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THE ROLE OF SCIENTIFIC CONSULTING IN THE PROCESS OF FORMING A GOOD NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY BETWEEN UKRAINE AND POLAND

Abstract

The article presents the principles of the Good Neighbour Policy and the European Neighbourhood Policy. The state of bilateral relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland is described as good neighbourhood. However, attention is drawn to the conflicts related to the historical memory of both nations. It has been concluded that scientific research can significantly raise the level of public policies in general, with particular regard to the good neighbourhood policy. The author draws attention to the reasons that lead to an improper communication between policy makers and law makers on the one hand, and scientists on the other. She describes also the main tasks of scientific consulting institutions at parliaments and governments. The author proposes to create a Ukrainian-Polish network of scientific consultants to public authorities, the objectives of which would include developing a good neighbourhood policy and related legal acts, as well as creating a Ukrainian-Polish scientific platform which would publish scientific research results from both countries, accompanied by information on their potential application in particular policies.

Key words

Good Neighbour Policy, European Neighbourhood Policy, relationship between policy and science, scientific diplomacy, scientific consulting, networks of scientific consultants.

The conflicts that have arisen in recent years between representatives of public authorities of Ukraine and the Republic of Poland have shown that in interstate relations there have been attempts by each of the states to impose their own interpretation of historical memory and national heroes. In both countries, there were government officials who, without proper justification for their decisions regarding the controversial issues between the neighbouring states, demanded recognition of their position as the only correct one. Alternately, the Ukrainian and Polish parliaments adopted legal acts based on the deputies' political attitudes to historical issues. On many occasions the sides took diametrically opposite views on some issues, thus provoking numerous discussions in which both government officials and citizens of the two countries were involved. This state of bilateral relations prompted the search for its causes and possible ways to overcome them. One of the identified reasons was the commitment of certain political forces to one or another version of the events, based on emotions rather than facts and their objective interpretation. Therefore, it is extremely important to draw the attention of both Polish and Ukrainian theorists and practitioners to the importance of the scientific evidence in the processes of policy-making and law-making in general, and particularly in the process of developing a neighbourhood policy.

There are very few theoretical works regarding the concept of 'good neighbour policy' in Ukrainian and Polish scientific literature. Most encyclopedias and dictionaries do not explain the essence of this type of policy. The origin of this term is mentioned in M. Roczon's publication, which is an interview with J. F. Melby. The differences between the terms 'Good Neighbour Policy' and 'Eu-

ropean Neighbourhood Policy' are investigated by A. Kuznetsov, while A. Kokoshin and T. Luty focus on the importance of science in the process of policy-making. The essence of scientific consulting and its institutional structure in the USA is described by a team of authors: M. Senchenko, O. Senchenko, V. Hastynshchykov; and with regard to the European Union – by J. M. Bujnicki, P. Gutowski, A. Jajszczyk, J. Gołaś, G. Wrochna, and J. Szwed.

The research of the above-mentioned authors deals with the role of science in policy making in general, not with the policy of good neighbourhood. Therefore, considering the practical need to improve relations between the two neighbouring states, the purpose of this article is to determine the theoretical and practical aspects of scientific consulting in the process of shaping the neighbourhood policy between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland. The objectives of the article are: to explain the essence of the term 'good neighbourhood policy'; to analyse political documents and legal acts which use the terms 'good neighbourly relations' or 'good neighbourliness'; to show the politicians' and scientists' perception of the role of science in policy-making; to identify ways of applying scientific research in the process of policy-making in general, and particularly in the policy of good neighbourhood between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland.

The dissemination of the term 'good neighbour policy' in the public sphere is associated with US President F. Roosevelt. In his inaugural address (on March 4, 1933), he announced that he would pursue a 'good neighbour policy', which meant non-intervention and non-interference in the domestic policy of Latin American countries.¹

However, J. F. Melby thinks that the Good Neighbour Policy was in fact created by Sumner Welles who was an American diplomat specializing in Latin America and who was serving as

1. "Good Neighbor Policy", *Britannica*, accessed October 8, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Good-Neighbor-Policy-of-the-United-States>.

