

**NO GREATER  
ALLY THAN**



**POLAND**



## REDACTION

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# INTRODUCTION



**PETROS TOVMASYAN**

This report is a summary of the No Greater Ally Than Poland project implemented by the New Europe Foundation between April and December 2023. While working on it, we visited Ukraine twice and spoke with Ukrainian government officials from the national to the local level, as well as business and third sector representatives. Returning to the country, we had the opportunity to record interviews with leading politicians and experts shaping Polish policy for Ukraine in 2023. The project produced a series of reports and short films that reached several million people in Europe, and in the document below we have also written down the most important theses delivered during our conversations, in order to also preserve in the written word what is worth preserving.

I am writing these words in December 2023, when in the media messages one can hear much more talk of competition and hostility between Poland and Ukraine than messages remembering the heroic deeds of both nations that took place in the last two years of this devastating and cruel war. We do not want the memory of the great alliance between Poles and Ukrainians, which in a sense saved the future of Europe, to be erased because of short-sighted Polish and Ukrainian politicians and lobbyists. For Ukraine, there is no greater ally than Poland, for Poland there is no greater friend than Ukraine.



It is worth mentioning here not only state actions, but the heroism of the Polish people. In the winter of 2022 on the borders of Poland, refugees were welcomed with open arms. Polish authorities allowed them to cross the border freely, and many Poles personally invited Ukrainians to their homes, offering them shelter and support. This unprecedented humanitarian response was evident at every turn. Volunteers worked relentlessly to provide refugees with basic needs - from food and water to toothbrushes, helping them to return to normalcy after the traumatic experience of war.



Poland also became a logistical hub for those who planned to continue their journey to other European countries. Many people fleeing Ukraine needed help arranging transportation to places like Germany, where they hoped to find safe haven. Some spent days on the streets waiting for the opportunity to travel further, while others dreamed only of reaching a country where they could find friends and reassurance.

Faced with a growing refugee crisis, Polish authorities appealed to the rest of Europe for help. They stressed that the situation is worsening by the day and that international support is needed to manage this unprecedented challenge. This appeal for help underscored that the refugee crisis is not just a Polish problem, but a challenge that requires a global response.

Poland, in facing this crisis, has shown remarkable resilience and generosity. Its actions in response to the war in Ukraine will have long-lasting consequences, not only for those who have found refuge there, but also for Poland itself, which has become a symbol of international solidarity and human compassion.



# MARCIN CHRUSCIEL

## SUPPORT OF UKRAINE IS IN POLAND'S STRATEGIC INTEREST

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**DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF THE GOVERNMENT PLENIPOTENTIARY  
FOR DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION BETWEEN POLAND AND UKRAINE**



In his speech, Marcin Chrusciel, director of the Office of the Government Plenipotentiary for Development Cooperation between Poland and Ukraine, emphasizes Poland's determination and commitment to the Ukrainian conflict. His words reflect a deep conviction that Ukraine will eventually win the war, which is supported by the entire Western world. This belief in Ukraine's victory is the foundation of Poland's foreign and humanitarian policy toward the conflict.

Khrushchev expresses a strong belief that Ukraine will win the war, stressing that support from the Western world is a key factor in this process. This belief in Ukraine's victory is not only a moral support, but also a motivation for Poland's actions in the international arena.

Poland reacted immediately to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, which Khrushchev describes as a key element of support. The Polish public, and then the government, responded quickly by offering military aid and accepting Ukrainian refugees. This spontaneous response, both emotional and pragmatic, was based on the belief that Ukraine's survival was not only a moral obligation, but also Poland's strategic interest.

Khrushchev stresses that it is in Poland's strategic interest to support Ukraine. Ensuring the survival and independence of Ukraine is seen as crucial to the security of Poland and the Central and Eastern European region. An independent Ukraine provides a natural barrier against Russian expansion, which is a guarantee of security for Poland.



