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UKRAINIAN FOREIGN POLICY:
A DISCUSSION WITH
FOREIGN MINISTER BORYS TARASYUK

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[TRANSCRIPT PREPARED FROM A TAPE RECORDING.]

C O N T E N T S

Welcome and Introduction:

CARLOS PASCUAL, Vice President
Foreign Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution

Presentation:

BORYS TARASYUK
Foreign Minister, Ukraine

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P R O C E E D I N G S

MR. PASCUAL: Thank you very much. It's a pleasure to welcome you this afternoon to the Brookings Institution. I am Carlos Pascual. I am the Vice President for Foreign Policy Studies here at Brookings. But most importantly, we're all here to greet and to listen to Minister Borys Tarasyuk who has kindly agreed to join us and address us on the kinds of exciting challenges that are facing Ukraine today.

I will just say a couple of words, but not a long introduction since we're a little bit late in starting. One of the things I wanted to reflect on was that often when I was the American Ambassador in Ukraine I would say that today Ukraine had its greatest opportunity to define its place in European history. I think what we have seen over the past few years is that indeed Ukraine is acting on that. I often said that Ukraine's place in Europe is actually going to be defined from within, defined by its people, and indeed the Ukrainian people took that tremendous step in the Orange Revolution last year.

It's also going to be defined from within in the context of Ukraine's institutions and its politics. We have seen in fact over the past few weeks and months progress on some of those policy issues that have very much defined the U.S.-Ukrainian relationship but really were a reflection of policy changes from within Ukraine. Things like market economy status and the Market Access Agreement that was just recently signed, and we all are looking forward and ahead to Ukraine's removal from the Jackson-Vanick Amendment which will in fact reflect Ukraine's appropriate place

respecting religious freedom and being a country which is one that is really and truly a trade partner in the international community.

Interestingly, these are all issues that are fundamental to Ukraine's role in the European Union and NATO and one of the great challenges for Ukraine today is that its foreign policy vision of being a European state is so intimately tied to what happens internally within the country because that will really define the character of what a European Ukraine really is.

In that context, Ukraine could not have a better Foreign Minister than Borys Tarasyuk. Many of here have known Borys in many incarnations, from his time at the United Nations when we worked with him very closely as Deputy Minister, when he was Ambassador to NATO, when he was the Minister of Foreign Affairs previously. Many people know him from his political life as Chairman of Ruk [ph] and a parliamentarian in the Ukrainian Parliament.

I will just say one thing that truly impressed me about Borys. Often times I would run into him in the airports or train stations in Ukraine. He would have just been traveling overnight and he would have been traveling all over the country and convening small groups of intellectuals, academics, think tanks, students, ordinary people, all over the country to have a debate on Ukraine and Europe; to engage them on what NATO is, why it was critical for Europe's security, how Ukraine can fit into a broader Europe and what that meant.

This was something that he did because he truly believes that the Europeanness of Ukraine would come from the character and the nature of its people and how they understood what it meant to change their country from within, and I think it truly

reflects the kind of person that Borys Tarasyuk is. With that note, let me introduce to you the Foreign Minister of Ukraine, Borys Tarasyuk. Thank you for joining us at the Brookings Institution.

[Applause.]

MR. TARASYUK: Thank you, Carlos. So many words, kind words. Thank you.

Dear friends, first of all, I would like to apologize for the delay, the delay which is connected with something which is part and parcel of my activity and of your activity of all friends of Ukraine. The delay was connected with the finalization of the process of the decision in the Congress concerning the graduation of Ukraine from the Jackson-Vanick Amendment. So we were present and we were invited for the meeting of the Senate where the final decision has been taken right now.

[Applause.]

MR. TARASYUK: Let me use this opportunity and to express our gratitude to the U.S. Senators, Congressmen, to all of you friends of Ukraine who with your tireless efforts trying to help all those who were in favor of repealing one of the remnants, one of the relics of the Cold War especially towards Ukraine.

This is an honor for me to meet with you here in the Brookings Institution and to meet and to see so many friends. The only enumeration in calling by names old friends together here will take some quite time.

During my visits to Washington both as Foreign Minister and an Opposition Deputy who chaired the Parliament's European Integration Committee, the subject of

the European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine was a topical issue. Noticeably, even in the most challenging moments of Ukraine's modern history, my country's European and Euro-Atlantic prospects has never been questioned but incited a sincere interest and backing among the U.S. political elite and American political analysts alike.

