



Central and East European Forum

In 2001, we embarked upon the organization of a cycle of Stefan Batory Foundation public debates on Polish foreign policy and on international relations. The conference entitled *NATO, the European Union, and Central and Eastern Europe*, held in December of 1999, was the first of a series of meetings devoted to reflection on the role of non-governmental organizations in foreign policy, contributing to closer cooperation among Polish organizations in Eastern Europe. The year of 2001 saw the convention of an informal working group for devising mechanisms for cooperation between state institutions and NGOs, for preparing a report on achievements of the third sector beyond Poland's borders, and for creating a joint data base; the Forum took an active role in this group's operations, providing it with secretarial/office support.

From 1999 onwards, an important aspect of the Forum's operations was constituted in issues relating to the integration of Poland's eastern neighbors with Europe. We perceive our role as one of facilitating work on European integration issues by opinion leaders in the countries concerned. In 2001, we played host to representatives of local self-government bodies from Ukraine arriving in Poland on a fact-finding mission about our country's preparations for EU accession at the central and local levels. Together with the National Broadcasting Council, we organized a seminar entitled *European Integration and the Media – Polish Experiences for Ukraine*, an opportunity for taking stock of the cooperation between Polish and Ukrainian journalists to date and for discussing its future. We continued our series of workshops for young journalists and political scientists from Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Poland on the place of our region in the European security system; each one of these workshops features a study trip to Brussels. The strength of these sessions lies in their multi-faceted character, in the fact that they provide a forum for what are oftentimes diametrically opposed perspectives on the changes unfolding in the region.

It has already become the tradition of our Forum to devote due attention to the role of the past in mutual relations among Central and East European countries. The *Culture and Identity* conference, organized together with the Center for Political Thought of Cracow, was one of the highlights of 2001; it brought together representatives of the cultural world, of NGOs, and of state institutions from Poland and Ukraine for discussions of national identity, historical memory, and of the lingering shadows of totalitarianism on the one hand and of state cultural policy and promotion of culture on the other. The publication of the volume entitled *Polish and Ukrainian Historians and the Problems of the 20th Century* provided an opportunity for discussions – held in Warsaw, Cracow, and Kiev – on the place occupied by history in the public discourse of both countries after 1989, the main historical disputes, and the situation of persons researching these questions over the past decade. Different views on the shared history of our region also received a forum in the *Alternative History* program, pursued with the editors of the *Mówią Wieki* monthly since 2000; under this program, teachers and high school students from Belarus, Lithuania, Ukraine, and Poland come together with historians and seek to devise new methods of teaching history. These workshops yield publications that establish themselves on informal reading lists for history classes as well as facilitating the preparation of lessons by the teachers themselves.



Sharing the Polish experiences with others and fostering democratic transformations constitute constant themes in the Forum's work. For several years, we have been combining our resources with those of numerous organizations and institutions across Poland in concentrating on the case of Belarus. We are engaged in several long-term projects – *Scholarships for Students, Polish Reforms, Internships for Young Academics, Non-School Education in Poland* – geared at assisting those circles in Belarus which are striving towards reform and the development of civil society in their country. In 2001, we involved ourselves in Belarus' most important event of the year, the presidential elections, by sending a group of independent observers. As of 2000, we have been pursuing a project entitled *The Kaliningrad District. Towards Regional Partnership*, geared at fortifying the NGO sector in the enclave and at fostering the cooperation of Polish NGOs and local governments with their counterparts in the Kaliningrad area. We also continued our cooperation with the countries of the former Yugoslavia, launched with the *Balkan Wars* conference in 1999, addressing our efforts to NGOs and to journalists.

In 2001, the Forum executed a total of 35 projects, including seminars, conferences, and public debates, internships, workshops, and study visits. These involved more than 450 active participants and some 1 000 listeners. The single largest group of foreign guests were the Belarusians (108 visitors), followed by the Ukrainians (95) and the Russians (22 visitors); the projects dealing with European integration also involved guests from Western Europe.