Poland's role as a logistics and transportation hub for Ukraine is vital. Poland has become a key point for sending military and humanitarian aid. Chruściel points out that Poland has the potential to transform itself from a logistics center into a hub for Ukraine's reconstruction. Logistics infrastructure, such as Jasionka airport, provides an excellent base for companies interested in rebuilding Ukraine. Modernizing border infrastructure and facilitating customs procedures are key to facilitating trade and logistics between Poland and Ukraine.



## Between competition and cooperation

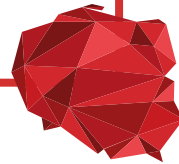
Marcin Chruściel points out the need to modernize infrastructure and border crossings between Poland and Ukraine. This modernization is key to facilitating trade and logistics, especially in the context of redirecting Ukrainian exports across the Polish-Ukrainian border after access to the Black Sea was cut off. Poland, which has the longest EU border with Ukraine, faces the challenge of adapting its infrastructure to new trade and logistics realities.

He stresses that economic cooperation between Poland and Ukraine may face conflicts of interest, especially in the agricultural sector. Poland and Ukraine are large producers of agricultural products, which can lead to competition in the markets. Therefore, there is a need for coordination and dialogue to ensure that the development of the Ukrainian market does not become a threat to Polish producers. Chruściel points to the need for negotiations and talks that will allow for balanced development of both markets.





He points to Poland's strategic and economic motivations for helping Ukraine. An independent Ukraine is not only a guarantor of Poland's security, but also opens up economic opportunities. Poland sees Ukraine as a potential economic partner with a large market and business opportunities. Economic cooperation between Poland and Ukraine can benefit both sides, taking advantage of Poland's private sector experience in Ukraine and cultural and geographic similarities. The organization of economic missions to Ukraine is aimed at strengthening these relations. Poland does not want to wait for the war to end, but is already supporting Polish companies in establishing partnerships with Ukrainian businesses. Such activities are intended to prepare the ground for Ukraine's post-conflict reconstruction. Supporting Polish companies to enter the Ukrainian market and establish business partnerships is crucial for a quick and effective reconstruction. Poland plays a role here not only as an advocate for Ukraine in the EU, but also as an active participant in its economic reconstruction.





# OLEKSANDR MEREZHKO:

**UKRAINIANS SEE POLAND AND POLES AS THEIR  
CLOSEST ALLIES AND FRIENDS.**

**SEE ENTIRE STATEMENT**



**PROMINENT UKRAINIAN LAWYER, PROFESSOR  
AND DOCTOR OF JURISPRUDENCE**



Oleksandr Merezhko, a prominent Ukrainian lawyer, professor and doctor of jurisprudence, in an interview with us emphasizes the unique relationship between Poland and Ukraine. As Chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and Vice President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Merezhko has witnessed and participated in key moments of this relationship.

He notes the deep friendship and alliance between Poland and Ukraine, emphasizing that Poland was one of the first countries to provide aid to Ukraine in the key early stages of the war. This assistance, according to Merezhko, not only brought the two nations closer, but also revealed a true friendship that went beyond formal alliances.

## **Poland's Humanitarian Decision**

He highlights the significant gesture by Poland, which opened its borders to Ukrainian refugees. The number of refugees, reaching hundreds of thousands, even millions, in the early stages of the war, testifies to the enormity of Poland's humanitarian response. This decision was not only an act of solidarity, but also an expression of deep understanding and sympathy for Ukraine's situation.

Merezhko describes Poland's assistance as more than a matter of national interest. He speaks of a genuine emotional bond between representatives of the two nations. He points to sociological studies that show Ukrainians view Poland and Poles as their closest allies and friends. This support was evident at both the state and social levels, with many Poles working as volunteers, offering shelter and support to Ukrainian families and refugees.

## The importance of political support

The professor stresses that Poland's political support was crucial for Ukraine. He points to the full compatibility and unity between Ukrainian and Polish diplomacy, which was extremely important in the early days of the war. This diplomatic unity was a symbol of a strong alliance and common position in the face of aggression.