US ambassador to the Dominican Republic, and an adviser to F. Roosevelt.²

J. F. Melby believes that S. Welles' book on the Dominican Republic (*Naboth's Vineyard: The Dominican Republic, 1844–1924*) was the true source of the Good Neighbour Policy: “It was his idea, and Roosevelt picked it up”.³

Today, good neighbourliness is considered a principle of international law, on the basis of which modern countries should build their relations. This idea is stated in a number of international documents. *The Charter of the United Nations* (1945) states that members of the organization agree that their policies regarding non-self-governing territories should be based on “the general principle of good-neighbourliness, due account being taken of the interests and well-being of the rest of the world, in social, economic and commercial matters” (Article 74).⁴

The Preamble to the *Declaration on Principles of International Law Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the UN Charter* (1970) notes: “the peoples of the United Nations are determined to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours”.⁵

2. M. Roczon, “Kolos Północy w winnicy Nabota. Stany Zjednoczone i Republika Dominikańska w latach 1869–1966” [Colossus of the North in Naboth's Vineyard. The United States and the Dominican Republic in the years 1869–1966], *Studia i komentarze Instytutu Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, no. 4 (14), 2010, accessed October 9, 2020, <http://www.iesw.lublin.pl/sk/numery/numer14.php>.

3. R. Accinelli, “Oral History. Interview with John F. Melby”, November 7, 1986, accessed October 9, 2020, <https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/oral-histories/melby1>.

4. *Устав Организации Объединённых Наций и Устав Международного Суда* [The Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the International Court of Justice], accessed October 11, 2020, https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/995_010?lang=uk#Text.

5. *Декларація про принципи міжнародного права, що стосуються дружніх відносин та співробітництва між державами відповідно до*

The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (1975) states that the participating states “will endeavour, in developing their co-operation as equals to promote mutual understanding and confidence, friendly and good-neighbourly relations among themselves, international peace, security and justice”⁶

Consequently, the invariable essence of the good neighbourhood policy is respect for the sovereignty of other states, and cooperation with them on a contractual and mutually beneficial basis.

Interstate relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland have been actively developed since the two countries regained their independence. In 1992, the *Treaty on Good Neighbourliness, Friendly Relations and Cooperation* was signed. According to it, the parties undertook to “develop relations in the spirit of friendship, cooperation, mutual respect, mutual understanding, trust and good neighbourliness on the basis of international law in the new political situation”⁷

A number of state and non-state institutions have been established to form good neighbourly relations and cooperation between the two countries. They include: the Advisory Committee of the Presidents of Ukraine and the Republic of Poland; the Parliamentary Assembly of Ukraine and the Republic of Poland; Deputy Group of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on Interparliamentary Relations with the Republic of Poland; the Inter-Parliamentary *Статуту Організації Об'єднаних Націй* [The Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations], accessed October 12, 2020, https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/995_569?lang=uk#Text.

6. *Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Final Act*, Helsinki, 1975, accessed October 13, 2020, <https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/5/c/39501.pdf>.

7. *Договір між Україною і Республікою Польщею про добросусідство, дружні відносини і співробітництво* [Treaty between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland on Good Neighbourliness, Friendly Relations and Co-operation], accessed October 15, 2020, https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/616_172#Text.

Assembly of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania and the Sejm and Senate of the Republic of Poland; Ukrainian-Polish Intergovernmental Commission on Economic Cooperation; Ukrainian-Polish Intergovernmental Coordination Council for Interregional Cooperation; Intergovernmental Ukrainian-Polish Commission for the Protection and Recovery of Cultural Property Lost and Illegally Moved during World War II; Council of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland; Joint Advisory Commission of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine and the Ministry of National Education of the Republic of Poland on the education of representatives of the Ukrainian national minority in Poland and the Polish national minority in Ukraine; Ukrainian-Polish Council of Youth Exchange; Ukrainian-Polish Partnership Forum; Ukrainian-Polish Forum of Historians; Platform for political, economic and social cooperation between Ukraine, the Republic of Poland and the Republic of Lithuania – “Lublin Triangle”; and others.