Since the dramatic events branded as the Orange Revolution, Viktor Yushchenko, then the presidential candidate and now the President of Ukraine, has repeatedly stressed that the Ukrainian people by standing up for their civil rights and freedoms and against cynical falsifications in November 2004 proved to be Europeans, and as Europeans deserve their place in the united Europe.

It is commonly known that the notion of European and Euro-Atlantic integration has been a landmark of the Ukrainian foreign policy and politics for a decade. But the frank assessment of the real progress on Ukraine's move towards NATO and the E.U. made by the end of Kuchma's tenure unmistakably leads to a blue conclusion that any mentioning of Ukraine's European integration sparked nothing but irritation and fatigue syndrome among the European politicians.

Let me briefly remind you that at the edge of the democratic breakthrough in 2004, Ukraine's image abroad was tainted by a discredited and corrupt political leadership incapable of getting the read of foreign policy ambiguity and securing any consistency in the implementation of strategic tasks. Moreover, the undemocratic nature of the regime and the fact of international isolation of Ukraine kept at bay any prospects of joining Western institutions. With the Orange Revolution, unleashed by the widespread electoral fraud, the pro-democracy forces were able to seize the

popular mood and formulate the mainstream civilizational choice of the Ukrainian people to live in a democratic, law-abiding and fair society, homogeneous with other European countries.

Instead of incessantly speaking about the European and Euro-Atlantic perspective that found little response from the European and NATO counterparts in the previous decades primarily due to the democratic incompatibility, the new democratic authorities articulated ambitious, still clear-cut foreign policy priorities and backed them up with a trustworthy agenda and actions.

Although one year is a small period of time to draw profound conclusions, by all accounts Ukraine had made great progress towards Euro-Atlantic and European integration. First of all, by actively engaging in the implementation of the Ukrainian-E.U. Action Plan we were able to melt down major fences between Ukraine and the rest of Europe. This action plan was instrumental in helping Ukraine to push economic and democratic reforms forward. As a result, Ukraine was graduated to a market economy status and is fully committed to building on this success.

Our expectations to kick-start in the nearest future the negotiations with the European Union on an association agreement as well as on a free-trade area. Pending the assessment of the implementation of the Ukrainian-E.U. Action Plan, the government of Ukraine is making its mind as to the submission of the E.U. membership application.

As far as joining NATO is concerned, launching and successfully implementing the intensified dialogue on membership is not a lesser achievement. The intensified

dialogue on membership issues and reforms brought us into the formal stream of preparation to NATO membership. We are pleased to note that each of the Alliance members recognizes the legitimacy of Ukraine's NATO aspirations. We believe that the goal of getting their invitation to NATO at the 2008 Summit is within reach.

At this point, I am aware of the need to address the widespread concerns in the West over implications that the electoral outcomes of Ukraine's parliamentary campaign could have on a coherent policy against the backdrop of constitutional reform. Although the ongoing parliamentary campaign is heavily charged with a foreign policy component primarily with NATO accession as well as the last presidential campaign, it is clearly a point of no return in the heated debate over national strategic priorities. One should not be tricked by the fact that some political forces and especially the out-of-mainstream parties which enjoy a tiny public backing gamble on NATO and Russian related issues as they lack any trustworthy vision of the foreign policy priorities. By abusing the remnants of the existing phobias and ignorance that root back into the Soviet era, indoctrination and brainwashing practices, these political players aimed at winning the constituency's support while not giving up their efforts to torpedo the democratic choice of the Ukraine people. By the way, to address this challenge, the government of Ukraine appropriated in 2006 for the first time even since the NATO membership clause was inserted into the national military doctrine funds to run a NATO awareness targeted campaign.

On the other hand, there is no ground to deny that the freedom of speech is flourishing in Ukraine. The opposition leaders and the harshest critics of the

democratic government are the first to grasp these new opportunities to assail the media space and the constituency with ideas which sometimes are lethal for democracy. The media themselves are no longer the target of influence by the government or political forces supportive of it. This level of freedom of speech wasn't dreamed of just a year ago.

