meant unification. We began our Round Table, which we took from Poland, as this is what people aimed for. It is important to realise that it was a comprehensive process.

In speeches you usually hear about the collapse of the wall and how professional politicians from the West came to us to sort things out.

This is not a truthful image, as it does not show the most important beginning, which was the Round Table.

The 9 November resembles the storming of the Bastille it is a European revolution. It is a symbol of changes we achieved together with the help of Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and the democrats from the former Eastern bloc.

I think that in Europe we still have a lot to learn about our common memory. Now, it is time to bring the victory of freedom into practice, which should lead to the reunification of Europe.

In the 1990s it was hard to convince western European politicians to support the enlargement of the European Union with new countries. It can be seen from the backstage of Gerhard Schröder's first visit to Poland in the 1990s. There were some doubts – will Germany continue supporting the integration of Poland? Many people tried to convince Schröder that our message should be: "We want Poland to be part of Europe".

This is a question to Poland of whether it will stay in the game. We would like that, so this is a question to Poland...







Rolf Nickel

A German diplomat, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Poland, also representing federal president. A former Federal Government Commissioner for Arms Control and Disarmament (2011–2014), deputy director of the Department for Foreign Affairs and Security at Federal Chancellor's office (2006–2011), and Ambassador in Warsaw (2002–2005). He worked in the German embassy in Moscow (1983–1986) and Nairobi (1986–1989).

Much more unites us than divides us

Rolf Nickel



Regional cooperation against further integration is a worrying phenomenon, as in the end we have only one European Union. Much more unites us than divides us and we should not divert from the chosen path.

Back in the day, I had the honour to be an associate of Chancellor Helmut Kohl and together with several colleagues prepare the Polish-German "Treaty of Good Neighbourship and Friendly Cooperation" [1991]. At the time, no one expected to see what we are seeing today. We worked to close the past, overcome divisions and challenges on the way to cooperation and trust.

Today the past is closed, the border agreement has been signed and no one questions it any more, the divisions have been overcome. We cooperate in a number of areas. Especially on the basic issue, which is youth cooperation: 2.5 million ambassadors of Polish-German relations. We have the Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation. We have intergovernmental consultations embedded in the treaty, which take place regularly on the highest level, and sometimes take the form of collective council of ministers. We discuss every issue. The treaty paved the way for a new era of cooperation.

This is really the beginning of a new era. Of course, the new era is not finished, we still have a lot to discuss and we do not agree on everything. To the contrary, we disagree on many levels. For example, on the issue of migration or Nord Stream 2 both sides have different points of view. However, we discuss these differences in an appropriate manner, as partners and friends.

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The European Union made of 28 countries needs leadership. Germany is not ready to lead on its own, but is ready to cooperate with others.

We want Poland to be an important partner in Europe. We want Poland to be the leader in Europe together with Germany. We need Poland as a partner and I think that the Weimar Triangle greatly enables Poland to play this role. I hope that the new government [the government of Beata Szydło – editor’s note] sees many benefits in participating in it.

The consequences of the possible exit of the United Kingdom from the European Union will be catastrophic. Both staying and leaving of the United Kingdom constitutes a challenge for Europe. I personally think that the discussion about the core of Europe or the discussion about the “avant-garde” will be side-lined because of this. This is not only the issue of Brexit. It is also a question of what the Polish side wants. If I interpret the current commentaries correctly, there is a talk about mini-Europe, which is a term used by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Of course, we would have to define what mini-Europe means. If this is only the so-called four freedoms or the common market, if these are the only goals, then for us this is not enough. We also have to discuss the question of enlargement and deepening. Helmut Kohl used to say that these are two sides of the same coin. Today is in not the case. It might have been at the time, but not today, as the European Union is a bloc of over 20 countries and cannot enlarge and maintain internal cohesion at the same time.

It is unrealistic to think that the accession of new member states from the Western Balkans will become a fact in the near future and this is not Germany’s wish. It is because some countries have regulations requiring government consultations, and you know what happens when governments ask their citizens for opinion.

The European Union made of 28 countries needs leadership. Germany is not ready to lead on its own, but is ready to cooperate with others.





Rita Süßmuth

A German politician. Formerly the Minister of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth in Helmut Kohl's government (1986–1988), president of Bundestag (1988–1998), Bundestag's deputy (1987–2002) and director of the Women and Society Institute in Hanover (1982–1985). She is the author of numerous publications on social issues and a prominent activist in the fight against AIDS.

Less confrontation and more cooperation

Rita Süßmuth



Our obligation is to stick together regardless of the difficult conversations. I personally trust the citizens. One can argue that it is difficult, but this is democracy. We have to show our citizens that they have options. That they have an influence on their implementation. This is the moment in which we have to reactivate ourselves.

It is worth to remind that in 1981 there were only a few courageous politicians. Pointing to caution, many suggested not getting in the way of the Soviet Union, not provoking, as it can become an aggressive partner or attack Poland.

It was Poland that opened its doors to many refugees from the German Democratic Republic. On 9 November 1989, Helmut Kohl was in Poland. The support of German citizens when Poles were in need became the first step on the way to building a constructive relation. It meant more than treaties.

The Polish–German “Treaty of Good Neighbourship and Friendly Cooperation” (1991) changed a lot in our relations, especially after 2005. These were very happy years.

The demolition of the wall was a day of great joy, which has recently been fading. A lot has changed also in the minds of Poles from both the young generation and the older ones. It suffices to look at the streets to see what we have achieved over this period.

Today Poland plays a more important role than it did in the past. It sets an important example for other countries, showing that they can change the political situation not only in their own state, but in the whole Europe. We still have a chance to do it, as what happened in the 1990s had prepared us.

There are so many refugees who are not accepted. They look for change. They want a better life. I learned a lot from refugees who have been through so much. I therefore think that when it comes to migration we can do better. In my country, we currently mostly talk about the numbers. Whether they grow or fall. Indeed, the numbers are important, but what is also important is it look forward and look at people's creativity. And to think not only about where we are, but also where are we heading. This is not a moment to have too many doubts and a feeling that we are all powerless. It is difficult to gather France, Germany and Poland together around this issue. In my opinion in this moment Poland is even more important than France.

The world outside of the European Union is expecting a European response, but it is different in the East and in the West. Working out a common response constitutes a challenge, it is not easy to elaborate solutions to world problems, world society, large areas, where there is a lack of employment opportunities and perspectives. We will not stop migration by closing the borders. We need less confrontation and more cooperation. Our obligation is to search for constructive answers.

Helmut Kohl had the ability to unite people – he was a European by conviction.

This is not only a matter of good intentions, but also extraordinary personalities, who are able to attract people to follow them. Solidarity was able to do it. A rush in the enlargement of Europe would be a mistake, at first we have to think about its deepening, there is a need for vision. Therefore, the discussion is ongoing.

Outside of Europe they envy us that we have the European Union, if we lose the Union and its ideas, we will lose a lot.







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EUROPA

OKIEM PRZYSZŁOŚĆ
TO THE FUTURE
БУДУЩЕ

The fall of an empire





Łukasz Adamski

A Polish historian and political scientist focusing on the history of Eastern European countries. He conducts historical research at the Centre for Polish-Russian Dialogue and Understanding. He is a regular contributor to *Nowa Europa Wschodnia* magazine. In the past, he worked in the Polish Institute of International Affairs (2006–2011). He is the author of a monograph titled “A progressive nationalist. Mykhailo Hrushevsky and his views on Poland and Poles” (2011).