He particularly notes Poland's immediate response in providing military aid and weapons to Ukraine, which was crucial to Kiev's defense. He stresses that Poland, along with the Baltic states, responded without hesitation, providing the necessary military support, even when other countries were still in shock and uncertainty about appropriate action. This assistance was invaluable during the most critical week, when the Russians tried to take control of Kiev.

## Prime Minister's visit and speech by Polish president

Merezhko discusses the importance of the Polish Prime Minister's visit to Ukraine, especially during the siege of Kiev. This visit, taking place at a time when Kiev's fate was uncertain, was a powerful gesture of solidarity. The arrival of the leaders, despite the enormous threat, had a huge impact on the morale of Ukrainians, showing that they were not alone and had strong allies.

He also describes the emotional and psychological impact of Polish President Andrzej Duda's speech before the Ukrainian parliament. Calling the event one of the most moving of his life, he stresses how important the speech was in strengthening the sense of solidarity and support. „The speech had a huge impact on Ukrainian society, conveying the message that Ukraine is not alone and can count on Poland's support,” he says.





# DMYTRO NATALUKHA

**IN THE KHERSON REGION, POLISH WAS HEARD  
AMONG SOLDIERS AND VOLUNTEERS.**



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**UKRAINIAN POLITICIAN AND COLUMNIST**

From his background in banking and financial law, Dmytro Natalukha, a Ukrainian politician and columnist, emphasizes Poland's key role in responding to Russia's invasion of Ukraine. His statements shed light on Poland's swift and decisive response to the crisis.

Natalukha recalls that Poland responded immediately on the day of the invasion, February 24, by approving a financial aid package for Ukraine. Poland acted independently, without waiting to coordinate with other countries, a testament to its determination and independence in decision-making. The aid was comprehensive, including financial, humanitarian and military support.

He points out how Poland's historical experience with Russia's imperial policies influenced its quick response and understanding of the threat. Countries such as Poland, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia were among the few that realized the danger from Russia, even before the major intelligence agencies. He stresses that people in Poland understood the existential threat that Russia posed not only to Ukraine, but to the entire region. This understanding was based on historical experience with Russia's aggression and policies, which prompted Poland to look objectively at Russia's actions and support Ukraine before other countries.

## Key support in the first months

Dmytro Natalukha stresses that in the first months after the invasion, every form of assistance was critical, and Poland played a key role in providing humanitarian and logistical support. Poland responded to the humanitarian and logistical crisis by providing containers and setting up temporary shelters for people who had lost everything, especially in destroyed towns such as Bucza and Irpin. These actions were necessary to give the government and regional administrations time to organize further relocation and transportation of affected people.

The Ukrainian politician notes the significant role of Polish state-owned energy companies such as Orlen in supporting the Ukrainian energy market. In the early days of the crisis, Orlen provided fuel storage facilities and offered opportunities to maintain necessary fuel levels for Ukrainian state-owned energy companies. Even now, Orlen is initiating the transfer of free humanitarian aid to Ukrainians, demonstrating continued solidarity and support. From the beginning, Poland's support for Ukraine has been consistent and uninterrupted for almost two years. This continuous assistance shows Poland's strong act of solidarity with Ukraine, going beyond the initial days of the invasion.



Following the destruction of the Kachov Dam by Russia, Poland sent flood control equipment and teams to Ukraine to demine the Chernihiv region. Natalukha mentions Poland's physical and visible presence in the Kherson region, where the Polish language could be heard among soldiers and volunteers.





# ANTON GERASHCHENKO

**ONE OF THE FIRST AND MOST SIGNIFICANT GESTURES  
OF POLAND'S SUPPORT FOR UKRAINE WAS A SPEECH  
BY PRESIDENT ANDRZEJ DUDA**

**SEE ENTIRE STATEMENT**



**UKRAINIAN POLITICIAN, FORMER DEPUTY  
INTERIOR MINISTER**



Anton Gerashchenko is a Ukrainian politician, former deputy interior minister and member of the Ukrainian parliament from 2014-2019. His experience and involvement in Ukrainian affairs make him a reliable source of information on Poland's role in the current conflict. He shares his thoughts and personal experiences that shed light on the importance of Polish support for Ukraine.