We have a transparent and fair political competition, as no political force or opposition leader is harassed or persecuted by either law enforcement or any other governmental agency on the basis of their political affiliation or ideologies. No wonder Ukraine was upgraded by the renowned Freedom House in its annual Freedom in the World 2006 report from a partly free to a free country since both political rights and civil liberties ratings improved significantly. The President and the government of Ukraine are aware that the upcoming parliamentary elections will be a test for Ukraine's democratic compatibility with a United Europe and the Euro-Atlantic community, and its integration ambitions will be assessed by the democratic world through the ability to secure transparent, free and fair elections.

We are confident that pro-democracy forces will clear majority in the future parliament. Despite the fragmentation between the pro-democracy political parties, their combined approval rating has ever slightly grown. There should be no doubt that the pro-democracy parties are capable of bridging their differences and restoring the Orange Coalition.

With the elections to be held in 2 weeks' time, the consensus on the key principles and priorities of the future government have already been worked over and agreed upon by the pro-democracy parties that will have a legislative representation.

Besides, let there be no place for argument that with the constitutional changes taking effect upon new cabinet formation, the President still keeps exclusive power to articulate the foreign policy and secure the consistency of its implementation. The President will remain an active player in the cabinet forming process as the nominees for the posts of Foreign and Defense Ministers are submitted at his discretion.

In my already not so brief speech, there is an obvious necessity that an assessment of the current Ukrainian-Russian relationship be given as there will be repercussions on Ukraine's European and Euro-Atlantic strategy and integration phase. Still, the bilateral relations are not problem-free. Shifting the dialogue into the dimension of equal relations should be considered a milestone achievement.

On the other hand, two countries managed to return to the process of seeking genuine solutions to long-awaiting problems of the Black Sea Fleet stationed in the territory of Ukraine, the limitation of the Azov and Black Sea, et cetera. Significant progress has been made on loosening the procedures of crossing of borders by the Ukrainian and Russian nationals. When speaking on Ukrainian-Russian relations, one cannot avoid touching upon acute questions. The energy dispute with Russia has made international and domestic headlines for a couple of months. Although the agreement hammered on January 4th might not be the better option for Ukraine and is not of our choice, it still reflects to some extent the balance of interests. Ukraine's economy got acceptable gas prices that allowed to mitigate the negative impact on its performance. With Ukraine securing tariffs on transit and its reliability, we expect that Russia provide in exchange guarantees that gas prices and the volume of gas

that is pumped through the Ukrainian transit system will remain unchangeable for the agreed period of time. The scheme of energy supply is far from transparent by Western standards. Still, with all economic and political factors taken into account, there was no other option or choice but to abolish previous barter schemes that fed the corruption both in Ukraine and in Russia and set up new mechanisms which better suit market economy transformation.

Although Ukraine's approach was legally strong and we have no little doubt our country would have won the lawsuit in the Stockholm court, in practical terms, the Ukrainian economy would be hit severely as would be to some extent the European economies. As a reliable partner, Ukraine decided that it would be wise to hammer a compromise that benefits both our country and Europe.

We are very optimistic about the prospects of further enhancing our relations with the United States that have never been better than as of today. Eager to rediscover the meaning of the Aegean Strategic Partnership, the new Ukraine authorities and the United States have been able just in one year to get rid of the bulk of problems that have been blemishing our relationship for ages. The frank discussion and true political will to find solutions to long-awaiting domestic bilateral and international issues are back to the Ukrainian-American dialogue. The democratic authorities of Ukraine have proved to do what they say and say exactly what they mean, not leaving any room for ambiguity or misinterpretation.

I am happy to say that Ukraine has strictly lived up to its commitments under the Yushchenko-Bush Joint Statement of April 2005, as has the United States. Ukraine's steadily improving economic performance and their robust market

transformations were recognized by the United States by upgrading Ukraine to market economy status. My country is one step closer to achieving WTO membership after Ukraine and the United States successfully completed negotiations on market access on March 6th.

As recently as yesterday, the Congress abolished the Cold War relic of the Jackson-Vanick Amendment, a measure that grants normal trade treatment to Ukraine completed today in the Senate. As Ukraine is seen as an outpost of democracy in the post-Soviet space, and beyond it we stand firmly for freedom, human rights and liberties. With that said, let there be no doubt that Ukraine will remain a committed partner to the United States in promoting these shared values.