The attempt to transform the Soviet Union (in Polish: Związek Sowiecki) into the Soviet Union (in Polish: Związek Radziecki) never succeeded



Łukasz Adamski

Using a wordplay, I can say that the Soviet Union [*Związek Radziecki*] never dissolved, as it was never born. It was never born because the attempt to transform the Soviet Union [*Związek Sowiecki*] into the Soviet Union [*Związek Radziecki*] never succeeded. The essence of perestroika was to rebuild the Soviet Empire [in Polish: *Imperium Sowieckie*] – a continuation of the Russian Empire, into a truly democratic federation, which due to historical ties would make a contemporary, modern, left-wing confederation – a truly soviet [*radziecki*] union, based on elected institutions, namely the councils [in Russian: *sovety*]. This never succeeded for obvious reasons. After 1991, few, maybe with the exception of Russia, regretted USSR's dissolution.

The question I would like to refer to is: how to evaluate the 25 years of transformation and democratisation of Central and Eastern Europe

and how to assess Russian politics towards European integration. I think that the past 25-27 years of our history should be positively evaluated. It does not mean, of course, that the whole transformation process was ideal, but without a doubt it was a period which historians will assess as beneficial for our region, because it has helped to solidify a democratic system. What we are currently observing in many countries, including Poland, is a dispute between the supporters of consensual democracy, originating in Western Europe and assuming that all major political decisions should be made on the basis of consensus within one paradigm, and those who claim that this is not the only model of democracy and one can imagine a discussion on the change of the paradigm.

TWO VISIONS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

To me, the most interesting and the most important question is: how Russia views this dispute? It is directly related to my work and that of my institution – the Centre for Polish-Russian Dialogue and Understanding. Russia in fact tried to participate in the European integration, both after 1991 and even during Dmitry Medvedev's presidency. All the ideas and conceptions of Russian diplomacy, however, have been based on the premise that Russia and Western Europe, or the European Union, should sit at the table and think about the target model of European integration, optimal for everyone.

In other words, Russia thought of itself as a partner who should be treated equally with the European Union, while it did not consider the possibility of joining the community as one of its member states who would accept the rules, norms and law of Western and Central European countries that have been much more advanced in the integration process. It was one of the fundamental causes for misunderstandings and conflicts. The European Union said that there are certain rules, *acquis communautaire* [a French expression for the accumulated legal system of the community], international law and Russia has to abide by them. Only then it will be possible to consider Russia's participation in European integration. Of course, participation such as that of Poland, the Baltic States or Central Europe was never considered, rather other forms of cooperation known from such examples as Switzerland and Norway. Russian politicians were not interested in that. They thought that the model of cooperation which was developed in Europe was detrimental to Russia. Of course, from the point of view of its interest as defined by Vladimir Putin and his close associates.

In the past two years we have observed the practical consequences of such thinking among Russian elites. Russia would like to participate in European integration in some way, but based on 19th century rules – such as the Concert of Europe elaborated at the Congress of Vienna, promoting certain spheres of interests and the belief that international law and law in general are not norms that are in force without exceptions and have to be adhered to, but general guidelines which can be violated or changed according to Russia's *raison d'État*.

After 2014 the idea of the European project for Russia has been dead, until the change of its political elites. One has to work and think in this direction. At the same time, Russia has to be forced to abide by the law.

THE ERA OF DEMOCRACY

The trend is – and it is clearly visible from a historical perspective – that democracies are strengthening and their number increases in the world. I do not see any threats that could suppress this process. Democracy, however, can be differently interpreted. A minimalist definition assumes that this is a country in which every four years there is an election, the participants of the electoral race have a more or less equal access to the media and elections are not falsified. One can add to this the need to abide by the law, standards of political culture and maintaining the discussion within one paradigm etc.

Due to the cultural diversification, the more democracies there are, the more diverse they will be. In Central Europe it is clearly visible that a paradigm of democracy understood as accepting norms and values developed over the last few decades in the West has been questioned. Is this good for Poland or not, is a separate issue, subject to political evaluation. I think that regardless of our negative assessment of the development of the situation in Russia, Belarus and a few other states, together with the disappearance of the generation remembering the Soviet Union, democratic attitudes will be strengthening. When comes to that, I am an optimist.





Irina Borogan

A Russian investigative journalist, co-founder and deputy editor-in-chief of Agentura.ru website [2000]. In 1999 she reported on the NATO operation in Yugoslavia. She worked in places affected by natural disasters and in refugee camps in various places in Russia and the world, reporting for *Moscow News*, *Novaya Gazeta*, and *The Moscow Times*, among other publications.

A permanent interim state

Irina Borogan



The USSR had collapsed, in my opinion, because otherwise I would not be here. However, Soviet mentality is still alive in our country, and it began to return especially at the beginning of the 21st century when Vladimir Putin came to power. It was his project – to revive the Soviet Union in people’s minds. He turned out to be a very popular and very efficient politician. The USSR was presented as a state of universal equality and happiness.

Even the older generation, which knows very well what the USSR was and knows that it was never a country for everyone, even they got carried away with this vision. However, what is worse for me is that young people who did not live at that time are captivated by this idea. A lot of effort was invested in its promotion. For example, the Russian Minister of Culture strongly supported films about the great Soviet Union and its amazing people financially. It is a pity, especially that in the 1990s much less people supported Soviet ideals and mentality. People were ready to take responsibility for their lives and did not want to shed it on leaders such as Vladimir Putin. The situation, however, has changed and that is probably why Putin gained such support as a result of the annexation of Crimea and war in Ukraine. I hope that in the future it will be possible to change it.

In the 1990s, many Russians, especially young representatives of intelligentsia, felt a big affiliation with Europe. They hoped that integration with the European Union will be possible. After the financial crisis in 1998, people went through disillusionment and lost this enthusiasm. However, I think that it is still smouldering somewhere, as despite the fact that the political situation is difficult and we have ended up equally far from Europe as in the Soviet times, the middle class in big cities behaves and thinks in a European way. This might be an opportunity for the future, although there are obviously many

people in provincial areas, who are less educated and who support Putin. At the moment it is 70 per cent of the population. They are not very effective, as they are not activists, therefore there is still hope that we will become part of Europe. However, I would not say that Russia in a natural way belongs to the Western world. We are in a permanent interim state.

The economic crisis in Russia is expanding very slowly – the sanctions are effective, in 2008 and 2010 all the smart people were dismissed from the government and now Russians are paying for those mistakes, but also for the annexation of Crimea and the hybrid war in Ukraine – this crisis, however, cannot be compared with the one from 1998. It is different now. People do not perceive the crisis as serious, but prices increase and I think that it will have an influence on them. They will finally begin to wonder what their authorities are doing in Ukraine and what is happening in their own country.

I think that we lost democracy because of privatization. All the national assets ended up in the hands of seven or eight oligarchs, who, faced with the weakness of Boris Yeltsin, had decided to appoint a new president, and that is how they chose Putin. If there were a hundred of such businessmen, it would be easier to make a democratic choice, but it did not happen. I think that economy has a big influence on the democratisation process in Eastern Europe. It is easier to meddle in the minds of poor people. Putin does it, Donald Trump does it, but also the nationalist politicians in Eastern Europe.





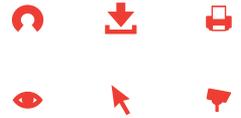


Paweł Kowal

A Polish politician, PhD in political science, historian and publicist. A former member of parliament (2005–2009), state secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2006–2007), and member of the European Parliament (2009–2014). He worked as Eastern policy expert in the Centre for International Relations (2001–2003) and as director of the Mazovia Institute of Culture (2003–2005). He co-created the conception of the Warsaw Uprising Museum.