Foundation Debates

Eastern Policy of Poland (March 15, 2001)

This meeting, organized together with the editors of *Tygodnik Powszechny*, marked the beginning of the Batory Foundation Debates series. The discussion centered on the question of whether the results brought by Polish activity in the east are up to par with expectations. The interlocutors took issue with the opinion whereby the generally low effectiveness of these efforts results from the underestimation of our eastern neighbors' „corruption” with communism coupled with a tendency to place too much stock in political and economic change. The fact that Poland's foreign policy does not appear to take account of Russia was deemed to be disquieting. The validity of the Giedroyc-Mieroszewski concept (formulated among Polish emigré circles, calling for close cooperation with Poland's eastern neighbors – Belarus, Lithuania, and Ukraine – so as to produce an effective counterweight against Russia) was confronted with the reality on the ground, one which suggests that Belarus and Ukraine can never be entirely independent of a powerful Russia. A viable solution for Poland's eastern policy could be presented in the formulation of an attractive offer which would provide these countries with an alternative to the Russian one – an offer which would entail a pro-European orientation (aid programs). The importance of considering Poland's eastern policies in the context of anticipated accession to the EU received much emphasis. The participants in this debate were Zdzisław Najder (columnist, former director of Radio Free Europe), Jerzy Marek Nowakowski (political scientist, foreign policy advisor to former Prime Minister Jerzy Buzek), Dariusz Rosati (economist, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, member of the Monetary Policy Council), Bartłomiej Sienkiewicz (political scientist), and Aleksander Smolar (President of the Stefan Batory Foundation). The April 22 issue of *Tygodnik Powszechny* carried a transcript of the debate.

Between the United States and the European Union (May 17, 2001)

The second meeting about Poland's foreign policy, likewise co-organized with *Tygodnik Powszechny*, addressed the issue of Poland's role in American-European relations. The tenets of Polish foreign policy remain unaffected by any dilemmas of choice between Europe and the United States – it is obvious that Poland is striving towards Euro-Atlantic integration as well as to joining the European Union. There have, however, been voices – at home as well as abroad – suggesting that, one day, such a choice will become a necessity. Some of the debate participants maintained that it is in Poland's interest to maintain cohesiveness between her policies vis a vis the EU and NATO. Many countries, this argument went, happily reconcile membership in both these organizations; the main idea is that Poland's foreign policy should be independent and convincing for both these camps. Poland ought to focus her attention on Central Europe for it is in this region that we can play a key role, within the EU as well as within NATO. Other participants, meanwhile, advanced the view whereby the Europe-or-America choice stands a good chance of becoming an all-too-real dilemma for Poland; in this context, we may have to decide whether we attach priority to security or to economic relations. The participants in this debate were as follows: Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz (former Prime Minister of Poland), Jerzy Marek Nowakowski (political scientist, foreign policy advisor to former Prime Minister Jerzy Buzek), Janusz Reiter (Chairman of the Center for International Relations), Jan Maria Rokita (deputy to Poland's Parliament), and Aleksander Smolar (President of the Stefan Batory Foundation). An account of the debate appeared in the August 26 issue of *Tygodnik Powszechny*.



Islam and Terror
(October 3, 2001)

We discussed the question of terrorism as a weapon employed against political and/or ideological opponents in the Muslim world. The outbreak of aggression against Muslim inhabitants of different Western countries in the wake of the September 11 attacks demonstrated quite clearly how widespread, and how dangerous, stereotypes on this matter have become. This notwithstanding, there does exist an authentic problem which no serious intellectual or political debate can shun – that of the position adopted by the various currents of Islam with regard to democracy, liberal values, or to human rights, likewise to tolerance for those who think or believe differently. These and other issues were debated by Prof. Janusz Danecki (expert in Arabic studies, Warsaw University), Konstanty Gebert (columnist), Krzysztof Mroziwicz (of the *Polityka* weekly), Jan Maria Rokita (deputy to Poland's Parliament), and Radosław Sikorski (Deputy Minister of National Defense). Transcripts from the debate were published in *Tygodnik Powszechny* on October 21, 2001.

The State of Polish Democracy
(November 14, 2001)

The outcome of Poland's parliamentary elections held in September of 2001, surprising in many ways, moved the organizers to abandon the usual formula for analyzing changes on the political stage. This debate, again co-organized with the editors of *Tygodnik Powszechny*, progressed to a more general assessment of the present state of democracy in Poland, of the solidity of her democratic institutions, the durability of the party system, and of the capacity of existing political parties to represent their respective constituencies. The participants included Aleksander Hall (leader of the Conservative Peoples' Party), Mirosława Grabowska (sociologist, University of Warsaw), Lech Kaczyński (deputy to Poland's Parliament from the *Law and Justice* party), Krzysztof Kozłowski (deputy editor-in-chief of *Tygodnik Powszechny*), Antoni Sułek (sociologist, advisor to former Prime Minister Jerzy Buzek) and Aleksander Smolar (President of the Stefan Batory Foundation). The debate was covered in the January 13, 2002 issue of *Tygodnik Powszechny*.