## President Duda's speech

One of the first and most significant gestures of Poland's support for Ukraine was a speech by President Andrzej Duda. As he recalls, the speech took place on the first day of the invasion, February 24, 2022. In it, President Duda expressed strong support for Ukraine, which was seen as an important signal of solidarity and support. Gerashchenko stresses that President Duda's words were among the „most helpful words for our nation,” a testament to the importance of Poland's political support in these difficult times.

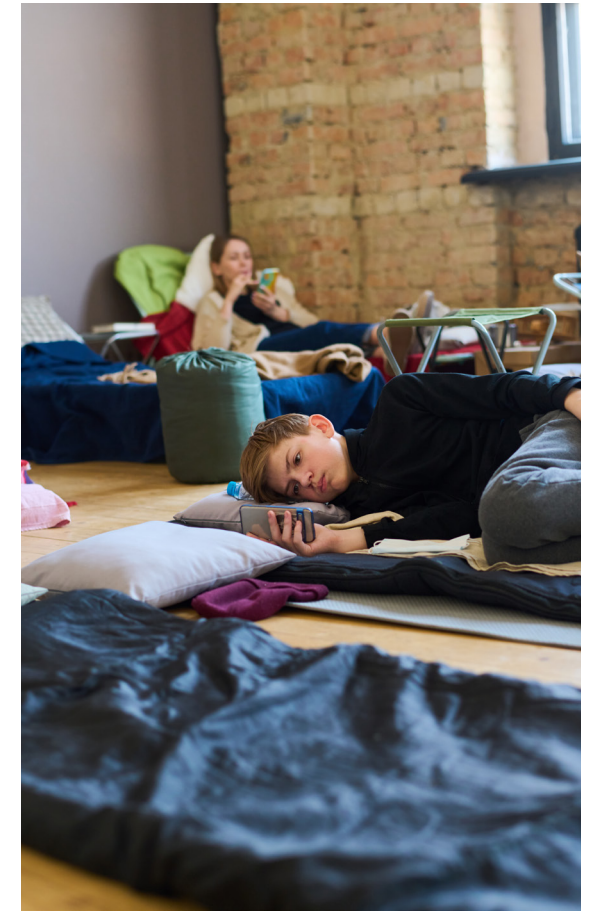
He points out how important it is for Ukraine to see Poland as a strong and reliable ally. Since the first day of the invasion, Poland has become a symbol of hope and support for many Ukrainians. The Polish government's decision to open its borders to Ukrainian refugees, as well as other forms of support, reinforced this perception. Poland, through its actions, has clearly demonstrated that it stands by Ukraine, supporting it both internationally and in direct people-to-people contacts.



## OPENING THE BORDERS TO REFUGEES

One of the most significant aspects of Poland's support for Ukraine, as Anton Gerashchenko points out, was the opening of borders to Ukrainian refugees. This decision was of great humanitarian significance, enabling millions of women, children and the elderly to find safe refuge. Referring to his own experience, Gerashchenko recalls that his family, like many others, benefited for more than a year from the Polish health and education system. This is a testament to the scale and depth of the support Poland offered to refugees from Ukraine.

Poland's support was not only practical, but also emotional. The Ukrainian politician and commentator emphasizes his gratitude to the Polish people and government for the help they provided. This solidarity and empathy had a huge impact on the morale of Ukrainian society, which experienced unprecedented support from a neighboring country in the face of war.





## MILITARY SUPPORT

Poland has also played a key role in Ukraine's military support. As Gerashchenko points out, Poland provided Ukraine with more than 230 T-72 tanks, which was vital to the country's defense against Russian aggression. In addition to tanks, Poland also provided artillery systems, including the advanced „Krab” system. The former deputy interior minister expresses particular gratitude for this support, stressing that Polish artillery systems are highly valued by Ukrainian soldiers and officers.