Apart from institutional relations, the interstate policy is influenced by many other factors. It depends on both the internal state of affairs of the neighbouring countries and the international situation in the world. Interstate relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland, in accordance with their status in international organizations, should be developed within the framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy and its component – the Eastern Partnership policy. The basic principles that states must adhere to in line with this policy include: the rule of law, good governance, respect for human rights, respect and protection of minorities, the principles of market economy and sustainable development.⁸

8. *European Neighbourhood Policy. Strategy paper*, Communication from the Commission, COM (2004) 373 final, Brussels, May 12, 2004, p. 3, accessed October 18, 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/2004_communication_from_the_commission_-_european_neighbourhood_policy_-_strategy_paper.pdf.

As we can see, the documents of the European Union refer to the ‘neighbourhood policy’, and not to the ‘good neighbour policy’. A. Kuznetsov believes that there is a certain difference between these terms. According to him, the Good Neighbour Policy is about symmetrical relations between international actors, while the European Neighbourhood Policy – about asymmetrical relations. Besides, he identifies three other differences between the European Neighbourhood Policy (the Eastern Partnership policy) and the standard Good Neighbour Policy: 1) in the European Neighbourhood Policy, apart from interests, European values are taken into account and unilaterally implemented; 2) in addition to partnership cooperation typical of good neighbourliness, the EU proposes to move towards closer, associative relations; 3) for the implementation of the European policy, there are targeted financial instruments funded mostly by the EU.⁹

The European Neighbourhood Policy is defined as “a new European Union policy that aims to create a zone of stability, peace and prosperity south and east of the new borders of the enlarged European Union, by establishing close long-term relations with neighbouring countries”.¹⁰ Therefore, the European Neighbourhood Policy, in contrast to the original meaning of the term ‘good neighbour policy’, allows for ‘interference’ in the domestic affairs of the neighbouring state. Another thing is that the ‘interference’ needs to be motivated by noble intentions, i.e. to ensure peace

9. А. И. Кузнецов, “Добрососедство и Европейская политика соседства – в чем различие?” [Good Neighbourhood and European Neighbourhood Policy – what is the difference?], *Балтийский регион* [The Baltic Sea Region], no. 2 (2009), accessed October 21, 2020, <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/dobrososedstvo-i-evropeyskaya-politika-sosedstva-v-chem-razlichie/viewer>.

10. Європейська політика сусідства. Глосарій термінів Європейського Союзу [European Neighbourhood Policy. Glossary of terms of the European Union], Видавництво «К.І.С.», Міжнародний фонд «Відродження», accessed October 21, 2020, <http://europa.dovidka.com.ua/ee.html#1>.

and tranquillity in the neighbouring state, and thus the security in their own country.

Relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland can be called ‘good neighbourhood’, since most of the problems that arise are solved by representatives of the public authorities of both states in a balanced way, in the process of negotiations and consultations. However, disputes and differences in views are known to have often arisen over historical issues.

One of the last conflicts that arose between representatives of the authorities of both states was the adoption, on January 26, 2018, of the amendment to the Polish law “On the Institute of National Remembrance – Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation”.¹¹ The amendment, among other things, provided for a fine or imprisonment of up to three years for denying the crimes of Ukrainian nationalists. While disregarding the historical events and their nationalist interpretations by representatives of both nations, it is important, in the context of this article, to take a closer look at how the laws are formulated. The analysis of the amendment was carried out, in particular, by the Polish Constitutional Tribunal. It found that the terms “Ukrainian nationalists” and “Eastern Lesser Poland”, which were used by the Polish legislator without providing a definition, were ambiguous and could carry multiple interpretations. Thus, due to violation of the principle of specificity of legal provisions, on January 17, 2019 (almost a year