Cooperation of Polish Organizations in the Area of International Relations

Meetings of the **Working group of Polish NGOs active abroad**, (Warsaw – March 26, July 11, September 6, and October 2, 2001)

This informal working group has set itself the objective of formulating proposals for permanent mechanisms of cooperation between Polish NGOs active beyond the country's borders and the public administration. The group commenced its work by devising a model for cooperation with Poland's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, drawing up a preliminary draft of the document entitled *Partnership for Foreign Policy. Regarding Cooperation Between the Public Administration and NGOs*. This preliminary version discusses the role of NGOs in Poland's foreign policy as it is today and adumbrates those subject areas which lie in their common area of interest – mechanisms and principles for consultation, information exchange, and cooperation between NGOs and foreign policy centers, financing the foreign operations of NGOs out of the state budget, positive attitude of Polish diplomatic posts vis a vis projects pursued by Polish organizations in other countries.

European Integration

Study visits
Poland's Integration with the EU
(Warsaw, Poznań, Słupca April 1-7;
Warsaw, Katowice, Żywiec
July 16-20; Warsaw, Gdańsk,
Bytów October 1-5, 2001)

These three tours of study visits by local government activists from western, eastern, and southern Ukraine were executed under the *Poland's Integration With the EU* project inaugurated in the year 2000. The object of these visits lay in familiarizing the participants with the process of Poland's integration with the European Union and with NATO as well as with the operation of Polish local government at the district, county, and community levels. One day of each visits round was set aside for workshops on international cooperation at the local government level, strategy creation, and on promotion. Each of the three groups traveled to an area of Poland most opposite for comparison – the guests from western Ukraine visited Wielkopolska, those from eastern Ukraine – Silesia, and those from the south – Pomerania.

Workshops and study visit **NATO Cooperation – The Post-Soviet Region in the Sphere of Security and Terrorism Prevention**
(Warsaw, Brussels, June 18-23, 2001)

Workshops for Polish and Ukrainian journalists from the regional press. The Ukrainian guests were recruited from among the participants of last year's *Poland's Integration with the EU* program; participants for the Polish side included representatives of the most important regional newspapers. The workshops were accompanied by a study visit to Brussels for the Ukrainians. During the sessions, discussion centered on the possible ways of presenting integration-related issues in the Polish and Ukrainian press. Having split into two groups, the participants then prepared two articles, one of which focused on the positive aspects of the European Union's enlargement, the other – on the negative aspects. The two texts were then subjected to group review and discussion. As for the three-day visit to Brussels, it provided the Ukrainian participants with an opportunity to learn first-hand about the operation of the main institutions of the EU and of NATO. The meeting at the European Commission addressed the complex and dynamic nature of relations between Ukraine and EU Member States present and future; the meetings at NATO Headquarters (political structure) and at the Joint Command (military structure), meanwhile, concentrated on NATO-EU relations and on the Alliance's involvement in the Balkans. The Brussels part of the project was prepared in cooperation with NATO's Press and Information Office.

Workshops
NATO – NIS Security Cooperation
 (Warsaw - Brussels,
 November 17-23, 2001)

This next undertaking realized together with the NATO Press and Information Office dealt with security cooperation between Russia and the other Newly Independent States and NATO. The participants included young political scientists from Belarus, Poland, Russia, and Ukraine and experts in the relevant fields. One goal of these workshops lay in discussing the situation as it is after September 11, 2001; the debate also encompassed the perspectives for development of American-Russian relations and their impact upon NATO's future. An integral part of the event was comprised in visits to NATO Headquarters in Brussels and to the United Command in Mons. At the end of the workshops, the participants presented pieces written within their national groups during the program on the topics concerned.

Conference **European Integration and the Media – Polish Experiences for Ukraine** Warsaw,
 November 21, 2001)

A conference – organized together with the National Broadcasting Council – dealing with the Polish experiences relative to informing the general public about issues of European integration. The topics discussed included the duties of state institutions as regards providing information to society, cooperation between state institutions and the media, responsibilities of the publicly-owned electronic media and of commercial broadcasters, the treatment of integration issues in the high-circulation press, and the means for bringing news about integration to the general recipient. The participants included Juliusz Braun, Piotr Gabryel, Tadeusz Iwiński, Katarzyna Kołodziejczyk, Piotr Nowina-Konopka, Marek Ostrowski, Eugeniusz Smolar, and Tomasz Wróblewski. The entire event was organized within the *Kiev in Warsaw, Warsaw in Kiev* project prepared by the Polish-Ukrainian Forum and the Union of Ukrainians in Poland.