The last aspect of Poland's support for Ukraine he says relates to Ukraine's aspiration to become a member of the European Union. Poland was one of the first countries to put pressure on Brussels to speed up Ukraine's application for EU membership. Gerashchenko stresses that Poland has both economic and political, social and cultural interests in Ukraine's integration into Europe. This support is crucial for Ukraine's future on the European political scene.





# OLEKSIY GONCHARENKO

**POLAND, THROUGH ITS ACTIONS, HELPS EXPLAIN TO OTHER MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION AND NATO THE GRAVITY OF THE SITUATION**

**UKRAINIAN POLITICIAN, MEMBER OF THE UKRAINIAN PARLIAMENT  
AND VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON MIGRATION**

**SEE ENTIRE STATEMENT**



Our interlocutor at the event was Oleksiy Goncharenko, a prominent Ukrainian politician, member of the Ukrainian parliament and vice-chairman of the Committee on Migration, Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. Goncharenko shares his thoughts and perspectives on the challenges and opportunities facing Ukraine.

The Ukrainian parliamentarian emphasizes the key role of Polish humanitarian aid since the beginning of the war in Ukraine. He expresses deep gratitude to Poland and Poles, especially those who have come to the Ukrainian-Polish border to help refugees they have never seen before. Goncharenko said: „It was very moving and showed that these Christian values, these human values, are really important and that the free world is based on these values.”

Poland’s support was not only practical, but also emotional. The politician stresses that millions of Ukrainians found refuge in Poland, which was extremely important for the entire nation. In his words: „It was crucial because millions of Ukrainians found refuge in Poland, at least for a few days, but many are still there,” testify to the importance and scale of Polish aid.



## POLAND AS AN ADVOCATE FOR UKRAINE IN THE EU AND NATO

He notes Poland's significant role as a strong advocate and lobbyist for Ukraine in the EU and NATO. He emphasizes that Poland not only supports Ukraine, but also understands that Russia's success in Ukraine could pose a direct threat to Poland. He states: „If Russia is successful in Ukraine, they will be on the border with Poland and sooner or later they will attack Poland. This is our common enemy, this is our common struggle.” The politician stresses that Poland's support is crucial not only for Ukraine, but also for the security of the entire region. Poland, through its actions, helps explain to other members of the European Union and NATO the importance of the situation in Ukraine and the need for joint action.



## IMPORTANCE OF POLISH MILITARY AID

Goncharenko discusses the importance of Polish military aid, including the delivery of more than 300 tanks to Ukraine. He stresses that this aid was particularly important at a time when Ukraine was receiving limited military support, especially in terms of tanks. He said: „The decision to provide Ukraine with modern Western tanks was made earlier this year, and the first tanks arrived in the spring, but Polish tanks fortunately arrived much earlier.”

He notes Poland's key role in the development of the air coalition for Ukraine, including the offer of fighters in March 2022. He stresses that Poland has played a significant role in supplying Ukraine with military equipment, including facilitating Ukraine's receipt of Leopard tanks from Germany.



# ADAM EBERHARDT

## RUSSIA'S GOAL IS TO DESTROY UKRAINE

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DIRECTOR OF THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES  
AT THE WARSAW ENTERPRISE INTITUTE

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Adam Eberhardt, Director of the Center for Strategic Studies at the Warsaw Enterprise Intitute, is an expert on geopolitics and security. In an interview with us, Eberhardt discusses the war in Ukraine and its broader implications, highlighting Poland's significant role in this context.

### WAR PREDICTIONS

The former OSW chief expresses hope that Ukraine and the free world will ultimately prevail, but predicts that the war will be long and difficult. He stresses that Russia's goal is to destroy Ukraine and the security order in Europe. Eberhardt states: „The war will be a war of wear and tear, and Russia aims to destroy Ukraine, not only Ukraine, but also to destroy the security order in Europe.”