11. *O zmianie ustawy o Instytucie Pamięci Narodowej – Komisji Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, ustawy o grobach i cmentarzach wojennych, ustawy o muzeach oraz ustawy o odpowiedzialności podmiotów zbiorowych za czyny zabronione pod groźbą kary, Ustawa z dnia 26.01.2018 r.* [On the amendment to the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance – Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation, the Act on war graves and cemeteries, the Act on museums and the Act on the liability of collective entities for acts prohibited under penalty: Act of January 26, 2018], Journal of Laws of 2018, item 369, accessed October 26, 2020, <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20180000369>.

after the adoption of the amendment), the Constitutional Tribunal ruled that the said provision was unconstitutional.¹²

The use of such ambiguous terms indicates that in the process of drafting the bill, the current politics played major role instead of a balanced state policy and adherence to the basic principles of law-making. The objective of both state policy and laws is to establish clear rules of social relations, and to ensure their stability, not to aggravate the conflicts. This situation could have been avoided if scientists were involved at all stages of both the development and implementation of state policy and legal acts, which means engaging lawyers, political scientists, philologists, historians, and others.

Underestimation of the role of scientific consulting in practice has its roots in theory. When defining a policy, its structure, and other important elements, researchers rarely attach appropriate weight to scientific knowledge. However, a serious policy and the related legal acts should take into account scientific research, which means objective analysis of social phenomena and processes, presentation of their manifestations in adequate terms, as well as forecasting their further development and impact on society and the state.

The above-mentioned amendment to the law concerned two nations, and therefore affected bilateral relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland. Solving this type of conflict requires not just diplomacy, but scientific diplomacy. One of the areas of this type of diplomacy is the use of scientific cooperation between countries to solve common problems.¹³

12. *Wyrok Trybunału Konstytucyjnego z dnia 17.01.2019 r. sygn. akt K1/18* [Ruling of the Constitutional Tribunal of January 17, 2019, file no. K1/18], Journal of Laws of 2019, item 131, accessed October 28, 2020, <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20190000131>.

13. О. А. Мирончук, “Роль наукової дипломатії у розвитку і стабілізації міжнародних відносин в умовах глобалізації” [The role of scientific diplomacy in the development and stabilization of international relations in the context of globalization, [in:] *Еволюція цінностей в епоху глобалізації: зб. наук. Праць* [The evolution of values in the era of globalization], за заг. ред. О. В. Зернецької (Київ: ДУ «Інститут всесвітньої історії НАН України», 2019), 59.

The presidents of the two states are aware of the significant role of scientific consulting in the development of a good neighbourhood policy between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland, at least as evidenced by their public speeches. During his official meetings with the Presidents of Ukraine, President of the Republic of Poland A. Duda constantly emphasized the importance of establishing the objective truth about historical events, based on scientific research, not emotions.¹⁴ During Duda's recent official visit to Ukraine, President of Ukraine V. Zelensky told reporters that the Presidents of the two countries discussed issues of historical memory and agreed that these should be resolved by historians.

In a joint interview with the two presidents, V. Zelensky noted that “we live side by side, we are neighbours, and we will be neighbours forever. In the past, there is a history, the results of which you know, one thing is preferred by Ukraine, another thing is preferred by Poland, and vice versa, but it seems to me that these issues should be resolved by professionals, not by politicians”¹⁵

For a certain period, controversial issues of the common past were discussed at meetings of the Ukrainian-Polish Forum of Historians.¹⁶ The Ukrainian Institute of National Memory organized

14. See: О. В., Кукуруз, “Інформаційна політика президентів Російської Федерації і Республіки Польща щодо України” [Information policy of the Presidents of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Poland towards Ukraine], *Studia Politologica Ucraino-Polona*, Житомир – Київ – Краків: Вид. Євенок О. О., Вип. 8 (2018), 41–50.

