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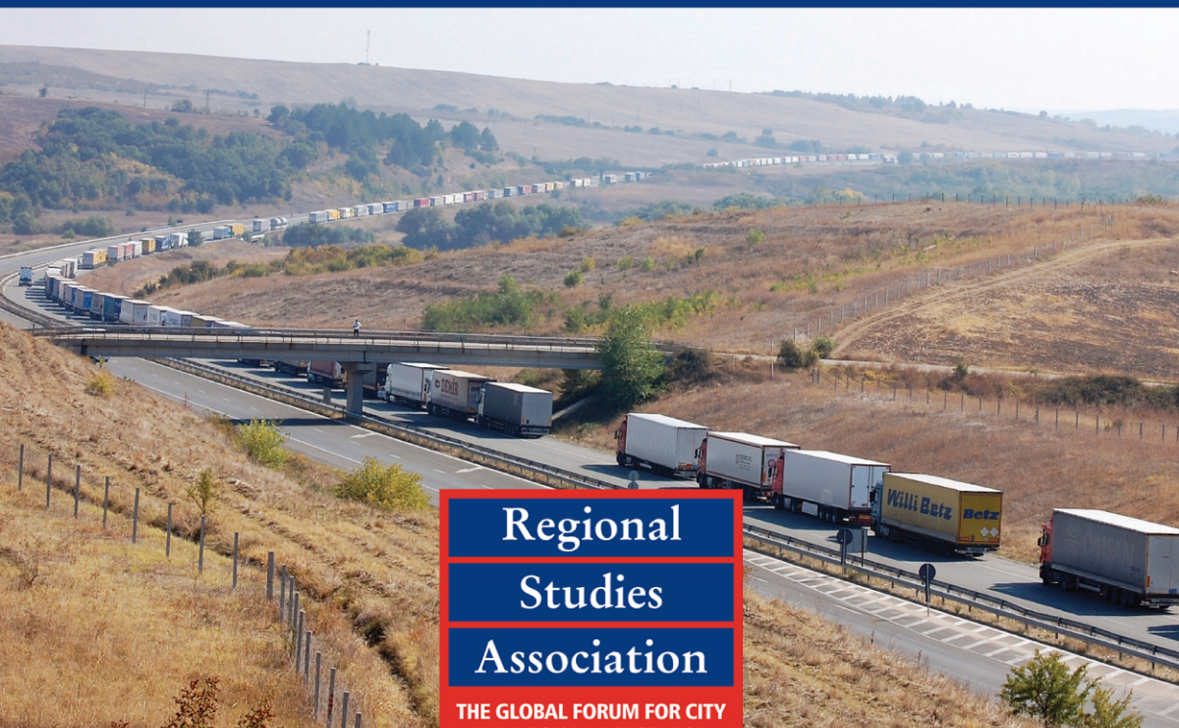
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THE EU'S NEW BORDERLAND

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ANDRZEJ JAKUBOWSKI, ANDRZEJ MISZCZUK,
BOGDAN KAWAŁKO, TOMASZ KOMORNICKI,
AND ROMAN SZUL

The EU's New Borderland

The strengthening of relations between Poland and Ukraine over the last 25 years is one of the most positive examples of transformations in bilateral relations in Central and Eastern Europe. In spite of the complex and difficult historical heritage dominated by the events of World War II and the early post-war years, after the fall of Communism in Poland and Ukraine, bilateral institutional cooperation was successfully undertaken and mutual social contacts were recreated.

The issue of Polish–Ukrainian relations at the international and trans-border level gained particular importance at the moment of expansion of the European Union to the east and the announcement of the assumptions of the European Neighbourhood Policy in 2004. Since then, relations have continued to thrive and provide a blueprint for cross-border relations in other parts of the EU. In this book the authors examine the issue of cooperation and cross-border relations on the new external border of the EU. The book's primary objective is to present the way in which the Polish and Ukrainian parties develop the bilateral cooperation, adapting to the changing geopolitical conditions and responding to the related challenges. The chapters offer a comprehensive diagnosis of the conditions determining the current and future state of Polish–Ukrainian cross-border cooperation and describe the area as a social, economic and political space.