Seminar
From Washington to Prague. Cooperation of Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia in Striving towards NATO Membership
 (Warsaw, December 6, 2001)

A discussion of the process of bringing the Baltic countries into the NATO fold – expected to culminate in 2002 during NATO's summit in Prague, when the Baltic states will probably receive official invitations to join the Alliance – and of the Baltic states' contribution to regional, European, and trans-Atlantic security. Participants included Harri Tiido, Giedrius Cekuolis, and Ivars Pundurs (the Deputy Foreign Affairs Ministers of, respectively, Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia), Cameron Munter (of the National Security Council of the United States), and Lubos Dobrovsky (advisor to the President of the Czech Republic). Poland was represented by Stefan Meller, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Debates **Polish and Ukrainian Historians vis a vis the Problems of the 20th Century**

The public debates between researchers from the two countries constitute a continuation of the program launched by the Stefan Batory Foundation in December of 1989 with the seminar *Historiography of Poland and Ukraine After 1989*.

Historiography in Poland and Ukraine in the Past Ten Years
 (Warsaw, February 15, 2001)

The discussion – involving Volodymyr Baran (historian, Lesa Ukrainka University of Volhynia, Luck), Andrzej Chojnowski (historian, Warsaw University), Andrzej Friszke (historian, Political Science Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences, editor of the *Wież* monthly), Jerzy Holzer (historian, director of the Political Science Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences), Natalia Yakovenko (historian, Kiev-Mohyla Academy University), Heorhiy Kasianov (historian, Institute of History of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Kiev) and Paweł Machcewicz (historian, National Remembrance Institute, Warsaw) – centered on the state of historical science and historical research in Poland and Ukraine over the past decade, on ideological barriers which continue to obstruct scientific activity in this area, and on the problems which arose with the fall of communism. The discussion was covered in no 47/2001 of the *Kresy Literary Quarterly*.

20th Century Polish-Ukrainian Relations in the Historiography of Both Countries After 1989
 (Cracow, February 16, 2001)

This second meeting was organized together with the St. Vladimir Foundation of Cracow. The discussion, mediated by Bogumiła Berdychowska (columnist, deputy director of Polish Radio's Channel 5), involved Ihor Ilyushyn (historian, Taras Shevchenko State University, Kiev), Heorhiy Kasianov, Jan Kęsik (historian, Wrocław University), and Grzegorz Mazur (historian, Jagiellonian University). The discussion ranged across the newest publications on Polish-Ukrainian relations and access to sources; working conclusions were reached as to which topics are receiving adequate attention and which ones are suffering neglect.

Polish and Ukrainian Historians vis a vis the Problems of the 20th Century
 (Kiev, December 17, 2001)

This last meeting, organized together with the Polish Institute in Kiev and the editors of the *Duch i litera* [*The Spirit and the Letter*] quarterly, dealt with the place occupied by history in Poland and Ukraine over the past ten years. The ways in which history crops up in the public discourse was discussed, as was its place in contemporary political and ideological debates. The participants included Andrzej Chojnowski, Natalia Yakovenko, Leonid Finberg (sociologist, editor-in-chief of *Duch i litera*), Ihor Ilyushin, Heorhiy Kasianov, Paweł Machcewicz, Mykola Riabchuk (columnist affiliated with the *Krytyka* monthly) and Vladyslav Verstiuk (historian, Institute of History of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Kiev).

Conference **Culture and Identity. Polish-Ukrainian Meeting**
 (Warsaw, June 29-30, 2001)

This conference, organized jointly with the Center for Political Thought in Cracow, involved representatives of cultural circles, state institutions, and of NGOs from Poland and Ukraine. The first session, *Culture at a Time of Trans-*



formation, dealt with tradition and revisionism, with the imprint left by totalitarianism upon culture, the collective identity, and on individual memory, and with the processes of modernization and transformation. The debate opened with presentations by Leonid Finberg (sociologist, Institute of History of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Kiev), Ireneusz Krzemiński (sociologist, Warsaw University), Ryszard Legutko (philosopher, chairman of the Center for Political Thought, Cracow), Andrzej Mencwel (culture historian, Warsaw University), and by Mykola Riabchuk (*Krytyka* monthly, Kiev). The next session, chaired by Bronisław Wildstein (columnist, *Rzeczpospolita*) and involving Juliusz Braun (chairman of the National Broadcasting Council), Oleksander Hritsenko (director of the Institute for Cultural Policy, Kiev), Mikołaj Kniczhiński (member of the National Broadcasting Council, Kiev), and Piotr Sommer (editor-in-chief of *Literatura na Świecie* [*Literature in the World*]), concerned itself with the cultural policy of the state. The topics discussed included culture as an element of state policy, various forms of state involvement in creative activity, models for the state's role (patron supporting artists, or a „culture producer”), and decentralization processes (i.e. the function to be served by self-government bodies, by NGOs, and by local initiatives).