15. *Ексклюзивне інтерв'ю з Володимиром Зеленським і Анджеєм Дудою, розмову вели: О. Кот (телеканал «Україна»), М. Адамчик (телеканал «ТVP1»)* [Exclusive interview with Volodymyr Zelensky and Andrzej Duda; the conversation led by: О. Kot (TV Ukraine), М. Adamchuk (TVP1)], Odessa, October 13, 2020, accessed October 9, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v-V78MQKGijQ&t=687s>.

16. *Українсько-польський форум істориків: новини й доповіді* [Ukrainian-Polish Forum of Historians: News and Reports], Український інститут національної пам'яті, accessed November 10, 2020, <https://old.uinp.gov.ua/ua-pl-historian-forum-news>.

a photo-documentary exhibition, and prepared a brochure “100 Years of Neighbourhood. Ukraine and Poland”.¹⁷

The scientific approach to policy-making means that it should be based on facts, truth, objectivity, not emotions or political benefits. A good neighbourhood policy, like any other type of public policy, should be developed on the basis of reliable information about the current state of affairs in each country, knowledge of the past, and plans for the future. The correct choice of strategy and tactics for the development of bilateral relations depends on the quality of information. The level of reliability of information increases if we adopt a qualified approach to its collection, systematization, correct establishment of patterns and trends. This role is best performed by scientists, since they use an appropriate data processing methodology.

H. K. Colebatch, analysing the understanding of policies of different types and at different levels, identified that the inherent elements of each policy are: authority (policy is associated with a particular body that is authorized to make decisions); expert knowledge (policy means solving certain problems with the involvement of knowledge about the field in which they arose and possible ways to solve them); order (policy is about ensuring stability and predictability of organized activities).¹⁸

However, applying research results in the process of policy-making is not yet a common practice. Researchers point out the inappropriate relationship between policy and science, and identify the reasons of this situation. A. Kokoshin mentions the following main reasons: politicians are mostly self-confident people who be-

17. Брошура «100 років сусідства. Україна і Польща» [Brochure “100 years of neighbourhood. Ukraine and Poland”], Український інститут національної пам’яті, accessed November 11, 2020, <https://old.uinp.gov.ua/ebook/broshura-100-rokiv-susidstva-ukraina-i-polshcha>.

18. Г. К. Колбеч, *Політика: основні концепції в суспільних науках* [Policy, Concepts in the Social Sciences], пер. з англ. О. Дем’янчука (Київ: Видавничий дім «КМ Академія», 2004), 19–21, 28–35.

lieve that they know how to solve a certain problem better than scientists; politicians and officials work with short texts, they have neither the time nor the desire to read and delve into large articles and monographs; scientists do not know how to effectively present the results of their thorough research, in particular in a concise form.¹⁹

According to T. Luty, the reasons of this insignificant mutual influence of policy and science are as follows: the main criterion used in the activity of modern scientists is quantitative indicators (various ratings); scientists lack capabilities and skills to apply science in policy-making and to effectively communicate with non-academic community and the general public; in turn, politicians, while taking political decisions, tend to focus on ideology rather than on finding an optimal solution based on scientific evidence; politicians want unambiguous conclusions, while various research on the same issue may produce different recommendations; research data cannot always be directly applied to a specific political or social problem, it requires certain level of skill and experience; also, when the scientists' findings are summarised for the needs of politicians, and are interpreted by journalists, politicians, and lawyers, some essential aspects of the problem, as well as ways to solve it, may be ignored.²⁰

In order to increase communication opportunities between policy-makers and scientists, special institutions are being created. In 1914, the library of Congress established a small reference group to provide specialized services to Congress, its Committees,

19. А. А. Кокошин, *Очерк политики как феномена общественной жизни. Ее внутригосударственные и международные измерения, взаимоотношения с идеологией, наукой, разведкой* [Essay on politics as a phenomenon of public life. Its domestic and international dimensions, relations with ideology, science, intelligence] (Москва: Культурная революция, 2007), 85.