The end of an era

Paweł Kowal



We have a unique opportunity to discuss the collapse of the Soviet Union not only because the USSR formally ceased to exist 25 years ago. One could ask whether anything in history finishes in a way that Shushkevich with Yeltsin and Kravchuk decide not to drink vodka one night and go to a sauna instead and sign a document the following day? Of course, this never happens in history, so the first important issue to determine refers to when the Soviet Union collapsed. The American and British literature are especially rich in this regard. Every scholar has their own theory on the topic, as the process of the collapse of such a huge organism has to take time. Some claim that the Soviet Union began to collapse already in the 1970s, while others claim that its decay finished only in the year 2000. Therefore, speaking about 1991, we resort to a symbolic date which has a legal meaning, but is still an agreed on point in time. The Soviet Union dissolved, but the Soviet imperial system did not.

We can talk about Białowieża or the end of December 1991, but there is a much more serious reason why we are meeting here. What is interesting for politicians, historians, political scientists is that an era is closing before our eyes. For some time I have been promoting a theory that those who want to develop a career in Polish political science or historiography, should already begin to write the history of the Third Polish Republic, no matter who wins the next election. This process, which I call a megatrend, is taking place in the Western world and also touches Poland and many other countries.

MYTHS AND THEORIES

I am a bit amused by the discussions about Poland that treat it as an isolated cage, in which everything that is happening is something no one else is familiar with. It tells us something about our mentality. Polish people like to be special and one can say that this 25 years began with convincing Poles that they are special, that what was going on in 1989 was unprecedented and no one else in the world has ever experienced anything similar. As far as pedagogy is concerned, it made sense, but historically, it is a much more complex issue. Now, Poles are being told that this all, that is the great era after communism, is ending in a similarly unique way.

I think that the year 1980 was indeed unique. The majority of Europe's countries have never experienced anything similar – in contrast to other events which took place in Poland in the 20th century. The collapse of the Russian Empire after the First World War, communism after 1945, and especially the year 1989 should be seen through the prism of a megatrend, which went through the West. There is just one note of optimism for us in it: these trends show that we are part of the West. What is happening at the moment, constitutes a sort of shackle for what began in 1989. I think that it is important not to look at 1989 through the prism of conspiracy theories saying that it all started with Andropov; or through the prism of hurry-optimism and quietism that it all began with the Round Table; but to look at it through the prism of a political master-plan, which was born, in my opinion, in the US out of Ronald Reagan's idealism after the introduction of the martial law.

I have always been puzzled with the several days of delay, when Reagan did not know what to do after the introduction of the martial law in Poland. Many documents even suggest that Jaruzelski was glad that the US reaction was indecisive. Reagan, who was filled with his idealism, decided to use the occasion and gave a speech about the martial law, although in fact it was a declaration of war against the Soviet Union. Besides, he soon, in 1982, sends his emissaries, who are trying to make contact with Jaruzelski. His aim was not Poland, but crashing the USSR and its imperial influences.

In 1982 Reagan meets with his main political-spiritual partner. A famous conversation takes place in June in the Vatican, where he discusses the ethical aspects of what has to be done in politics with

John Paul II, but also the practical ones, for instance communication channels between the Holy See and Washington. Subsequently, step by step, a master plan is being implemented, which partly succeeds and partly does not, but in general brings success – the collapse of Soviets. And how does it all end? It ends just like the beautiful epoch of Prussia and France in 1871. This beautiful period is also 25 years of fragmented power and certain codes based on the constant control of power, which cannot be concentrated in one hands, the era of young generations' belief – more or less three generations, that their lives will be better than their parents', this is all finishing before our eyes. We have to do with the return to collectivism, the lack of hope for a better life of the new generation and the belief that the world is no longer safe. This is how a new era begins.

TO RESIST THE WIND OF CHANGE

Together with the democratising model, which came from the West as a model of crashing the Soviet Union, in the West – which pundits often fail to appreciate – appeared a model of close integration. There was no European Union at the time and the political coordination of NATO, in contrast with the military one, was probably even lower than today. Nevertheless, the coordination of the West, when it comes to crashing the USSR, while not ideal, as Germans or Italians sometimes broke away, was very good.

At the same time, there was a completely unappreciated spiritual aspect of the end of communism on the world scale, that is the person of John Paul II as a politician. This brought a certain systemic model to Central and Eastern Europe. It was, to put it jokingly, a “constitutional imperialism”, based on grounding everything on very clear constitutional and legal rules. Some institutional changes and changes in the political culture of this part of Europe were meant to follow. The price of the system was often the reduced pace of the expected changes, their lower radicalism etc. We had to do with a race, whether our transformation process will work out or not. Many things were achieved, but, for sure, some institutional changes failed to take root. In this case, we are stalling for time – if we do not make it, another wind, which is blowing in the West, and what is blowing is a wind of new collectivism, can threaten us before we are soaked into Western structures of political culture and settle in the West for good. If it turns out that democratic institutions have become well, or at least acceptably, rooted, if it turns out that our

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Today, the political message to young people is the following: “We understand that it is hard for you, you are unable to do anything about it and we will try to help you somehow”. This should be over immediately, as it will take us to complete backroads.

political culture is strong enough for us to stay in the West, then this new world which will take over will be a bit different, based on a more concentrated and integrated power, but it will be a democratic world and happily no one will kick us out from the West.

POLAND IS FOLLOWING THE EUROPEAN TREND

At the moment, we are facing the questioning of the role of the elites. How is it done? It is done in such a way that someone jumps out of a suit, takes to the podium, puts a jumper on and says: "I am fighting against you now, capitalists". The rich man Trump, *crème de la crème* of the elite, is such a personage, and so is Hilary Clinton, who comes and says "I will show you, New Yorkers". What is currently going on in Poland – the way of thinking about the economy, some elements of etatism or the return to the so-called economic patriotism – is characteristic for what is taking place in the West. The next step will probably be elements of economic nationalism. Moreover, the discussion about nationalism and the often indecisive attitude of the Church returns.

Please take a look at the election results. Us, historians and political scientists, often forget that we have a great mechanism, which says much more than one would think – election geography. This is a concrete knowledge which has implications. It is difficult to claim that there is anything original going on in Poland. In France, the National Front received 25 per cent of the vote! Only because the electoral regulations are well designed, it does not rule in several important French regions. A similar situation is in Germany, the United Kingdom and many other places. Poland is following this trend. It is simply changing, which is the result of some limitations in its development, which has been best diagnosed by left-wing intellectuals. This is no accident that Jarosław Kaczyński read Piketty and he is referring to his thoughts so often. He was the best in defining some phenomena, showing a trend we are succumbing to.

DEMOCRACY IN RETREAT?

I think that there are different models of democracy indeed, and without a doubt in the coming years we will be observing the concentration of power also in democratic countries. However, I cannot agree with the theory of the fast development of democracy. We are coming

back to Aristotle and observing him in practice on a daily basis. Besides, apart from the "Art of War", "Politics" is the book which has not got old even by a day over hundreds of years. Oligarchy and the disappearance of the middle class is a real danger to democracy. For example, the observers of educational system in the US highlight that it has been through a huge oligarchization. There is also a problem with young generation's attitudes. The previous development model has collapsed and this is related to the problem of a weakening democracy.

Maybe in the new era, the main change will be a more concentrated power, and this does not scare me. Moreover, I think that it is strange that such a fragmented power survived for 25 years. However, it may be that the processes which are now being formed, can lead to the emergence of authoritarianisms, oligarchies or even tyrannies in some of the weaker Western democracies. In Ukraine during Yanukovich's rule we observed the phenomenon, where the formal democracy needed literally two or three years to realise the Aristotelian scheme of transforming democracy into tyranny. Although, of course, this is an example of a country where democratic culture was particularly weakly rooted in comparison with the old European democracies. Summing up, the development of democracy will be unidirectional – towards the better. Or probably not?

