

**THE CHANGES IN POLISH UKRAINIAN RELATIONS IN 2005-2010:  
THE RISE OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION PROCESS IN TWO COUNTRIES**

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*Summary:* This article showcases the changes in bilateral relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland after the “Orange Revolution” in the former and the accession to the European Union in the latter. It suggests that the changes in foreign policies of two countries led to a progressive shift from direct bilateral relations that the two nations had since the fall of USSR to a new level of cooperation under the structures of the EU’s Eastern Partnership project and the European Neighborhood Policy, which can be understood from the analysis of the treaties signed in these years.

*Keywords:* Ukrainian-Polish relations, bilateral treaties, European integration

The Republic of Poland have established relations with Ukraine as soon as the latter was granted independence from the Soviet Union. Said relations have been improving ever since, to the level of a strategic partnership. On October 13, 1990 both countries agreed to the *Declaration on the foundations and general directions in the development of Polish-Ukrainian relations*, which signified and re-affirmed the historic ties between Poland and Ukraine, referencing "ethnic and cultural kinship of the Polish and Ukrainian peoples" [1].

The primary sources for the research are bilateral treaties between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland (such as *the Agreement between the Republic of Poland and Ukraine on Social Security*, May 18, 2012), as well as one-sided documents, both Ukrainian and Polish (such as Foreign Minister Radosław Sikorski’s proclamation of the *Polish Foreign Policy Priorities 2012–2016*, March 29, 2012). The overviewed scientific literature include works of both Polish (such as J. Draus’s *Polish-Ukrainian relations after independence*, T. Каруцьняк’s *Polityka Polski wobec Ukrainy*, etc.) and Ukrainian (such as S. Hrabovsky’s *Яка Україна потрібна Польщі?*, В. Andrushkiv’s *Україна і Польща – економічні аспекти співпраці* etc.) historians, economists and journalists. Information from multiple news media was also used.

We believe that researchers still tend to overlook the dramatic changes in Polish-Ukrainian relations that have occurred in less than a decade, from 2005 to 2013, even outside the geopolitical triangle “Poland – Ukraine – Russia” (as described by Alla Kyrydon) [2]. Among the few, the director of the Institute for European Integration Lviv University, Professor Bohdan Hud identified three periods of modern Ukrainian-Polish relations: the "romantic" period (under Leonid Kravchuk and Lech Wałęsa), the "pragmatic" period (under President Leonid Kuchma and Alexander Kwaśniewski), and the "historical" one (Viktor Yushchenko and Lech Kaczyński) [3].

Based on the analysis of historiography and sources, we can determine that the purpose of the article is to analyze the changes in the relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland during 2005–2010 period on the basis of official documents and to seek the answer to a question of what caused the aforementioned changes.

From the beginning of his “revolutionary” campaign, Viktor Yushchenko had support among Polish politicians, including members of the Sejm and the government – among them the former President of Poland and leader of “Solidarity” Lech Wałęsa, and the future president Lech Kaczyński (mayor of Warsaw at that time).

Poland’s accession to the European Union, which took place a bit earlier before Ukrainian election (May 1, 2004), has created a new reality for Ukraine: for the first time there was a country that would actively “lobby” the Ukrainian course for EU membership and partnership with NATO among the members of the European Union. The strengthening of the partnership with Poland not only provided new opportunities for Ukraine in the European politics, but would also strengthen Viktor Yushchenko’s credibility as the president.

During his several visits to the EU countries in January and February 2005, the new President of Ukraine stated that Ukraine is ready to break its “multivector foreign policy” and

that pursuing the membership in the EU and NATO will be the main geopolitical goals from now on. He also asked for the "clear European perspective": what exactly should be done for Ukraine to join these organizations [4]. The EU immediately responded with the "EU/Ukraine Action Plan" that set the level of strategic cooperation between two entities for the time period before the Association Agreement is prepared and formalized [5].

Regarding specifically bilateral treaties, the year 2005 presents such documents on several levels. These began with March's *Treaty between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of the Republic of Poland on economic cooperation*. Its most important point was declaring "the development of intra-regional economic cooperation" between the two countries [6]. This point was later continued and realized in the form of *The Treaty on International - interregional cooperation between the Donetsk Oblast (Ukraine) and the Silesian Voivodeship (Republic Poland)*, which confirmed the exchange of delegations of representatives from regional authorities, executive cadres, management specialists and experts in all the jointly defined spheres of cooperation, noted the need to involve in all the interested institutions and economic structures from both sides in cooperation [7].