Another subject covered during the conference was that of the common history, of the cultural heritage of the Polish-Ukrainian borderlands. Participants in the discussion included Bogumiła Berdychowska (columnist, deputy director of Polish Radio's Channel 5), Krzysztof Czyżewski (essayist, chairman of the Borderland Center, Sejny), Oleksandr Fedoruk (Ukraine's deputy minister of culture), George G. Grabowicz (editor-in-chief of the *Krytyka* monthly, Kiev), Tomasz Merta (director of the Institute of National Heritage, Warsaw), and Stanisław Żurowski (deputy Minister of Culture and National Heritage). The third major topic discussed in the course of the event was the promotion of culture as a form of foreign policy. A summary of the two countries' achievements in this area to date was attempted by Katerina Botanova (culturologist, Kiev), Andrzej Nowakowski (chairman of the *Universitas* publishing house, plenipotentiary of the Polish government with regard to the Frankfurt 2000 International Book Fair), Rafał Wiśniewski (Poland's ambassador to Budapest), and by Taras Wozniak (columnist, editor-in-chief of *ji*, a Lviv-based magazine). The event was organized with the support of Poland's Ministry of Culture and the National Heritage, with Michał Kazimierz Ujazdowski, the Minister, extending his patronage over it.

Project **Alternative History**

The Alternative History project, propagating innovative methods of teaching high school history courses, is managed together with the editors of the *Mówią Wieki* [*Speak Ages*] monthly under the press patronage of the *Rzeczpospolita* daily.

Publications

Three meetings of high school students and teachers from Belarus, Lithuania, Poland, and Ukraine were held during the year 2000. Pieces written by the students were used as a basis for drawing up auxiliary materials for history instruction. In 2001, two more pamphlets – about Polish-Lithuanian and Polish-Belarusian – meetings were published; the introductions to both were written by Hieronim Grala a historian from Warsaw University and Jarosław Krawczyk, editor-in-chief of *Mówią Wieki*. The first of these, *Alternative History. The Lithuanian-Polish Meeting* (bilingual edition – *Alternatyvi Istorija. Lietuviu-lenku susitikimas*, edited by Bogusław Kubisz, Warsaw 2001) incorporated pieces written by students of the Vocational Schools Unit in Grodzisk Wielkopolski, the March 11th Lithuanian-Instruction High School Unit of Puńsk, the Cyprian Norwid Lyceum No 1 in Bydgoszcz, Prince Adam J. Czartoryski High School No 1 in Puławy, the Versvu High School in Kaunas, and of the following schools in Vilnius: the John Paul II School, the Salomea Neris High School, Virsuliskiu, and the M. Birziskos High School. The *Alternative History. Belarusian-Polish Meeting* publication (*Alternatyvaya Istorija. Belaruskaya-polskaya sustriecha*, edited by Bogusław Kubisz, Warsaw 2001) includes pieces by students of the School Unit with Additional Belarusian Language Instruction in Hajnówka, the J. Śniadecki Lyceum no 2 in Kielce, the Lyceum in Środa Wielkopolska, the Second Lyceum in Minsk, and of Lyceum no 1 in Maryna Horka (Minsk district).

Workshops (Lublin, Kazimierz Dolny, December 10-13, 2001)

The textual basis for these sessions was provided by the materials drawn up in the course of the *Alternative History* meetings. The teachers who had drawn up the most interesting lesson plans and the teacher coordinators of the student groups distinguished during the previous sessions assembled for a recapitulation of the project. There were discussions of the experiences to date and of the project's continuation in the future, and the teachers drafted texts assessing the question of what the fates of the various ethnic groups inhabiting the First Republic of Poland – Belarusians, Lithuanians, Poles, Ukrainians – would have been over the centuries were it not for the partitions of the late 18th century. The materials generated during these sessions will be published in a separate volume.