The EU's New Borderland will be of interest to university students of international relations, geography, economy or history, as well as those willing to expand their knowledge in the scope of regional geography, European integration, cross-border cooperation and international relations.

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development

**Andrzej Jakubowski, Andrzej Miszczuk,
Bogdan Kawałko, Tomasz Komornicki
and Roman Szul**

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Andrzej Jakubowski and Andrzej Miszczuk

Abbreviations

AA	Association Agreement
ATO	Anti-Terrorist Operation
CBC	cross-border cooperation
CCP	cross-border cooperation programme
CEFTA	Central European Free Trade Agreement
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
COMECON	The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
DCFTA	Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area
DK	Droga Krajowa (trunk road)
EACU	Eurasian Customs Union
ECPUU	European College of Polish and Ukrainian Universities
EEA	European Economic Area
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
ENPI	European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument
EP	Eastern Partnership
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
EU	European Union
FDI	foreign direct investment
GDP	gross domestic product
GUAM	GUAM Organization for Democracy and Economic Development
HDI	human development index
HGV	heavy goods vehicle
ICT	information and communication technologies
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KUL	Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II (John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin)
LBT	local border traffic
LHS	Linia Hutnicza Szerokotorowa (Broad-gauge Steelworks Line)
NATO	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	non-governmental organizations
NIS	New Independent States
NNI	new neighbourhood instrument

NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
NZS	Narodowe Siły Zbrojne (National Armed Forces)
OUN	Orghanizacia Ukrainskykh Nacionalistiv (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists)
PBU	Poland–Belarus–Ukraine
PCA	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement
PGR	Państwowe Gospodarstwo Rolne (State Agricultural Farm)
PiS	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (Law and Justice)
PLN	Polish złoty (currency)
PO	Platforma Obywatelska (Civic Platform)
PPS	purchasing power standards
PUWP	Polish United Workers’ Party
R&D	research and development
RHDI	regional human development index
SPF	small project fund
TACIS	Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States
TEN-T	Trans-European Transport Networks
TRACECA	Transport Corridor Europe–Caucasus–Asia
UMCS	Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej (Maria Curie-Skłodowska University)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO MaB	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Man and Biosphere Programme
UPA	Ukrainska Povstanska Armia (Ukrainian Uprising Army)
USA	United States of America
USSR	Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
WTO	World Trade Organization



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Introduction

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The rapprochement of Poland and Ukraine that has taken place over the last quarter century is one of the most positive examples of bilateral transformation in post-communist Central and Eastern Europe. Despite their complex and burdensome historical legacy, dominated by the tragic events of World War II and the early post-war years, after the fall of communism Poland and Ukraine managed to develop bilateral cooperation in the institutional dimension and rebuild mutual contacts on a social level. At the same time both nations were linked in a strategic partnership, within which Poland began to perform the role of a promoter and patron of a pro-western orientation in Ukraine's domestic and foreign policy.

The issue of Polish–Ukrainian relations on an interstate and cross-border level gained particular significance at the point of the European Union's enlargement in the east and the launch of the European Neighbourhood Policy in 2004. In view of Poland's socio-economic potential as the largest new member state, emerging as a leader in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as the significance of Ukraine as the largest nation included in the Eastern Partnership programme, it could be said that Poland and Ukraine, and in particular the Polish–Ukrainian borderland, have become a kind of geopolitical keystone, connecting the European Union and Eastern Europe. However, while Poland is regarded as an example of successful political and economic transformation, Ukraine remains a nation of largely unexploited opportunity, drawing the world's attention only at moments of dramatic change, such as the Orange Revolution and the Maidan movement.

The success of official Polish–Ukrainian interstate relations is reflected at regional and local levels in the form of joint economic, cultural, educational and scientific initiatives carried out within the two Euroregions existing in the Polish–Ukrainian borderland: the Bug and Carpathian Euroregions. While official interstate relations have developed well, cross-border cooperation has stumbled against barriers of a diverse nature. An undoubted challenge for the development of Polish–Ukrainian cross-border cooperation was the entry of Poland to the European Union. Besides the many opportunities, numerous threats also appeared affecting the social and economic ties that had previously been formed along with institutional forms of cooperation. Now that ten years have passed since the largest expansion in the history of the EU, it would seem an appropriate moment to conduct the first summary of this period.