The year 2005 was proclaimed the Year of Ukraine in Poland at the solemn meeting in Warsaw in April 2005 with the participation of the President of Ukraine Victor Yushchenko and the President of the Republic of Poland Aleksander Kwasniewski. State leaders signed the *Treaties on the Academic Recognition of Diplomas and Degrees and on the cooperation in the field of information*. The purpose of these agreements was considered to be the "expansion of trade-economic and scientific-technical relations". Once again Poland was declared to be the most important economic partner of Ukraine in Central Europe. Among other issues discussed during the meeting was the continuation of the Odessa-Brody oil pipeline to Plock and Gdansk, with the intention of its use for transporting Caspian oil in the future. Poland was also interested in purchasing the Turkmen gas from the Ukrainian market, instead of more expensive supplies from Russia; while Ukraine hoped to export its electricity not only to Poland but also to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe beyond the borders of the Republic of Poland. However, the end of Ukraine's direct gas contracts with Turkmenistan in 2006 has weakened its position in this respect, and led to the loss of an additional leverage to further Poland's cooperation, and to obtain more revenue from electricity exports further west. The presidential level arrangements were confirmed by intergovernmental agreements later this year.

The situation somewhat changes in 2006, with Lech Kaczyński's coming to power as the President of the Republic of Poland and the formation of Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich's government in Ukraine. On September 2006, Viktor Yanukovich made statements regarding Ukraine's foreign policy, saying that it's not ready for NATO membership, but declaring the intention to seek the European Union membership. However, on March 1, 2006 Ukraine received an official visit from the newly elected President of the Republic of Poland, which confirmed the immutability of Polish policy towards Ukraine, regardless of whether Ukraine will continue its active pro-NATO course or not.

Thus, the period of 2005–2007 years can be characterized as the "demonstratingly supportive" one, full of declarations of absolute cooperation between the two countries; in which Poland took the role of the "engine" that will lead the Ukraine into the EU and NATO, while said cooperation mostly expanded in matters culture ("The Year of Ukraine") and the development of economical relations between regions of two countries.

In autumn 2007, both in Poland and in Ukraine early parliamentary elections were held. These ended in the creation of a coalition government of Donald Tusk (his Civic Platform party and its rival, Law and Justice) in Poland and the coalition government of Yulia Tymoshenko (BYT collaborated with OU-PSD) in December 2007. Late on, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland Radosław Sikorski, presented the new trends of foreign policy at the meeting of the Sejm in May. He explicitly expressed the idea described above: "Poland should continue to specialize in the development of a common foreign policy

towards the East" [8].

Such a geopolitical project has seen many discussions in the research departments of Eastern European policy in Poland. Director of the Center for East European Studies Jan Malicki in his interview to "Polskie Radio" stated: "I want to emphasize that the strength of the Polish position in the European Union depends on what kind of support and power we have in the east" [9].

However, virtually all spheres of bilateral relations were affected by problems associated with Poland's ascension to the Schengen area membership since the end of 2007, which led to new procedures and rules for crossing the Ukrainian-Polish border and, accordingly, created additional challenges for the development and optimization of cooperation between the states.

On July 1, 2009 a new treaty on the control of cross-border traffic was signed during the March visit of Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland Donald Tusk to Kyiv [10]. Nevertheless, the Schengen Visa issue remained unresolved. Once again during the talks, despite the relative irrelevance to the main issues of the aforementioned treaty, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland Radoslaw Sikorski assured support for Ukraine "in its effort to join the European and Euro-Atlantic family" [11].

With the end of Viktor Yushchenko's presidency approaching, Poland starts to depart from the idea of "common history" and the forgiveness of "sins of our ancestors" from both sides, and instead starts (on official level) the condemnation of the actions of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (who, on the other hand, were repeatedly characterized as heroes by the President of Ukraine – it is the context of the whole situation that caused a political resonance). On July 15, 2009 Polish Sejm adopted a resolution accusing the OUN and the UPA "in the massacres that have the characteristic of ethnic cleansing and the signs of genocide". In addition, the resolution says that the parliament "honors the memory of the fighters of the Home Army, Self-Defense of East Lands and Peasants' Battalions who rose to wage dramatic struggle in defense of the Polish civilian population and remembers with pain victims among the Ukrainian civilian population" [12].

We believe that the year 2009 can be safely called the year of the "political review" of historical memory, probably more related to finding points of disagreement (rather than agreement), seeking "claims" for recessions, rather than any of the "unifying" events of shared Polish-Ukrainian history. An interesting document that characterizes that time as such is the *Treaty on cooperation between the Security Service of Ukraine and the Institute of National Remembrance - Commission for the investigation of crimes against the Polish nation*, signed on August, 2009. Its subject is cooperation in the field of archives, research and publications of the materials that are stored in the archives of the Security Service of Ukraine [13]. Such a seemingly harmless agreement regarding "access to archival documents relating to the political repression that took place on Ukrainian and Polish peoples in the 20th century", became a political statement in the context of the July resolutions of the Sejm.

As suggested in *Gazeta Wyborcza*: "Although Kaczycski made some significant gestures toward Ukraine, now he is primarily thinking about the next year's elections. And his electorate believes that the conflict between two peoples during the war was only Ukrainians' fault" [14].

Nevertheless, Viktor Yushchenko stated that the relations between Ukraine and Poland can be considered exemplary among the countries that have a difficult shared history [15].