Transformations in the Region

Seminar **The Kaliningrad District. Towards a Regional Partnership**
(Warsaw, March 30, 2001)

This seminar centered on the situation of the Kaliningrad district in the context of the eastward enlargement of the European Union; it was our goal to air a number of different concepts concerning the future of this Russian enclave. The participants were recruited from among specialists in Russia and in the EU's Member States: Anne-Marie Birckenbach (political scientist, Institute of Peace Studies in Schleswig-Holstein), Perti Joenniemi (political scientist, Institute of Peace Studies in Copenhagen), Rustam Baratov (lawyer, Kaliningrad Analytical and Information Center), Stanislav Tkachenko (political scientist, State University in St. Petersburg), Leonid Karabeshkin (political scientist, the Baltic Club, St. Petersburg) and Dimitr Starostin (political scientist, Center of Strategy and Technology Analyses, Moscow).

Study visit **The Kaliningrad District. Towards a Regional Partnership**
(Białystok, Olsztyn, Elbląg May 6-17, 2001)

This visit was designed so as to enable representatives of NGOs from the Kaliningrad area to familiarize themselves with the achievements of Poland's third sector in the districts of Warmia-Mazury and Podlasie; another objective lay in promoting cooperation between organizations working in the same fields in Poland and in Russia. The guests were recruited from among the participants in the training on organization management and funds procurement organized by the Forum in the year 2000. This project will have its continuation in 2002 in the form of internships for NGO leaders from the Kaliningrad area.

Conference
Why is Kaliningrad Important to Us?
(Olsztyn, November 16, 2001)

A conference for NGOs from northern Poland cooperating with the Kaliningrad area or wishing to initiate such collaboration. The objective of this event comprised presenting the successes achieved to date and in discussing best practices. The participants represented several dozens Polish NGOs as well as the Speaker's Office of Warmia-Mazury and the Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Center.

Visit by Polish NGOs to Yugoslavia
(Belgrade, Novi Sad, May 8-15, 2001)

The second part of the project promoting cooperation between the third sector in Poland and in Yugoslavia (in 2000, a delegation of leaders from the latter visited Poland), made possible by active cooperation with the Open Society Foundation in Belgrade and with the Multicultural Center in Novi Sad. The Polish visitors met with representatives of numerous non-governmental organizations active in Yugoslavia (eg *Grazhdanske Inicijative*, *Centar za kulturnu dekontaminaciju*, *Centar za slobodne izbore i demokratiju*) and of that country's independent media (eg Belgrade's Radio B92 and Novi Sad's O₃). Discussions with academics from the Institute of Social Sciences of Belgrade University and with journalists provided the Polish guests with competent information about the prevailing political situation, the situation of ethnic minorities, and about the potential of the third sector in Yugoslavia.

Visit by Yugoslav journalists to Poland
(Warsaw, June 17 – 24, 2001)

The leading theme of the visit was presented in the financing of media activity in a market economy context. In the portion of the program prepared in collaboration with the Television Academy, our guests debated the responsibilities of public television vis a vis viewers, the role to be played by television in the strengthening of civil society, and the changes to the media order prevailing in Poland and in Europe. The Yugoslav visitors learned about the financing of Poland's public television and of the commercial stations operating in our country. They also split up into groups which worked on assignments appropriate for the professional interests of their members – the Television Information Agency, Channel One's Political Weekly, the *Telera-nek* program for children and young people, and *Błażej's Bicycle* program for young people. The guests took an active interest in the attitudes adopted by the Polish public with regard to the Balkan conflict; Konstanty Gebert (a columnist and independent journalist) provided them with a summary of the coverage given to these issues by various Polish news outlets.

Belarus Before the Presidential Elections – Operating Conditions and Role of Belarusian NGOs
(May 30, 2001)

An information meeting for representatives of various Polish organizations devoted to a discussion of Decree no 8 of the Belarusian President, *Concerning Certain Means of Perfecting Procedures for Receipt and Utilization of Assistance Grants from Abroad* - a legal instrument which, by subjecting assistance activity to a special permit duty, significantly obstructs the financing of projects being pursued in Belarus. The participants signed a petition addressed to Władysław Bartoszewski, the Minister of Foreign Affairs (as he then was), calling him to move back the effective implementation of a visa requirement for Belarusian citizens until after the elections in that country.