The proposed publication deals with a topic of major current importance – cross-border cooperation and ties on the new external border of the EU. Its principal aim is to show how Polish and Ukrainian actors have developed bilateral cooperation, adapting to the changing geopolitical conditions and responding to the challenges they generate.

Further aims of the publication are to perform a multidimensional diagnosis of the circumstances determining the current and future shape of Polish–Ukrainian cross-border cooperation, to describe the Polish–Ukrainian borderland as a social, economic and political space, and to evaluate its socio-economic potential. In doing so, it is worth emphasizing that the area regarded as the Polish–Ukrainian borderland, incorporating four regional units (Lublin and Podkarpackie voivodships in Poland; Lviv and Volhynia oblasts in Ukraine) is an example of a relatively young borderland, as the subsequent state boundaries which form its backbone were not created until after World War II. Previously, the studied region belonged in its entirety to one nation (Bałtowski and Miszczuk 1999).

Equally important from a research point of view are questions concerning perspectives on cross-border cooperation in the context of national and regional strategic documents, Polish–Ukrainian bilateral relations, the evolution of EU policies towards neighbouring states and, above all, the geopolitical transformation in Central and Eastern Europe.

Current events in Ukraine have lent a specific context to the discussion, as we find ourselves at a moment of transition. On the one hand there is renewed hope of a pro-western turn in Ukrainian politics, the implementation of reforms and closer proximity to the EU; while, on the other hand, numerous fears have arisen regarding the security and future of this nation, particularly after the annexation of Crimea by Russia and the continuing conflict in Donbas.

The question of Polish–Ukrainian relations has become the subject of several dozen publications in English, although these are somewhat diverse in nature and only lightly touch upon the issues covered in this study. The history of Polish–Ukrainian relations spanning many centuries is presented in, among others, *Poland and Ukraine: past and present* (Potichnyi 1980); ‘Polish–Ukrainian Relations: The Burden of History’ (Rudnytsky 1987); *Borderland: A Journey through the History of Ukraine* (Reid 2000); and *Galicia: A Multicultural Land*, dedicated to the history of the southern part of the present-day borderland (Hann and Magocsi 2005). The issue of Polish–Ukrainian relations during World War II has also been fairly well examined, the tone being set by the Polish–Ukrainian debate on the massacre of Poles in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia. Among historical publications that deserve mention include *Genocide and Rescue in Wolyn* (Piotrowski 2000) and *Heroes and the Villains. Creating National History in Contemporary Ukraine* (Marples 2007).

The relations between Poland and Ukraine in the first years after the fall of communism are presented in *Polish–Ukrainian Relations in 1992–1996* (Kamiński and Kozakiewicz 1997). Other valuable contributions include ‘The Ukrainian–Polish Strategic Partnership and Central European Geopolitics’ (Pavliuk 1999) as well as ‘Ukrainian–Polish Relations between 1991–1998: From the Declaratory to the Substantive’ (Wolczuk 2000). An additional publication covering this

issue is *On the Edge. Ukrainian–Central European–Russian Security Triangle* (Balmaceda 2000).

The question of Polish–Ukrainian relations in the context of European integration is the subject of ‘European Union and Ukrainian–Polish Relations’ (Dybczyński 2000) and the collective work *Strategic Partnership between Poland and Ukraine* (Podraza and Gizicki 2008). Other works deserving of attention include *Poland and Ukraine: A Strategic partnership in a Changing Europe?* (Wolczuk and Wolczuk 2003a) and *Poland’s relations with Ukraine: A challenging strategic partnership* (Wolczuk and Wolczuk 2003b), as well as ‘Polish–Ukrainian Relations: A Strategic Relationship Conditioned by Externalities’ (Wolczuk 2002). Further works of interest are *More than Neighbours: The Enlarged Europe and Ukraine – new relations* (Boratynski and Gromadzki 2004); ‘What Holds Ukraine and Poland Together? On External and Internal Factors of Ukrainian–Polish Relations’ (Klymenko 2009) and *Public Opinion and the Making of Foreign Policy in the ‘New Europe’: A Comparative Study of Poland and Ukraine* (Copsey 2013).