Dear friends, as the Orange Revolution created prerequisites to develop the nation and society, Ukraine is going through an historic moment in its development. We have the unique chance to make true this historic dream of generations of Ukrainians in reintegrating our country into the Euro-Atlantic family of democratic nations. I thank you very much for your time and patience.

[Applause.]

MR. PASCUAL: Minister Tarasyuk has very kindly agreed to stay and take questions for a little while. What I would ask is that you stand, you introduce yourself and the organization that you're with. Please try to keep your questions as questions and relatively brief, and we'll proceed.

QUESTION: [Off mike] Ukrainian Service for Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty. As we rejoice today about the progress in U.S.-Ukrainian relations, we also have to remember that a few weeks ago for the first time since the Kuchma regime,

the United States condemned the action of the Ukrainian government for deporting 10 Uzbek refugees to Uzbekistan, and they were immediately put to jail by the Karimov regime. This is not the first time that Ukraine failed to stand up to the Karimov regime. In December of last year, Ukraine did not support the U.N. resolution condemning human rights violations in Uzbekistan which all the Western democracies supported. So with the Uzbek Embassy just across the street, I was wondering whether you, Mr. Tarasyuk, could prove that Ukraine not only speaks about democratic values but also follows it in actions and condemn unequivocally the human rights violations of the Karimov regime and probably apologize for deporting refugees to the prisons of the Karimov regime. Thank you.

MR. TARASYUK: Thank you for your question. There is no reason for me to apologize, and I will explain why. Since the new authorities emerged as the result of the Orange Revolution, democratic values and standards become the cornerstone of Ukrainian internal and external policy. As of April last year, Ukraine started to align itself with the European Union and the United States concerning the country's human rights-related resolutions. This is the fact, as of May last year, Ukraine started to align itself with all position papers and positions of the European Union on major international issues including the issues concerning the situation of human rights in Belarus, in Uzbekistan, and other countries.

As to the issue of Uzbekistan and 10 Uzbek citizens, they were in Ukraine illegally staying in our country since May-June last year. So the question mark was why they have not applied for the refugee status immediately upon entering our

country. Nobody prevented them from doing so, but they were staying in our country illegally. By the way, they came from Russia and Moldova.

At the same time, they decided to apply for refugee status at the beginning of February this year so the immigration authorities in the Crimea where they have applied for refugees' status considered their applications and they found no grounds for granting them refugee status. They had the right to appeal this decision, but they chose not to appeal and we have written confirmation of this according to the authorities' report. This case was brought to the decision of the court in Simferopol in the Crimea and the court decided to send them back to their country of origin, taking into account that they have violated Ukrainian laws and taking into account that they were not granted refugee status.

Also we have entered into negotiations with the representatives of the Uzbek authorities, the Uzbek Embassy, getting the assurances that they will be treated properly. Our ombudswoman, Mrs. Karpachova [ph] also got in contact with your counterpart in Uzbekistan and she got the assurances that they are being treated well. Five out of those ten were released from custody. So we are keeping constant consultations with the Uzbek authorities in order to be sure that nothing undemocratic will take place against those citizens. Thank you.

QUESTION: Can you condemn the human rights violations in Uzbekistan?

MR. TARASYUK: Do you want me to do this right now? I am a Foreign Minister, I am not a journalist, and I would like to refer you to the decisions and the statements made by the Foreign Ministry last year after the Andijan events took place.

QUESTION: [Off mike] Ukrainian-American Coordinating Council. Mr. Tarasyuk, you expressed optimism that the democratic forces will win the coming elections and form the new government, and I share your hope. But for the sake of argument, should the unthinkable happen and the opposition forces come to power and form a new government, do you think that there is a real danger that the foreign policy of your government of European integration will not only cease, but would be reversed?

MR. TARASYUK: Hypothetically, such a scenario may take place. Hypothetically. But not in reality, because my judgment is based on the numerous public opinion polls conducted by 10 different sociological services, and judging on these public opinion polls conducted throughout the months, I make an analysis that our opponents, that is the party of regions by Yanokovich together with the Communists may get as a result of the elections no more than 30, maximum of 35 percent. This is based on the public opinion polls.

So that means that the other political forces who will overcome the 3 percent threshold, and today we cannot be sure who might be those political forces, may create the majority coalition, and the major thrust of this majority coalition will be two parts of the Orange team, Our Ukraine Coalition and the coalition of Yulia Tymoshenko. So this will be the core of the future democratic majority coalition in the Ukrainian Parliament which will be entrusted to form the government. I have no doubts that the results will more or less reflect the different public opinion polls in my country.