He stresses that Poland played a key role in supporting Ukraine, especially during the initial phase of the Russian invasion. Poland broke down the mental barriers to European policy approaches and lobbied for the provision of military aid to Ukraine. „Poland's role in the first phase of the war was to break down these mental barriers in the minds of European decision-makers, who were afraid of Russia, afraid of an active policy to defend Europe's freedom,” - he says.



## DIFFICULTIES IN GAINING EU ACCEPTANCE

According to our interlocutor, the main challenge for Poland has been to gain acceptance of Ukraine's support in the mainstream of the European Union. He points to resistance among EU decision-makers, who were reluctant to cross the boundaries established by Russian policy. „The biggest challenge these days was getting acceptance from the mainstream of the European Union. This is always a problem in the EU, where decision-makers are reluctant to go beyond what is considered proper policy,” he says.



## MISUNDERSTANDING RUSSIA'S INTENTIONS

Eberhardt also notes that the problem in anticipating Russia's actions stemmed from a misattribution of its own rationality to the Russian government's actions. „Russia and the Russian government have their own rationality, their own way of perceiving reality,” he explains, stressing that this misunderstanding of Russia's intentions influenced the response to the war.

The WEI expert argues that Poland has both moral obligations and strategic interests in supporting Ukraine. „Poland's interest lies in improving or at least maintaining the security of the region and making sure that Russia does not succeed in its attempts to destroy the European security order” , stressing that maintaining regional security and preventing Russia's success is crucial for Poland.

Finally, he is critical of calls for a ceasefire, arguing that this would only benefit Russia. „You cannot have a truce with a predator that wants to kill you and is not interested in an agreement,” she states, adding that the only way to peace is to defend Ukraine and continue the war.



# NATALIA ZAKHAROVA

## COMMON PAST IS THE FOUNDATION FOR CURRENT SOLIDARITY AND COOPERATION

Natalia Zakharova is the leader of the Prykarpattia Industrial Cluster. She is actively involved in the region's economic and industrial issues, and in an interview with us she talks about the importance of international support, for the Ukrainian economy.

With the ongoing conflict in Ukraine, Poland's role as a key European partner takes on particular importance. Zakharova emphasizes in her remarks the significant role Poland has played in supporting Ukraine. Her words reflect the deep gratitude of the Ukrainian people for Poland's unwavering support, which has proved to be not only humanitarian aid, but also moral and political support. She points out how Poland, understanding the challenges facing Ukraine, responded quickly, offering assistance on many levels. This response not only strengthened ties between the two nations, but also became a symbol of European solidarity in the face of aggression.

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LEADER OF THE PRYKARPATTIA INDUSTRIAL CLUSTER



Poland's support for Ukraine is comprehensive and ranges from humanitarian to military and political. It emphasizes that this assistance is not limited to one sector, but is comprehensive and touches many areas of Ukrainian society. It is a support that goes beyond government initiatives, involving the entire Polish society. The vast majority of Polish citizens, regardless of age or social status, contribute in some way to helping Ukraine. This unprecedented solidarity and readiness to help demonstrated by Poland is a source of inspiration and hope for Ukraine. Faced with the challenges of coordinating efforts on the international stage, Poland is showing determination in overcoming these obstacles.

According to the Ukrainian activist, although Poland could not act unilaterally on many issues, its determination to support Ukraine was clear and effective. Despite our inquiry, she does not point to specific mistakes or obstacles, but rather to the general difficulty of responding quickly in a complex international environment.

Zakharova touches on the deep historical and cultural ties between Poland and Ukraine. She mentions a shared history that dates back to a time when the two nations shared a common geographic and cultural space. This common past is the foundation for today's solidarity and cooperation. She stresses that the historical memory of cooperation between Poland and Ukraine is a reminder of the strength that the two nations can achieve by acting together. What shines through in her remarks is the conviction that these historical ties not only facilitate current cooperation, but can also be the key to building a stronger future for both countries.