Presidential Elections in Belarus. Dispatch of Independent Observers From Poland
(September 2-10, 2001)

Representatives of Polish NGOs and the local press traveled to Belarus to monitor the presidential elections, thus contributing to the *Niezależnie Naziraniye* initiative of a number of Belarusian NGOs (including *Wiesna '96* and the Lev Sapieha Foundation). The Poles joined their colleagues from Ireland, Sweden, Russia, and Ukraine in assisting Belarusian observers working at polling stations in the Vitebsk district. The entire undertaking benefited from the financial support of the MATRA/Kap Small Grants Program of the Dutch Embassy in Poland.



The Polish Road to Capitalism
(October 26-27, 2001)

A pilot project preceding the series of lectures at Belarusian universities geared at popularizing the experiences of countries across the region in market and political reforms among students and pedagogues, slated for execution in the year 2002. The project commenced with lectures about the reforms carried out in Poland delivered by Prof. Janusz Beksiak (economist affiliated with the Warsaw School of Economics) and by Prof. Antoni Kamiński (political scientist, director of the international security unit at the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences) to students and academics at three institutions of higher learning in Minsk – the Belarusian State Economics University, the European Humanitarian University, and the Belarusian College. A joint lecture by the two experts was also featured at the first reunion of all the Stefan Batory Foundation scholarship grant recipients from Belarus, already numbering in excess of 100 people. The project was executed in collaboration with the Polish Institute in Minsk.

Series of study visits
Non-School Education in Poland
(April 23-30, May 14-21, June 4-11,
October 1-8, October 22-29,
and November 5-12, 2001)

This project is geared at social activation and continued professional education of teachers, a group with high potential in terms of contributing to the establishment of open society in Belarus. The present round of visits had the objective of presenting means for working with children and youth in settings other than the classroom as well as new didactic methods. During their Polish sojourn, the Belarusian guests visited state and private schools as well as rural culture centers and NGOs that work with children. An important element of the program was comprised in elaborating upon the possibilities for cooperation at the local level between the central administration and local government, NGOs, school, teachers, and parents. The program was executed in collaboration with the IDEE Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe and is slated for continuation in the year 2002.

Books for Belarus
(April–October)

This initiative, pursued with the collaboration of assorted Polish publishers and with the Polish Institute in Minsk, had the objective of providing university libraries in Belarus with a selection of recent publications in the fields of economics, political science, law, sociology, and the humanities. Books were delivered to the Belarusian Academy of Sciences, to the National Library in Minsk, the Belarusian State University in Minsk, the M. Tank State Pedagogical University in Minsk, the P. Masherov State University in Vitebsk, to the F. Skarina State University in Homl, the A.A. Kuleshov State University in Mohilev, the library of the Jakub Kolas Lyceum in Minsk, the Belarusian College in Minsk, the Belarusian Agricultural Academy in Gorki, and the Minsk State Linguistic University. The books were donated by the Rebis Publishing House, the Center for Social and Economic Analyses Foundation, the Borderland Foundation, the Aletheia Publishing Group, the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, by the Public Affairs Institute, by the Political Studies Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Institute for Western Affairs in Poznań, the Center for Political Thought, by the Scientific Publishers of Poland, and by the publishing houses of Czarne, Sejmowe, Sici, Trio, of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Mikołaj Kopernik University, Jagiellonian University, Wrocław University, of the Ossoliński Research Facility, and of the Jewish Historical Institute.

Polish Reforms. Internships for Young Academics from Belarus.
(January-June)

A program addressed to researchers in the fields of economics, law, and sociology, geared at inspiring and preparing young members of Belarus' intellectual elites for reform in their country. In addition to their purely academic aspect, such internships also provide a valuable networking opportunity and sow the seeds of long-term cooperation with Polish partners. This initiative was taken up by numerous institutions in Poland – the Warsaw School of Economics, Warsaw University (the Faculties of Law and Administration and of Economic Science), Jagiellonian University (the Faculty of Law and Administration), the A. Mickiewicz University in Poznań (Faculty of Legal Studies), the Polish Academy of Sciences (Institute of Economic Studies, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, and the Institute of Legal Studies), the Center for Social and Economic Analyses, the Institute of Labor and Social Policy of the Ministry of Labor, and the Institute for Market Economy Research. The interns:

Konstantin Akimenko, Minsk
Anna Balysh, Minsk
Tatiana Bielatskaia, Minsk
Aleksandr Gotovski, Minsk
Artur Yafimov, Minsk
Siarhiej Kalasnikov, Minsk
Uadzimir Kalupayev, Minsk
Dzmitri Krivashei, Minsk
Irina Mankievich, Minsk
Valery Mankievich, Minsk
Aleksander Markievich, Minsk
Aleksander Pershay, Minsk
Valeria Stukina, Minsk
Andrey Shabunia, Minsk
Natalia Tichina, Soligorsk
Pavel Usov, Mohilev
Uadzimir Valetka, Minsk
Aliaksei Vanin, Minsk.