Thus, the period of Ukrainian-Polish relations after accession of Poland to the Schengen area (which resulted in certain changes to the status of partnership between the two countries) can be characterized as transitional from bilateralism to cooperation within the Eastern Partnership of the EU structures. In addition, the economic and strategic pragmatism was gradually "replaced by" the problems "common historical memory" as the "main topic" of relations. Nevertheless, Poland's support of Ukraine and its "European Ambitions" continued and finally resulted in the *Association Agreement between the European Union and the*

*European Atomic Energy Community and their member states*, of the one part, and Ukraine, of the other part, which was finally signed on June 27, 2014. Poland's acceptance into the EU and the Schengen Area put difficulties on Polish-Ukrainian cross-national cooperation, while also shaping Poland into Ukraine's main partner on the "arena" of EU enlargement process. In the meantime, changes in the Ukrainian politicum from 2005 to 2010 also influenced Polish-Ukrainian relations, giving Poland reasons to be cautious about close cooperation. No way or another, regardless of the continued declaration of strategic partnership in 2012's *Polish Foreign Policy Priorities*, the relations have shifted from primarily bilateral to more related to the European Union politics as whole. Only time will tell what new developments of Ukrainian-Polish relations will come soon and whether Poland will continuously support Ukraine's EU-association ambitions just as it did before.

The further research on this topic should be more connected to economical history of both Ukraine and Poland as the basis for many decisions of the countries' foreign policy. The analysis of the modern historiography and political review on the topic of historical Polish-Ukrainian conflicts is also recommended, as it gives us more understanding regarding the political discourse in both countries, their "national mythos" which cannot be denied and should be overviewed with attention while making any kind of prognosis regarding further Polish-Ukrainian relations in the future.

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## ВИКОРИСТАННЯ СОЦІАЛЬНИХ СЕРВІСІВ У ПРОЦЕСІ НАВЧАННЯ ІНОЗЕМНИХ МОВ УЧНІВ СТАРШОЇ ШКОЛИ

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*Резюме.* У статті розглянуто поняття „мережевий соціальний сервіс” у вітчизняній та зарубіжній методичній літературі, проаналізовано освітні функції соціальних сервісів та дидактичні можливості їхнього використання у процесі навчання іноземних мов учнів старшої школи на прикладі таких мережевих соціальних сервісів як блог, Twitter та Skype.

*Ключові слова:* інформаційно-комунікативні технології (ІКТ), мережеві соціальні сервіси (МСС), блог, Twitter, Skype, функції ММС.

**Вступ.** На сучасному етапі соціального розвитку спостерігаємо перехід від індустріального до інформаційно-технологічного суспільства, що зумовлює необхідність перебудови всієї системи освіти. Суспільство ХХІ століття вимагає від школи підготовки такого випускника, який би володів інформаційними технологіями, був здатний самостійно знаходити, аналізувати, порівнювати, узагальнювати, творчо переосмислювати необхідну інформацію. На навчання й виховання такого покоління націлюють Державний стандарт базової й повної середньої освіти, чинні навчальні програми з іноземних мов. Зокрема, у Державному стандарті зазначається, що завданням освітньої галузі «Мова і література» у старшій школі є вироблення вмінь „користуватися сучасними інформаційно-комунікативними технологіями (Інтернет, дистанційне навчання тощо), здійснювати пошуково-дослідницьку діяльність (знаходити, сприймати, аналізувати, оцінювати, систематизувати, зіставляти різноманітні факти й відомості), застосовувати на практиці здобуті в процесі вивчення мови і літератури знання, набуті вміння й навички” [1].

Проблема застосування ІКТ (інформаційно-комунікативних технологій) у сучасній школі є відносно новою. За частотністю застосування ІКТ на уроках іноземних мов учителі надають перевагу мультимедійним технологіям. До сучасних напрацювань слід віднести розробки медіауроків, медіапроектів, мультимедійних засобів навчання (інтерактивних плакатів, вправ, електронних словників, 3-Д книг тощо) [5]. Освітні стандарти спонукають вчителів іноземних мов до активного використання найновіших інформаційно-комунікаційних засобів, таких як, наприклад, соціальні сервіси, адже метою вивчення іноземних мов є формування іншомовної компетенції, що визначається вмінням вести бесіду як за умови особистої присутності учасників спілкування, так і через мережу Інтернет за допомогою різноманітних соціальних сервісів. Останній вид спілкування сьогодні розглядається як окремий рівноправний вид спілкування.

Наразі в методиці викладання іноземних мов питання використання МСС (мережевих соціальних сервісів) є недостатньо вивченим. У своїх працях це питання частково порушували такі автори: Євстегнеєв М.Н., Сисоєв П.В., Полат Є.С, Титова С.В. Аналіз практики застосування соціальних сервісів Інтернету свідчить про невисокий рівень мережевої активності вчителів-предметників. Вони використовуються педагогами лише в окремих випадках: переважно під час проведення позакласних заходів, рідше – під час організації індивідуального навчання. Одна з