# VLADYSLAV STEMKOVSKYI

**WAR DAMAGE, WHILE DEVASTATING, CAN BE A STARTING POINT FOR REBUILDING THE EASTERN PART OF UKRAINE**

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**DEPUTY MAYOR OF TERNOPIL**



Amid the ongoing war in Ukraine, Vladyslav Stemkovskyi, deputy mayor of Ternopil, highlights the economic and investment challenges facing the country. In his view, the current situation significantly complicates the planning of future investments and economic activities. Stemkovskyi draws attention to the risks associated with active hostilities, such as bombings, which pose a serious threat to business and investment security. In this volatile situation, even issues as fundamental as capital and investment security become highly problematic. The Ukrainian local government official's statements shed light on the difficulties the Ukrainian economy faces in the face of conflict, while emphasizing the importance of finding ways to preserve and develop economic relations, especially with key partners such as Poland.

Despite his awareness of the current difficulties, he also sees the potential for rebuilding and modernizing Ukraine after the war. In his view, the war, while a tragic event, can also become an opportunity for technological progress and economic restart. The deputy mayor of Ternopil notes that the war's devastation, while devastating, can be a starting point for rebuilding the eastern part of Ukraine, including its industrial sector, at a new, more technologically advanced level. This perspective points to the possibility of transforming current challenges into opportunities for future development, which can range from modernizing existing structures to introducing new technologies and work methods. Stemkovskyi's vision underscores that despite the enormity of the war tragedy, there is an opportunity to positively transform the Ukrainian economy in the long term. In achieving this goal, a key actor is Poland and Polish entrepreneurs.





In his interview with us, Vladyslav Stemkovskyi also focuses on the demographic and social implications of the war. He points to the significant demographic changes that have occurred as a result of the conflict, particularly the mass migration of millions of Ukrainians, including educated women and children, to other European countries. He expresses concern that if the war continues longer, it may be difficult to convince these people to return to Ukraine. He stresses that this migration could have a positive impact on countries like Poland that are facing demographic challenges, but at the same time notes the cultural and social consequences of such demographic changes. His statements shed light on the complexity of the situation in which Ukraine finds itself, not only as a country experiencing the immediate effects of war, but also as a nation facing the long-term effects of the migration of its citizens.



We also talked about development prospects and strategic planning for the post-war period. Our interlocutor underlined the importance of preparing for the post-war period, focusing on the reconstruction and development of the common economic space between Ukraine and Poland. He notes that close cultural and mental ties between Ukrainians and Poles can facilitate joint efforts in reconstruction and development. Stemkovskyi provides a visionary view of a future in which Ukraine and Poland work together to create a strong, integrated economic space that will benefit both nations. His perspective indicates that despite the current difficulties, there is hope for a better future in which Ukraine can use its experience and newly acquired skills to build a stronger and more sustainable economy.





# BOGUSŁAWA RUDECKA

**Support should be provided not only for altruistic reasons, but also with clear expectations of mutual benefit and cooperation**

**SEE ENTIRE STATEMENT**



**DIRECTOR OF THE IPP PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS DEPARTMENT**



Bogusława Rudecka Director of the IPP Programs and Projects Department expresses hope for Ukraine's victory, stressing the importance of support from the free and democratic world. Rudecka points out that Poland's support for Ukraine was crucial because it included both military and economic assistance. In her view, initiatives such as the Business for Ukraine Center (run by ZPP in Ukraine), as well as support from Polish state agencies, including the Polish Investment and Trade Agency and the National Bank of Poland, have played an important role for the Ukrainian economy.

The ZPP representative discusses the challenges of providing assistance to Ukraine. She notes that the biggest challenge is to ensure that support is in line with Ukraine's needs and preferences. She points to a shift in Ukrainian interest in alliances outside of Poland, including with Germany and France, due to their stronger economic positions. Rudecka points out that Ukraine is looking for allies that can provide it with faster and easier integration into the European Union. Her statements shed light on the complexity of international relations and the need to understand and adapt to dynamically changing circumstances in the region.