WAITING FOR A TURMOIL

Our problem is that we either look back, live in history, and this is what the political debate in Poland looks like, or we look at what is currently happening, but we are not able to face it, we cannot determine what the cure should be, as the phenomena which are surrounding us have not been named yet. Since our culture is rooted in the Bible, we need this "word" to be said and only then we can refer to it and describe our reality. Now we live in a period when no one has yet unequivocally defined what is going on, has not named the processes that are in place.

In 1819 in Vilnius, St. Andrew Bobola revealed himself to a monk and told him that in about a hundred years there will be a great war and Poland will return to the map of Europe. In 1832 in "The Books and the Pilgrimage of the Polish Nation", Adam Mickiewicz prayed for a war that would give Poland independence. At the time, Poles needed such a big political change. Today, Poland needs stabilization.

Meanwhile, I am listening to various commentators and I can see this Polish *Schadenfreunde* [pleasure deriving from someone's misfortune or failure – editor's note] from EU's problems. "Finally it is clear how hopeless they are", "finally this Timmermans showed how impatient he is", "finally we denuded this bureaucracy" – when I listen to this *Schadenfreunde* I have an impression that they are all waiting for a huge commotion or even the collapse of the European Union. Just like this huge commotion was needed by Bobola and Mickiewicz, today is the opposite, but some out of a sort of impatience, sometimes even excess, and sometimes a rightful bitterness, expect it. I have an impression that we are a step away from it and although we cannot define it yet, some people in a foolhardy rush are ready to say that since some particular, sometimes small, things did not succeed, let it be, even if the EU and NATO are to fall apart.

THE CRISIS OF VALUES

It is worth to talk about home, but it needs a viable basis. The question is, do we have it? About ten years ago, the book "The last days of Europe" ["The Last Days of Europe: Epitaph for an Old Continent"⁴ by Walter Laqueur" – editor's note] was published. The misfortunes and challenges faced by Europe today were described there. We will not change the fact that pessimism and demographic collapse is the case in practically all the countries in Europe. In addition, we have to do with the "crisis in superstructure" on the ideological level and paradoxically it is the most visible among those who are meant to stop it. We are facing a deep identity crisis, which is above all touching the youth, especially young people with nationalist views. They are often lost, they do not start families, they live with their parents and after a football match or a demonstration they shout: "Poland for Poles!" When will they find the time to actually do something for the struggling Poland? There is no good answer to this question. Political scientists and politicians will look for the guilty ones for a long time to come. The short-term answer has been the concentration of power. It was easy to convince the people that the state can regulate their feeling of powerlessness in response to multinationals, queues etc. In Poland, this concentration of power started during Donald Tusk's time in office. He was afraid to talk about it, he was a liberal, but he began the process which is under way now, for example he assumed that the state should be active in the economy. Thus this was not the idea of the current government, but the previous one. It was an attempt to respond to a crisis, which could have been felt even back then.

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W. Laqueur,
Ostatnie dni Europy:
epitafium dla Starego
Kontynentu,
Wydawnictwo
Dolnośląskie, 2008.

It is possible that there is no solution to this crisis and that there simply are certain trends we will not reverse and will have to accept. To reverse the trend in Europe, a demographic change would have to occur. Without that nothing will happen and the feeling of frustration and xenophobia towards newcomers will only increase. To receive them well and not lose in the process one has to have a strong identity. When the self-esteem, the feeling of righteousness of one's religion, convictions and ideas decreases – xenophobia is born.

One advice is obvious. Above all, we have to talk seriously to the young generation. The previous government was running away from problems. The current government, to the contrary, is pleasing the youth, does something the most anti-conservative, one can imagine. In the past, we used to say, "really, man, you've got problems at school which are partly not your fault, but you have to deal with them". Here, in Gdańsk, in 1987 the pope said to the young: "You have to demand from yourself, even if others do not". Today, the political message is the following: "We understand that it is hard for you, you are unable to do anything about it and we will try to help you somehow". This should be over immediately, as it will take us to complete backroads.

There is a second problem related to this issue – we have to launch socio-economic mechanisms, which will stop the disappearance of the middle class. In many Western countries, starting with the US, we can observe the phenomenon of oligarchization. Jarosław Kaczyński read Piketty, learned about some phenomena and gave correct diagnosis. What to do to strengthen the middle class? There are liberal and socio-collectivist solutions. I have an impression that today in Europe the latter solution has been chosen. The example is Victor Orbán, who, at the expense of economic growth, is trying to strengthen the middle class in Hungary. Indeed, this is a problem, but a solution to it can be found and it does not necessarily have to be collectivist.

The third and the most important issue is that we lack leaders. I personally believe in the role of individuals in history. I have long hoped that Angela Merkel will be this leader, but I see that she has already retreated and does not want to take responsibility for anything else than German matters. This will have negative consequences. Radosław Sikorski had this intuition, when during his speech in Berlin, he made a point about the need of leadership. Without a leader there will be no Europe. Can we create them? A leader who would be able

to reconcile the rules of democratic game in their country, win the election and at the same time take the responsibility for a bit more on the EU level? There is no technical method to do it. We have a huge problem with it. It starts on the ideological level, runs through everyday issues we can do something about, and finishes with a crippled leadership, which is not easy to deal with.



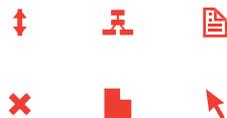


Serhii Plokhy

A Ukrainian historian, professor of Ukrainian history at Harvard University. In the 1990s he moved to Canada, where he worked as a lecturer at the University of Alberta. The author of many publications, mainly on Ukraine and Russia. The laureate of the Lionel Gelber Prize for the best English language book on international relations in 2014.

The disintegration of an empire

Serhii Plokhyy



The answer to the question of when the Soviet Union collapsed is closely connected with the change of the perception on what it was. In the 1980s, the Soviet Union was seen – both by those who ruled it and those from the outside – not as a multi-ethnic empire, but as a nation state.

Today we see it differently. The Soviet Union collapsed, disappeared from the world map in a similar way, as other empires did – the Habsburg or the Ottoman ones. Therefore, if we assume that the Soviet Union was a multi-ethnic construct, the answer to the question of when it dissolved will probably be: in 1991. The year 1991 can be seen as the beginning of the collapse. What is happening in Ukraine, in Crimea today is a continuation of the same history of the empire's disintegration. From the history of other empires we know that these processes often take years, decades, maybe even centuries.

From this perspective, the process of the collapse of the Soviet Union has not finished yet. It is not only about the fact that Russia can take over areas such as Crimea. There is also a problem of Chechnya, a *de facto* independent country, which functions under the umbrella of the Russian Federation.

Another issue has to do with democracy. If we look at the map of the former Soviet Union, the territories about which we can say that they have succeeded in democratization, are more or less the same territories which were incorporated into the USSR as a result of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact: the Baltic States, Ukraine and Moldova. Some claim that if there was no Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, if Stalin did not succeed in Yalta, and Lviv, for instance, remained part of Poland, then the USSR might still be there. I think that the importance



The disintegration of an empire

of these countries and the Polish influence on the Soviet-Western borderland is not sufficiently discussed in the literature dealing with the collapse of the USSR.