Aleksandr Gotovski, Uladzimir Kalupaiev, Uladzimir Valetka, and Valery Kuzmienok received prizes in the competition for the most interesting articles popularizing knowledge gained through the internships; the pieces thus distinguished were published in both countries. The internships program was realized in cooperation with the Polish Know-How Foundation and benefited from financial support provided by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED).

**Polish Reforms. Scholarships
for Belarusian Students**
Academic year of 2001/2002

This program, in existence since 1998, has the objective of supporting the preparation of innovative master's theses by Belarusian students on topics of current concern to their country; it provides one year scholarships for study in Poland to approximately twenty third- and fourth-year students from Belarus preparing theses in the areas of history, macroeconomics, political science, law and administration, sociology, international relations, and management (public administration). Scholarships for the academic year 2001/2002 were awarded to:

Filip Chirkov, Minsk – study at the Economics Department, Gdańsk University;
Volha Havrilik, Grodno – study at the Faculty of Law and Administration, Jagiellonian University;

Natalia Ivanovskaya, Minsk – study at the Warsaw School of Economics;

Olga Yatskievich, Minsk – study at the Warsaw School of Economics;

Olga Yankovskaya, Minsk – study at the Warsaw School of Economics;

Natalia Yevtushenka, Minsk – study at Łódź University;

Siarhiej Kavatchuk, Svetlagorsk – study at the Department of Journalism and Political Science of Warsaw University;

Nadzieya Loyka, Minsk – study at the Department of Historical and Pedagogical Studies, Wrocław University;

Mikhail Mikhaylets, Borisov – study at the Department of History, Warsaw University;

Volha Mishuk, Minsk – study at the Philological Department, Łódź University;

Swietlana Navumenka, Vitebsk – study at the Warsaw School of Economics;

Swietlana Palko, Zhodino – study at the Higher School of Business – National Louis University in Nowy Sącz;

Marina Paprukha, Pechishchy – study at the Department of Journalism and Political Science of Warsaw University;

Mikhail Popov, Mosti – study at the Institute of History of the Catholic University in Lublin;

Daria Prishchepa, Priluki – study at the Warsaw School of Economics;

Uladzimir Serpukhov, Novogrodek – study at the Department of History and Sociology, Białystok University;

Vera Skvarchevskaya, Minsk – study at the Faculty of Law and Administration, Warsaw University;

Volha Shatalava, Minsk – study at the Department of History and Sociology, Białystok University;

Alena Tsishkova, Minsk – study at the Department of Philosophy and Sociology, Warsaw University;

Cimur Valovnik, Minsk – study at the Faculty of Law and Administration, Jagiellonian University.

The gala inauguration of the academic season for this year's scholars featured a lecture by Prof. Jerzy Szacki entitled *The Meeting of Liberal Ideology and Post-Communist Reality in Poland*.

The program was executed with the assistance of Warsaw University, the Warsaw School of Economics, Wrocław University, the Higher School of Business – National Louis University in Nowy Sącz, and of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow.

Other

**Visits by Scholars of the German
Marshall Memorial Fund**
(Cracow-Warsaw, March 30 – April 4
and June 16-21, 2001)

We organized two visits designed to provide GMMF scholars from the United States with an introduction to Poland, her problems and successes over the past several years and the country's perspectives for the future. The meetings scheduled during these visits dealt with the social and political scene, the situation of the Catholic church in Poland and that of religious and ethnic minorities living in the country, changes in the educational system, and with development of the NGO sector. The visits were prepared in collaboration with the German Marshall Memorial Fund of the United States.

Activities pursued by the Central and East European Forum over the year of 2001 received financing from the East-East program of the Open Society Institute – Budapest (532 736,45 PLN), the Open Society Institute – Paris (382 784,91 PLN), the National Endowment for Democracy (48 152,55 PLN), the German Marshall Memorial Fund of the United States (26 767,88 PLN), from the NATO Press and Information Office in Brussels (15 349,04 PLN), the MATRA/Kap Program of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Holland (3 388,57 PLN), and from the embassies of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania in Warsaw (6 203,96 PLN).

Scholarships for Belarusian students:	341 420,76 PLN
Projects:	1 549 891,18 PLN
TOTAL:	1 891 311,94 PLN