However, these publications concern Polish–Ukrainian relations on an interstate level, overlooking or only touching on their regional and cross-border dimensions. Meanwhile, a number of valuable but fragmentary studies are equally unable to fill the gap in this area. These include ‘Conflicts and Potential on Poland’s Eastern Borders: the Example of the Polish-Russian and Polish–Ukrainian Border Regions’ (Stokłosa 2012), ‘The Polish–Ukrainian Interstate Model for Cooperation and Integration: Regional Relations in a Theoretical Context’ (Spero 2002) and ‘Local and regional cross-border cooperation between Poland and Ukraine’ (Krok and Smętkowski 2006).

In reviewing the literature on the subject, it is noticeable that there was a growth in interest on the topic of Polish–Ukrainian relations in the period preceding EU enlargement in 2004 as well as in the first years following the Orange Revolution. Apart from the work by N. Copsey, the studies quickly became outdated as a result of the dynamic changes taking place both in the international environment and in Ukraine’s domestic politics. There is no up-to-date contribution taking into account the transition process in Ukraine initiated by the Revolution of Dignity or the new dimension of relations between the European Union (including Poland) and Ukraine based on the European Neighbourhood Policy, the Eastern Partnership and the Association Agreement.

There is also a lack of publications available providing a complex analysis of Polish–Ukrainian cross-border cooperation. This study fills the informational gap in this area. Moreover, owing to its inter-disciplinary character, including issues relating to political geography, international relations and economics, it constitutes a unique and up-to-date work of considerable cognitive, explanatory and prognostic merit. It comprises four chapters. The first, by Roman Szul, presents the wider Polish–Ukrainian context of cross-border cooperation in the historical perspective, highlighting the principal factors determining the current shape and nature of this cooperation. The history of the Polish–Ukrainian borderland is shown in the context of Polish–Ukrainian relations, particularly at the time when two conflicting national projects – Polish and Ukrainian – collided. The issue of geopolitical changes is also discussed, including changes along the border, which in the course of the turbulent twentieth century had either integrational or disintegrational effects

on the analysed area, resulting in alternate periods of either making or breaking many functional and spatial ties. Chapter 1 also discusses the various models of political and socio-economic transformation adopted in Poland and in Ukraine.

Chapters 2 and 3 are of an empirical nature, based on analyses of statistical data retrieved from different sources, each of which is discussed in detail. Chapter 2, by Andrzej Jakubowski, shows the potential of Poland–Ukraine in terms of its natural environment, demography and economy. Based on cluster analysis, the author summarizes the position of the study area in the context of European regions.

Meanwhile, Chapter 3, by Tomasz Komornicki and Andrzej Miszczuk, presents a diagnosis of existing cross-border ties and forms of cross-border cooperation in the Polish–Ukrainian borderland. The principal outcomes of and barriers to cross-border cooperation are identified and assessed. Detailed analyses are conducted in the following areas: cooperation in nature conservation, including cross-border protected areas; social contacts (labour and student migration); the main transport corridors and their significance; the state of border infrastructure and the size of border traffic; trade contacts, including foreign and border trade; tourist links; and institutional cooperation between various entities.

Finally, Chapter 4, by Andrzej Jakubowski, Bogdan Kawałko, Andrzej Miszczuk and Roman Szul, discusses the challenges and opportunities that face Polish–Ukrainian cross-border cooperation in the context of national and regional strategic documents, bilateral interstate relations, the evolving EU Eastern Policy and European Neighbourhood Instrument, the new geopolitical choices of Ukraine and the geopolitical transformation occurring in Central and Eastern Europe. The summary of this chapter presents possible scenarios for the development of Polish–Ukrainian cross-border cooperation and indicates the consequences for cross-border cooperation and development in the Polish–Ukrainian borderland.

This publication is directed at readers who are interested in the socio-economic and political situation in the Polish–Ukrainian borderland, the Polish–Ukrainian section of the external EU border, the European Neighbourhood Policy and the geopolitical transformations in Central and Eastern Europe. However, the interdisciplinary nature of this publication, incorporating issues of political geography, history, international relations and economics, as well as the current validity of the topics discussed, means that the range of potential readers is no doubt much wider.

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