Russia is very much interested in the integration of the territories of the former USSR with Europe, but under the condition that the process will be controlled by Moscow. The events in Ukraine had their roots in the conflict between the Russian and Western visions of integration. Russians took over Crimea and began their activities in Eastern Europe, with the aim to regaining control over post-Soviet territories. Signing the Association Agreement with the EU by Ukraine – it was not even about membership, but the Association Agreement – was seen by Russia, maybe rightly, as a threat to the Eurasian Union project. We have to consider what kind of Europe we are talking about and what kind of integration. Depending on the definition, one can view Russia as a power working in favour of integration or withholding this process.



III
XI WIEKU.
CZYPIECZNE SĄ EUROPEJSKIE DEMOKRACJE?
THE 21ST CENTURY.
ARE EUROPEAN DEMOCRACIES?



/ Stawomir Dębski / Dominik P. Jankowski
/ Michael Lambert



NATO in the 21st century





Pierre Buhler

A French diplomat, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of France in Poland. The author of many scholarly and journalistic publications about Poland, such as "Poland's road to freedom. 1939-1995" [1999]. He is a university professor and Knight of the French Order of Merit and the Legion of Honour. In 2010 he was awarded a Medal of Gratitude by the European Solidarity Centre for his support for the Polish opposition.

NATO in the 21st century

WHY THERE IS NO EUROPEAN CIA?

Pierre Buhler

– There is no equivalent to the CIA in the European Union for one simple reason: the EU is not a country. After the United States had become a state, a number of decades passed, if not centuries, before the CIA came into being. It may thus take us some time.

The attacks in Paris and Brussels denuded the weaknesses and loopholes in intelligence cooperation between EU countries. Individual networks operate independently from each other, while terrorists use the open borders. And indeed, we lack communication between police forces in individual states. There are various intelligence units in each state, various police divisions. And this is without a doubt not only a European problem. After 9/11 it was found that also in the US there was a lack of such a communication. We therefore realise the detrimental effect of this situation.

After the recent attacks some steps have been undertaken, but it is more a matter of the EU than NATO. First of all, international cooperation has been strengthened, especially between France and Belgium. Besides, at the beginning of April a proposal was made to improve information systems within Schengen: to streamline the system of biometric identification, the flow of information among defence forces, or collecting passengers' names. These are all great initiatives which aim at building a comprehensive approach to the issues of border control and internal security. Secondly, the EU Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship, Dimitris Avramopoulos, put forward a strategy based on the evolution of individual national policies into a comprehensive defence of EU's territory. The project is based on connecting directives on fighting terrorism, data protection, but also their flow, arms regulations, control and borders protection. It is about filling the gap and strengthening communication between the existing separate systems. Moreover, the European Commission proposed regulating migration along the EU borders. Finally, the Commission supported the idea of creating a European border and coast guard.



Sławomir Dębski

A Polish historian, political scientist, director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs. He is the editor-in-chief and a member of the editorial board of the “Intersection Project” and a member of the Polish-Russian Group for Difficult Issues. A former director of the Centre for Polish-Russian Dialogue and Understanding (2011–2016). The author of books, articles and collections of diplomatic history sources. His interests include Polish foreign policy, EU’s external policy, Russian foreign policy, NATO and security.



Dominik P. Jankowski

The head of international analyses department in the Polish National Security Bureau, formerly in the general staff of the Polish Army. In 2012 he became a member of Young Atlanticist NATO Working Group at the Atlantic Council and was a fellow of the German Marshall Fund. He is the editor-in-chief of Pulaski Policy Papers – a project of Kazimierz Pulaski Foundation, a Polish think tank specialising in international politics.

Thus there is a whole range of emergency measures, which at the same time obturate the system.

IS THE DEFENCE COOPERATION BETWEEN EUROPEAN STATES SUFFICIENT?

Sławomir Dębski

– We are not one country, therefore we do not have and we will not have one European intelligence agency. The question is: shall we share more information? Should we and can we cooperate more closely when it comes to the flow of information on the threats from the south and other countries?

The members of the alliance do not share and do not want to share information for a number of reasons. Also because we have to protect our informers, and that is the domain of internal, national agencies. Moreover, we spy on one another, that is life. Of course, as allies we should avoid it. But it is happening and it is also a problem. Within NATO, the EU or Interpol we share the results of work of independent intelligence agencies, as well as information on potential threats, so in this sense the alliance works, both in the case of the EU and NATO. I think that we are also responsible for the safety of societies outside of the alliance, especially facing threats coming from sources we are fighting. Thus, should we cooperate more closely? The answer is: yes. Within the alliance, some countries cooperate closely with each other. An example is the intelligence cooperation between the United Kingdom and the United States. However, even in this area there are some limitations.

Europe should Focus on the problems coming from Europe, while NATO on securing peace and protecting our societies from outside threats.

WHAT IS THE STATE OF EU-NATO RELATIONS?

Dominik P. Jankowski

– Gathering information is about knowledge, but also about a certain extremely important element, which is sharing it and trust between partners. I would like to touch upon two issues: military potential and hybrid warfare. First, we should strengthen the EU-NATO cooperation when it comes to information sharing. The second issue is the resources needed to expand our knowledge, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance.

Since 2014, the awareness of the importance of intelligence skills has been on the rise in both the EU and NATO. Although there are a number

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There is a diversity of views within NATO, but our strength above all is and has always be unity.

of limitations, there is a will to strengthen those skills. It is about time, therefore, to start thinking about how to share information. I think that this is doable and that the basis here is the concept of hybrid warfare. We all talk about it, maybe define it differently, but in a sense we can politically use this occasion to strengthen intelligence cooperation between the EU and NATO.

First, there should be standards on the flow of documents. Second, in order to know what is going on in the northern, eastern or southern flank, people and tools are required. They do exist, for example the AWACS systems (Airbone Warning and Control System – editor’s note) and others, which increase our awareness for example of the dramatic situation on the Syrian-Turkish border. We know that they should be more widely used, so that they also operate in the eastern and northern flanks.

WHO SHOULD BEAR THE COSTS OF MILITARY SECURITY AND HOW HIGH THEY CAN BE?

Sławomir Dębski

– I am not an expert on military issues, I will therefore try to approach the question from a different angle. Before the NATO summit in Warsaw (8–9 July 2016 – editor’s note) we wonder how to adjust our alliance to the new conditions facilitated by technological development. The Article 3 of the North Atlantic Treaty (also referred to as the Washington treaty [4 April 1949] – editor’s note) talks about investing in individual resources of allies to strengthen the pact and collectively respond to threats. Thus our defence capacities should be adjusted in response to Russia’s purchase of new technologically advanced tools. NATO has always acted based on the assumption that success can be achieved only with a common effort. Of course, there are a few countries which are unable to keep up with the technological capabilities of potential enemies. However, it does not change the fact that one can only act effectively in cooperation with others. For countries like Poland the issue is clear: the only thing we can do is to join the European or American solutions. There is a F-35 programme (a project of constructing of a single seat, single engine fighter-jet capable of close air support missions, bombings and other tasks of air combat – editor’s note), which has been already joined by some European allies, such as Norway, Italy or the UK. Over the next decade we will have to make this decision. Of course, there are some problems, F-35 is a costly investment, but the fighter is already on the market, while



Seth G. Jones

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fighter jets produced by the European consortium are still in the planning stage. This also influences the decisions of the Polish government. True, Putin's Russia invests a lot in military potential and, indeed, similar investments will require changes in the thinking on the European budget. This trend is now slightly reversing. For the past 25 years we had the tendency to cut spending on defence, while since 2014 this has been changing and we will be spending more. Also in order to respond to arguments increasingly put forward in the US that too many allies do not bear sufficient costs. This is likely going to change.