QUESTION: [Off mike] Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institution. First of all, thanks a lot for your excellent speech. You said that Ukraine should be regarded as an outpost of democracy in the former Soviet space, and also placed the emphasis on the growing cooperation between Ukraine and E.U. which I think applies also to foreign policy.

Now the upcoming president election in Belarus could trigger a very serious crisis and I think this would put to test seriously the E.U. diplomacy and I think there would be the need for strong and closer cooperation between the E.U. and your country.

I would like to know your assessment of the situation in Belarus and how do you think this problem in Belarus could be effectively tackled.

MR. TARASYUK: Could be?

QUESTION: Dealt with.

MR. TARASYUK: I have some problems in hearing. The forthcoming presidential elections could be hardly referred to as elections. This will be certainly the continuation of the rule of Lukashenko. At the same time, we see during these recent days the ever-growing attacks by the authorities against the leading candidates and their supporters. Recently one of the candidates was apprehended and kept for a while, so this was a candidate for the presidential elections. At the same time, the followers of and in demonstration in support of one of the leading opposition candidates, Mr. Milinkevich, were disbanded by the police. Recently the leader of the campaign of Mr. Milinkevich was also arrested and fined for \$720 or so, but fortunately released. But yesterday the person who was, how to say it, a trusted

person of leading opposition candidate Mr. Milinkevich, the leader of the People's Front of Belarus, Mr. Vechorka, was arrested and his case was considered by the court and he is going to spend another 15 days in jail. So these cases taken all together prove to the fact that the authorities are not going to create the conditions for fair, free and democratic elections.

I do not want to preempt the final conclusion. I think that this is the OIC's observation mission which will take its final conclusion as to the conduct of the Belarusian presidential election, but the conditions are not democratic already now.

What to do? I think that we have to recognize the reality and the reality is the following; that Lukashenko will continue to rule this country. At the same time, these forthcoming presidential elections demonstrate that the opposition and democratic forces in Belarus are increasing their influence. I think that both the European Union and Ukraine have to combine their efforts in order to provide the support to democracy and democratic processes in Belarus. Belarus should integrate with other European nations in a united, democratic and prosperous Europe.

The policy of isolation which was conducted by the European Union for years brought no evident result. That's why I think that it is necessary to recognize this reality and to conduct a policy of combination. We have to create the conditions in order that not the whole Belarusian people be isolated, but only those who are ruling in an undemocratic way. Instead, we have to create all the conditions to help the people of Belarus to gain the victory in a democratic way and manner.

MR. WHITTING: I'm Bill Whitting [ph], a consultant who's been involved with Ukraine for a long time and a strong supporter of the democratic development of

Ukraine. You talked about your Northwest border, now maybe a word about your Southwest border. Could you say a word and maybe speculate a little bit about how the recent developments with regard to customs management with Moldova are going to play out and the Ukrainian government's policy with regard to that particular issue.

MR. TARASYUK: Thank you. For a couple of months Ukraine and Moldova were discussing how to bring an order in our common border especially in its Transnistrian segment. Since it touched upon the business community in Transnistria, we were insisting that Moldova in order for us to introduce a new, stricter customs regime, Moldova has to prepare policy of licensing the subjects of business activity in Transnistria. There was a delay in creating these conditions in Moldova, and as soon as the Moldovan government has completed its part of the commitments which was demonstrated by both Prime Ministers on December 30th, Ukraine has introduced this new customs regime on our border with Moldova.

These discussions and these plans were well known to all participants of the Transnistrian settlement, they were known to Transnistrians themselves, and to Russians. They were discussed in the format of five plus two participants of the Transnistrian settlement, but as soon as Ukraine has introduced this regime, this was fact was used as a pretext by the Transnistrian authorities and Russia in order to criticize Ukraine for creating a kind of economic blockade which is a false allegation.

The reality is that the Transnistrian authorities are prohibiting the free flow of transportation through the territory of Transnistria and thus creating artificially a

self-imposing blockade. This is being used by Russian authorities in order to join Transnistrians to accuse Ukraine of an economic blockade which is not a blockade.