Our interviewee reflects on the mistakes Poland may have made in its relations with Ukraine. While she stresses that Poland's support was necessary and important, she suggests that Poland should have clearer political expectations in its relations with Ukraine. Rudecka notes that support should be provided not only for altruistic reasons, but also with clear expectations of mutual benefit and cooperation. She also raises the issue of Western Europe's failure to anticipate war, which she attributes to a psychological approach to Russia based on the belief that discussion and cooperation are possible, in contrast to Poland's experience. Her observations shed light on the differences in threat perception and approaches to international politics between Poland and other European countries.

Later in the conversation, she expresses optimism about the future of Ukrainian business, despite existing political problems. She stresses that business operates independently of the political issues surrounding it and has the potential for growth and international cooperation. Rudecka cites examples of successful Polish-Ukrainian business cooperation, including Modern Expo, as proof that economic cooperation can be mutually beneficial. In addition, she notes that Ukrainians' decision to return to their country after the war will depend on the incentives offered by Ukraine, citing research that some 65% of Ukrainians plan to eventually return to their country. Her statements underscore the importance of supporting Ukrainian business, both in Poland and upon return to Ukraine, as a key element in Ukraine's post-conflict reconstruction and economic growth.





# JADWIGA EMILEWICZ

**SUPPORT FOR UKRAINE IN ITS STRUGGLE FOR SOVEREIGNTY  
AND DEMOCRACY, A KEY ELEMENT IN THE QUEST FOR  
STABILITY IN THE REGION.**

**SEE ENTIRE STATEMENT**



**POLISH POLITICIAN, FORMER DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
AND MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT**



We spoke with Jadwiga Emilewicz, an experienced Polish politician, former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Development, she expresses her belief that Ukraine will win the war thanks to the support of the Western world. She stresses that while there is hope for a quick end to the conflict, the reality may require waiting longer for that moment. She has deep faith in Ukraine's victory and stresses the importance of support from Western countries. As a political scientist with many years of experience, Emilewicz notes the importance of international support for Ukraine in its struggle for sovereignty and democracy, a key element in the quest for stability in the region.

He describes Poland's role in supporting refugees from Ukraine. He emphasizes that Poland has played a significant role in welcoming and supporting more than 5 million refugees, more than 2 million of whom have chosen to stay in Poland. It shows how Poland provided them not only with shelter, but also with social support, including Ukrainian children in the Polish educational system. It also notes how Poland has helped a significant number of refugees, mostly women, find employment. She recalls how Poland successfully managed the challenge of hosting such a large number of refugees, while integrating them into society and the labor market. This testifies to Poland's effective and humane approach to the refugee crisis.





The Government Plenipotentiary for Polish-Ukrainian Development Cooperation refers to Poland's policies toward Russia and Ukraine. He says that Poland has not made significant mistakes in its policies toward both countries. She stresses that Poland's long-standing skepticism toward Russia, especially in the context of projects such as Nord Stream 2, was justified. Her statements shed light on Poland's consistent and thoughtful approach to relations with Russia and Ukraine, emphasizing that Poland has long recognized potential threats from Russia and has consistently advocated a stronger stance toward Moscow.

In an interview, he discusses the logistics of Poland's support for Ukraine and the impact of Russia's isolation on the energy sector. She points out that Poland has become a key logistics hub for delivering military and humanitarian aid to Ukraine, noting the need for investment in infrastructure to improve the capacity of border crossings and transportation networks. Emilewicz stresses that Russia's isolation has significantly affected the energy sector, including Europe and Poland, which face challenges in reducing gas supplies from Russia. She points out the need to develop a national strategy to increase gas storage capacity as a precautionary measure. Her analysis shows how Poland is proactively responding to the changing geopolitical environment by adapting public policies to meet the new challenges.