HOW TO ENSURE THE SECURITY OF THE BALTIC STATES WITHOUT DISCONCERTING RUSSIA?

Seth G. Jones

– F-35 is an important topic, but there is also a wider issue. If we look at the current situation of NATO, we will notice that we are in a completely different place than a few years ago. The Russian annexation of Crimea and support for fighters in Eastern Europe invoked anxiety, especially among the Baltic States and Eastern European countries, including Poland. I think that the real challenge is to mitigate the tension. In the 1980s president Reagan and Gorbachev managed to achieve a similar thing in Reykjavik. Tensions exist and I think that at the moment issues like F-35 are less important than those related to our position.

The results of the simulations conducted by organisations such as RAND [RAND Corporation – an American think tank and research non-profit organisation initially created for the purposes of the United States Armed Forces – editor's note] in Eastern Europe, especially in the Baltic States constitute a challenge. It turned out – although I think that it is not particularly likely – that in case of an attempt of their takeover by Russia, NATO will not be able to effectively defend them. In the majority of such simulations, Tallinn and Riga were taken over within about 60 hours. I think that the probability of such a scenario is low and we probably do not want to go in this direction. However, I maintain that the issue of F-35 is not as important as our position in this part of the world.

The challenge is how to protect the Baltic States and Poland, ensure they have a sense of security, at the same time without escalating tensions in relations with Russia. Thus, the problem we will have to face is how to ensure long-term security without disconcerting Moscow.



Paul W. Jones

An American diplomat, United States Ambassador to Poland. He was a deputy head of the US mission to OSCE in Vienna [2004–2005] and in the Philippines [2005–2009], a special representative of the US in Afghanistan and Pakistan [2009–2010] and US Ambassador to Malaysia [2010–2013]. He was a high official in the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs in the US Department of State. He received the Presidential Meritorious Service Award, among other awards.

WHAT TO DO IN ORDER NOT TO ESCALATE THE CONFLICT?

Paul W. Jones

- There is a diversity of views within NATO, but our strength above all is and has always been unity. I think that we have demonstrated it in our approach to Russia. We can see what Russians are capable of, how unpredictable they are, we can see it on the example of Ukraine. As an alliance we have to take care of our security, not to escalate the conflict, but foster dialogue. And this is what we are doing, we do not forget about defence, but there is no point to increase the tension. Moreover, there are areas where we should cooperate with Russia. To some extent this is happening in Syria, for instance on the issue of removing chemical weapons, and in some regions of the Arctic. We have to do what is in our power to cooperate where we have a common goal, not transfer conflicts from one area to another, and at the same time, when needed, conduct our defence policy in a way to protect the alliance states.

WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A FIRM ATTITUDE AND DETERRENCE?

Pierre Buhler

- We have to look at the problem holistically. This is also the case with armament, and thus this is not an issue of F-35, we need to look at the wider context. I think that we are now trying to make a step forward in NATO's position, from a firm attitude to deterrence. The *clou* of the matter is our presence in the eastern flank. We definitely think that each ally should feel secure, regardless of the situation one is in. However, we are still working on a concrete shape of this matter. The means we will use have to be politically acceptable, militarily justified and long-term. Political acceptability means that in relations with Russia we have to reach a balance between a firm attitude and maintaining communication and dialogue. To remain firm on the issue of territorial integrity and sovereignty of all allies, and at the same time maintain a predictable and transparent position on the eastern flank. From the military point of view, I think that we have to stick to the parameters set out in February 2016 by NATO's defence ministers. We also have to make sure that all decisions are long-term, also from the point of view of budgets. The state of defensive capabilities on the eastern flank will likely not dramatically improve over the next several years. I think that my colleagues from Poland will agree with me that nothing would undermine the credibility of NATO as much as obligations,

which will turn out to be difficult or impossible to fulfil. On the other hand, the politics of deterrence is not only tanks. NATO, whose three members have nuclear weapons, has a deterrence potential, starting with the simplest armaments to nuclear weapons and this is what, together with our firm attitude, creates deterrence potential, which is an element of our demeanour. My answer is: NATO consists of strong allies, the main military forces in the world, acting together in the spirit of unity, which gives the highest possible deterrence potential.

DO THE BALTIC STATES NEED NUCLEAR WEAPONS?

Dominik P. Jankowski

– I would like to make it clear that Poland has never been against a dialogue with Russia. To the contrary, we think that it is extremely important. However, we would like to know what the dialogue will lead to. Resources, the politics of deterrence, Russia – these are the three most important issues which help us to understand our current situation. If we want to be effective and credible in the politics of deterrence, we have to have access to resources, various resources. For sure, one of them is nuclear weapons. However, we also need conventional resources not to escalate the threat of nuclear conflict. It may happen that the numerous units needed to defend the three Baltic states and Poland will not arrive. Therefore, it is important to strengthen the presence of allied forces on the eastern flank. We have to remember that strengthening the presence will also require resources related to the threat posed by A2/SD system [the advanced Russian system of installations – radar systems and air defence projectiles, missile shells aimed to hit land and offshore targets, as well as air force and navy – which creates a form of umbrella impeding, or even preventing, NATO operations within its reach – editor’s note].

Resources are costly. It is difficult to convince society that we have to invest in defence, but I think that it is also the task for politicians, journalists and the media to try to explain to people that investments are necessary and that they can bring tangible benefits.

I hope that we will not have to use these resources. Politics of deterrence aims at keeping the peace, we do not want war. Therefore, we are continuing the dialogue, avoiding conflict, as it would be a catastrophe not only for Poland, but for the whole region.

DOES DIALOGUE MEAN CAPITULATION?

Sławomir Dębski

– There are different kinds of dialogue and clearly a dialogue with allies is conducted differently than with outside partners. Culturally, the word “dialogue” has positive connotations and therefore in some countries of the alliance there is a belief that dialogue somehow means capitulation. I would like to stress that it does not. Dialogue is based on informing our partner on what our interests are and what we think about important issues.

However, there is also a Russian form of dialogue, which we know very well in this part of Europe. “Thirteen days” is a good example, a great movie on the Cuban crisis. There is a beautiful scene. The secretary of defence, McNamara, speaks to an American admiral. They are both looking at a huge map of the positions of American and Soviet freighters. The admiral wants to allow the captain of one of the destroyers to open fire, as the Russians are approaching the red line set out by the president. McNamara is holding him back, saying: “Do you know what this is?”. “Of course, ships.” McNamara replies: “No! This is a language in which the American president is communicating with Khrushchev.” This scene reminds me of how NATO is currently acting in relations with Russia. We communicate to our Russian partners that we are ready and capable of defending ourselves, we are sending this message to the world in order to prevent clashes and maintain peace in Europe.

IS NATO STILL EFFECTIVE?

Paul W. Jones

– It is important to speak more broadly about the power of NATO.

The purpose of NATO’s existence is to maintain three pillars. First, our democracy and democratic institutions. Since we are citing the Washington Treaty, the Article 2 talks says that all members contribute to the strengthening of the free institutions of the alliance, as this is our common force. Second pillar is our unity, unity in assessing the threats and a joint reaction to them. Of course unity requires an intense debate, which we are trying to organise internally. We do not want to show that there are differences of opinions between us, which could be wrongly interpreted as a weakness. While, in fact, this is a source of our strength. In the end, an agreement means that we will be able to recognise threats in the east and south and will respond to them,

fulfil obligations related to two per cent spending on defence. The third pillar are our resources, all we are capable to offer as members of the alliance, which is without a doubt the strongest alliance in the world and the strongest in history.