So in order to react to this situation, we immediately entered into negotiations with our partners in the European Union. You know that Ukraine together with the European Union and Moldova have created an E.U. Border Assistance Mission which started to operate on our common border as of December 1st last year. Now we may say that this provocative activities and allegations will bring no results, the things will come into order and Ukraine is not creating any problems to any business subjects of Transnistria.

So we think that the authorities in Transnistria will stop politicizing this issue and will allow business to develop in a normal way. So this is all I can say as of now.

MR. SNEELIS: Mark Snelis [ph]. You can consider me an interested observer of Ukraine. We all know that one of the facts of a developing democracy would be a stable rule of law and independent judiciary. So I've been watching the development of the Gongadze case over especially the last couple of months and my perception is that it's been hijacked by politics possibly. I don't see the case developing, it's been repeatedly postponed and the circumstances seem to me to be quite nebulous. So I'm wondering if you could comment on your perception of the independence of the court, why the case has been postponed and what your government is planning to do about that, if anything, and how you see the situation.

MR. TARASYUK: The Gongadze case is not in the hands of the Ukrainian President or Ukrainian government. It is in the hands of the Prosecutor General of

Ukraine and the Court. So we cannot interfere into the court proceedings. At the same time, I would like to inform you that the President of Ukraine, Viktor Yushchenko, recently announced that his position is that this is in the interests of justice that the judge allow these proceedings and hearings in the court be opened to the public and to mass media. So this is all the President can do, just to remind to the judge. Otherwise, it will be interpreted as pressure on the court and on the judge.

MR. PASCUAL: Mr. Tarasyuk, maybe if I can take the advance of the Chair to perhaps pose a final question to you. You've been generous with your time and especially since we started late and we don't want to make you even later in your schedule afterwards. You began your talk today by giving us a vision of Ukraine and Europe, of discussing some of the important steps that you've taken and the relationship with NATO and with the European Union. Now is another critical stage. In some ways, the original agreements that you implemented are coming to their end. The intensified dialogue obviously is moving forward.

But as you look ahead over the next 2 to 3 years, what do you see as some of the key developments internally within Ukraine that might occur that are some of your critical objectives of what you want to accomplish that will put you firmly on that path towards Europe, and in the end when those members of NATO come around that table to exercise their vote will get them to see in an unequivocal way that Ukraine has finally achieved its place in Europe?

MR. TARASYUK: It's not an easy question to answer.

MR. PASCUAL: Just allowing you to inspire us with vision as we all move forward as we look to the future.

MR. TARASYUK: I will try. After passing over this yet another test for democracy, that is the forthcoming parliamentary and local elections, I expect that the new democratic majority will be formed in the Ukrainian Parliament, the new government will be formed by this democratic majority, and this will create the new opportunities for the President and his team to implement the promises given during the Orange Revolution and streamline the process of economic and political reforms in Ukraine.

This will lead for the completion of the procedure of entering into the WTO which will take place in my mind this autumn. So as soon as Ukraine enters the WTO, we will proceed according to the E.U. position with the negotiations concerning a free trade area agreement with the European Union with possible completion next year. Also this year we will begin the process of negotiations with the European Union over a new Framework Agreement to replace the existing Partnership and Cooperation Agreement at the beginning of 2008. 2008 will be a critical year for Ukraine because we will have to prepare a new framework conceptual agreement with the European Union. Our vision is that this should be the Europe agreement on association with the perspective of membership in the European Union. And 2008 will be a critical year for the Ukraine-NATO relationship. I expect that by this time, Ukraine will complete the military reform and security reform in Ukraine and will be ready for membership in NATO. I expect this year

Ukraine will be invited to the Membership Action Plan and thus starting to prepare itself for membership in NATO.

So I predict that 2008 will be the year of Ukraine's entry into NATO and the beginning of the process of working with the European Union on a new Framework Agreement which will be the agreement of the preparation of Ukraine for eventual E.U. membership. Taken into account the time frame which has been taken by our neighbors and new members of the European Union in Central and Eastern Europe, I predict that Ukraine may become a member of the European Union by around the year 2015.

So my mind, pending the positive developments of Ukraine, Ukraine will become in the second half of this half a century, one of the leading nations in Europe and in the world.

MR. PASCUAL: On that note, let's thank Mr. Tarasyuk for his presentation and for spending his time with us today. Thank you.

[Applause.]

[END OF RECORDED SEGMENT.]