I think that our big success in responding to the crisis in Ukraine is unity in assessment of what is going on, as it was not so clear. When we were observing the bizarre events in Crimea and Donbas, at first, it was not at all clear what is going on and who is on whose side. Nevertheless, we watched it closely together and shared our observations, which was not always easy, as our intelligence agencies not always like to share knowledge. I think that we remained united thanks to collective action and this is also visible today in how we react. We maintain sanctions against Russia until it fulfils the provisions of Minsk agreements, because, as we mentioned, Russia is conducting hybrid warfare and it will likely use the same method in the future. It is based on disinformation, espionage, manipulating local activists – who may have not had big possibilities until they received supplies and support – and activities in the cyberspace.

I think that NATO can be efficient, but only in cooperation with other institutions and being aware that we have to strengthen our intrastate resources. Such as cyberspace. Thus, we are building a common image and can assess elements which have to be strengthened and places where we can help one another. I therefore think that NATO has an important role to play.

HOW TO DEAL WITH HYBRID THREAT?

Pierre Buhler

– Certainly, hybrid war in Ukraine surprised us all. Little green men and then Donbas, it all has to be taken into account when thinking about the position of NATO. However, I think that in our reaction to the recent events, we cannot use such methods, as we value respect for international law, predictability and transparency, this is what our political stance is based on. However, the threat surely has to be approached comprehensively, identifying weak points and strengthening our society, infrastructure, communication. We need a better coordination, there are many players, many agencies, so coordinating these forces and individual states with the activities of international organisations, and these organisations with one another is extremely important. We should also work out detailed commonly binding standards of action in areas at risk of hybrid war. I have already mentioned cyberspace.

Another area can be organised crime. We have a wide array of tools within NATO that we should adapt to hybrid threats.

But our best defence is still political firmness and unity. This all presents many new challenges in the area of defence and it will cost. It will compel us to increase spending on defence, which is always politically difficult.

HOW TO USE THE EXPERIENCE POTENTIAL?

Seth G. Jones

– Let me make three short remarks on hybrid warfare. First, this is nothing new. If we look back in history, hybrid war was usually used when the costs of conventional methods were too high. We observed it in India and Pakistan. The US and the Soviet Union also operated this way during the Cold War. Second, I think that we can learn a few interesting insights from other European countries, such as Switzerland or Finland, when it comes to this issue. Third, one of the aspects which works to our advantage is what Solidarność once showed us, that is the triumph of peace, freedom and democracy. This is exactly what they showed us, that organisations guided by these principles are on the right side of history. Therefore, I think that if we talk about hybrid war, information war, we are all on the right side.

DOES STRENGTHENING OUR PARTNERS HELP US BUILD OUR OWN SECURITY?

Dominik P. Jankowski

– As allies we agreed to observe Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty (readiness to individual or collective self-defence in case of an armed aggression against one or more countries in Europe or North America – editor’s note). It is worth to remember that a combination of all the threats can lead to a potentially big crisis. That is why we also have Article 4 which talks about consultations and the ways to assess the situation to determine whether one or more countries are under threat.

However, I would like us to concentrate not only on ourselves, not only on NATO, the EU, member states, allies, but also on the support for our external partners who are the most vulnerable to hybrid threats; by supporting them, we are building our own security. Thus, let us begin not with ourselves, but with our neighbours.

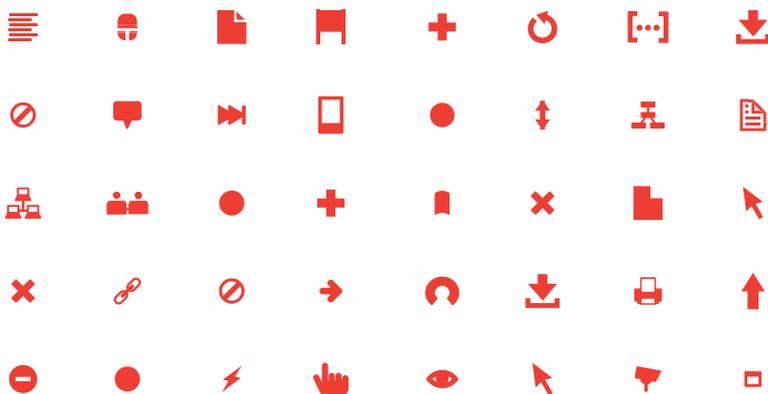
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Politics of deterrence aims at keeping the peace, we do not want war. Therefore, we are continuing the dialogue, avoiding conflict, as it would be a catastrophe not only for Poland, but for the whole region.

WILL DEMOCRACY SAVE US?

Sławomir Dębski

- In this part of Europe, hybrid warfare is nothing new. In September 1939, when the Soviets attacked Poland, Soviet diplomats justified the aggression by promoting a narrative that there is no democracy in Poland, that a fascist junta rules in Warsaw and that Polish institutions failed. It leads me to a conclusion that we have to be very careful if we do not want the cure to be worse than the disease and if we do not want to get into bigger troubles than we are already in. Second, democracy is a self-regulating system. All democracies make mistakes and have the right to do that. But one has to remember that the effort to avoid conflict should not lead to its escalation.





Javier Solana i Bill Clinton gratulují
Václava Havela prezident České
republice při vstupu do NATO, 12. března 1999 roku.

Javier Solana and Bill Clinton
congratulate Václav Havel on the
Czech Republic joining NATO,
12th March, 1999.

Foto: AP/Wide World Photo



17. února 1999 roku na Zámku
Praha Václav Havel převzal
Čestný Řád republiky od
Jana Jiráska za jeho mimořádné
zásluhy během let 1989-1998.
Medaile udělil prezident
Georgi Javlinskij, ministr
Rakouska i Margaret Thatcher.

On November 17, 1999 at the Praze
Castle, Václav Havel presented the
Order of the White Lion to recipient
individual who contributed to the
of the new century. The order was
received by L. Wolke, M. Garbachev,
G. Bush, H. Kohl and M. Thatcher.

Foto: AP/Wide World Photo

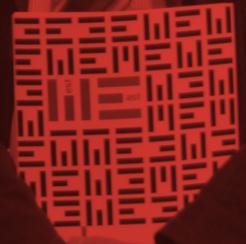


Programme of the forum

Karel Barel in company
Václav Havel's mother-in-law
Pravka, 1. November 2005.

Prince Charles with Václav
and his wife at the Prague
17. November, 2005.

File/Photo: Alan Payer



IV INTERNATIONAL EUROPEAN FORUM EUROPE WITH A VIEW TO THE FUTURE

PROGRAMME

Thursday, 19th May

14.00–16.00 | venue: ECS permanent exhibition
EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS 1980 – 1989 – 1991 –
ECS permanent exhibition guided tour

.....

16.00–18.00 | venue: ECS Auditorium

THE CEREMONIAL OPENING OF THE FORUM AND THE EXHIBITION VÁCLAV HAVEL – CITIZEN – PRESIDENT

Paweł Adamowicz – mayor of the city of Gdansk
Luc Luyten – chairman of the Board of the Evens Foundation
Cornelius Ochmann – director of the Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation
Małgorzata Kopka – acting director of the office
of the Heinrich Böll Foundation
Jan Andrzej Dąbrowski – director of the Jan Nowak-Jezioranski
College of Eastern Europe
Basil Kerski – director of the European Solidarity Centre

introduction to the exhibition:

Alan Pajer – personal photographer of Vaclav Havel, Prague

discussion:

Petr Janyška – director of the Czech Centre in Warsaw,
former ambassador of Czech Republic to France, Prague, Warsaw
Aleksander Kaczorowski – writer, author of the biography
of Václav Havel, Warsaw

host:

Andrzej Jagodzinski – Czech and Slovak philologist, diplomat, literary
translator, columnist, publicist, Warsaw

.....

18.00–20.00 | venue: ECS Auditorium

SCREENING OF “THE EVENT”, DIRECTED BY SERGEY LOZNICA

introduction to the film:

Łukasz Adamski – historian and political scientist, specializing
in the history of the Eastern Europe countries,
the Centre for Polish-Russian Dialogue and Understanding, Warsaw

Friday, 20th May

10.00–11.30 | venue: ECS Temporary Exhibition Hall
EUROPE WITH A VIEW TO THE FUTURE

introduction:

Lech Wałęsa – former president of Poland

Basil Kerski – director of the European Solidarity Centre

Luc Luyten – chairman of the Board of the Evens Foundation

Cornelius Ochmann – director of the Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation

.....
PANEL I | venue: ECS Time Exhibition Hall

EUROPE AND THE CULTURE OF HOSPITALITY.

MIGRATION AS A TEST OF THE CREDIBILITY OF EUROPEAN VALUES

- Is Europe, faithful to Christian values, a reality or just a rhetoric?
- Why is “the Other” the enemy?
- Does political pragmatism and a departure from European values deepen the crisis in Europe?
- Is it possible to create a common European migration policy?

panelists

Krzysztof Czyżewski – co-founder of the “Borderland of Arts, Cultures, Nations” Centre, Sejny

Marzenna Guz-Vetter – acting Director of Representation of the European Commission Representation in Poland, Warsaw

David Kipp – expert on migration, the Foundation for Science and Politics, Berlin

host:

Lidiya Chikalova – journalist and columnist, a graduate of the Solidarity Academy 2014, Bishkek, St. Petersburg

discussion with the participants

.....
12.00–13.30 | PANEL II + PANEL III

PANEL II | venue: ECS Time Exhibition Hall

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE AFTER THE BREAKUP OF THE SOVIET UNION. THE AFTER-EFFECT OF THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROJECT

- Has the process of democratization succeeded in Central and Eastern Europe?
- How has the perception of the Soviet Union changed in Europe and the world?
- What is the role of Russia in the process of Europe disintegration?

panelists

Łukasz Adamski – historian and political scientist, the Centre for Polish-Russian Dialogue and Understanding, Warsaw

Irina Borogan – Russian investigative journalist, co-author of the portal Agentura.ru, Moscow

Urszula Doroszewska – sociologist, diplomat, adviser to the President of Poland Andrzej Duda, Warsaw

Paweł Kowal – historian, politician, columnist, former Secretary of State in Polish MFA, Rzeszów, Warsaw

Serhii Plokhii – historian, Harvard University, Kyiv, Boston

host:

Matthew Luxmoore – journalist, columnist and graduate of the Solidarity Academy in 2014, London, Warsaw

discussion with the participants

.....

PANEL III | venue: ECS Library

NATO IN THE 21ST CENTURY. HOW SAFE ARE EUROPEAN DEMOCRACIES?

- Are the countries of Central and Eastern Europe safe?
- What are the expectations of European countries towards NATO?
- What are NATO's plans – a “Cold War”-like arms race or a real conflict?

panelists

Pierre Buhler – ambassador of the French Republic to Poland, Warsaw

Sławomir Dębski – director of the Polish Institute of Foreign Affairs, Warsaw

Dominik P. Jankowski – diplomat, NATO Summit Warsaw Task Force, Security Policy Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Warsaw

Seth G. Jones – director of the International Centre for Security and Defense Policy RAND, Chicago, Washington

Paul W. Jones – ambassador of the United States to Poland, Warsaw

host:

Michael Lambert – journalist, columnist, employee of the Ministry of Defense of the French Republic, graduate of the Solidarity Academy in 2015, Paris

discussion with the participants

.....

15.00–16.30 | PANEL IV + PANEL V

PANEL IV | venue: ECS Time Exhibition Hall

HOW HAS CHANGED THE EUROPEAN UNION NEIGHBORHOOD POLICY DUE TO CONFLICTS IN EAST EUROPE AND IN THE SOUTH?

- What is the current vision of the neighborhood policy of the European Union?
- The South at the cost of the East? Is Europe able to build a coherent neighborhood policy towards its southern and eastern neighbors?
- What should dialogue with Russia look like?

panelists

Li Bennich-Björkman – political scientist, expert on Eastern Partnership, Uppsala

Iris Kempe – senior advisor for culture and education, the Council of Baltic Sea States, Stockholm

Volodymyr Pavliv – journalist and lecturer at the School of Journalism Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, Lviv
Patrycja Sasnal – expert on the Middle East, the Polish Institute of International Affairs, Warsaw
Lev Zakharchyshyn – Consul General of Ukraine in Gdansk, Gdansk

host:

William Schreiber – journalist, adviser to the mayor of Kyiv, Yale University, graduate of the Solidarity Academy 2014, New York, Kyiv

discussion with the participants

.....

Panel V | venue: ECS Library

POLAND-GERMANY. A PARTNERSHIP FOR EUROPE.

25 YEARS OF POLISH-GERMAN TREATY

ON GOOD NEIGHBORHOOD AND FRIENDLY COOPERATION

- What was the significance of the 1991 Treaty for Polish-German relations?
- In what areas of cooperation have relations between Poland and Germany succeeded, where have they not succeeded?
- What is the significance of Germany for Poland and Poland for Germany today? Do they still have the same values and the same interests in common as they did in 1991?

panelists:

Jan Krzysztof Bielecki – politician, economist, former Polish Prime Minister, Warsaw

Markus Meckel – former minister of foreign affairs of the GDR, Cooperation, Berlin

Rolf Nikel – ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Poland, Warsaw

Sebastian Pióciennik – head of the European Union Programme in the Polish Institute of International Affairs, Warsaw

Rita Süßmuth – former president of the Bundestag, Berlin

host:

Wojciech Duda – historian, journalist, and former adviser to the Prime Minister, Gdansk

discussion with the participants

.....

17.30-19.30 | venue: ECS Time Exhibition Hall

AMBASSADOR OF NEW EUROPE

The award ceremony and announcement of the results of the contest

The event will include a performance by Paul Zaganczyk [accordion]

EUROPE WITH A VIEW TO THE FUTURE

Summary of the European Reflection Forum

Piotr Andrusieczko – ethnologist, political scientist, journalist of Gazeta Wyborcza, Poznan, Sevastopol

Wojciech Duda – historian, former adviser to the Prime Minister, Gdansk
Basil Kerski – director of the European Solidarity Centre, Berlin, Gdansk
Paweł Kowal – historian, politician, journalist, former Secretary of the State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Warsaw
Rita Süssmuth – former President of the Bundestag, Berlin
host:
Agnieszka Lichnerowicz – journalist of Radio TOK FM, Warsaw

Saturday, 21st May

10.00–13.00

The European Gdansk

Gdansk walking tour guided by Paweł Huelle, writer

| organizatorzy



europa
solidarity
centre



esc.gda.pl

| partnerzy



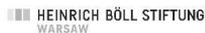
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Consulat honoraire à Sopot



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Nowa Europa Wschodnia

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The aim of the RAPORT series is to interpret the problems faced by civil society today, as well as diagnose the transformation of political culture and international cooperation in Poland and Europe. We seek to make sense of the changes that are taking place before our eyes and interpret the processes of change in the last decades, which have influenced the development of democracy in the region. The series presents the effects of public debates and research projects initiated and implemented by the European Solidarity Centre in cooperation with partner institutions. We would like the Raport series, available with creative commons license, to reach a wide range of readers and inspire a new culture of solidarity in European societies.

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