20. T. Luty, "Nauka wspierana polityką czy polityka oparta na wiedzy? – pomiędzy światem nauki i polityki, Patriotyzm wczoraj i dziś" [Policy-supported science or knowledge-based policy? – between the world of science and policy. Patriotism yesterday and today], *Seminarium Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*, vol. X: 2011–2013 (2013), 107–111.

and Congressmen. Since 1970 this think tank has been called the Congressional Research Service. Currently, the Service consists of interdisciplinary research units, two library-reference units, and several specialized divisions. Employees of its departments provide informational support to the legislative process, through: translating scientific articles; providing individual consultations; preparing analytical materials, which include problem identification, strategic research on a particular issue, review of legislation, etc.²¹

In 2015, for the needs of the European Commission, the Scientific Advice Mechanism was established, consisting of: a group of seven independent scientists who act as principal scientific advisers; a secretariat staffed by the Directorate General for Research and Innovation of the European Commission; and a consortium of European Academies connected in the network “Science Advice for Policy by European Academies”.²²

In many countries around the world, governments have a Chief Scientific Adviser, whose task is to provide politicians with necessary scientific knowledge on current issues. In particular, such institution functions in the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, India, the Czech Republic, or Malaysia. There are also international associations of scientific consultants, such as the International Network for Government Science Advice which brings together scientific consultants from all over the world, or the European Science Advisors Forum that provides platform for scientific consultants from EU member states.

The tasks of scientific consultants include: responding to the needs of government agencies; systematizing scientific achievements on a given problem; presenting opinions based on scientific

21. М. Сенченко, О. Сенченко, *Гастинициков В. Мозкові центри країн світу* (Київ: ДП «Вид. дім «Персонал», 2016), 113–117.

22. J. M. Bujnicki, P. Gutowski, A. Jajszczyk, J. Gołaś, G. Wrochna, J. Szwed, “Doradztwo naukowe” [Scientific advice]. *Forum Akademickie*, no. 5 (2018), accessed November 12, 2020, <https://prenumeruj.forumakademickie.pl/fa/2018/05/>.

evidence from reliable sources; presenting several options of solving a particular problem.²³ Scientific arguments, according to T. Luty, should correct political preferences: “Good science must be transformed into good law”.²⁴

The potential of scientists to develop a good neighbourhood policy is not sufficiently exploited. Ukraine has a sufficient legal framework to involve the public, including scientists, in the development and implementation of public policies. However, in practice, their participation is not always effective due to a number of reasons which were mentioned earlier in this article, as well as due to an insufficiently developed mechanism of interaction between public authorities and scientists.

Decisions that shape policies in a particular area or a whole country are taken by those in charge. The choice of a particular decision is influenced by a large number of interested parties who care primarily about their own interests. The existence of scientific evidence about certain events from both the past and the present would reduce the level of manipulation of information by other actors in international politics. This is especially important in the context of constant disinformation on the part of the Russian Federation, whose agenda includes fuelling the conflicts between the Ukrainian and Polish nations.

The role of scientific consulting in shaping various types of policies and the related laws consists in: helping the authorities objectively identify the problem that needs to be addressed; indicating its causes; characterizing the state of the problem; describing the possible consequences of its development; offering optimal solutions that would be best for the society.

Consulting means a process in which a specialist provides advice on a specific issue that is important to the client. In this case,

23. See: J. M. Bujnicki, P. Gutowski, A. Jajszczyk, J. Gołaś, G. Wrochna, J. Szwed, *op. cit.*

24. T. Luty, *op. cit.*, 110.

the customers are state institutions which are responsible for developing policies and related legal acts. Specialists who can provide qualified advice in the process of shaping a state policy include, in particular, political scientists. However, in practice, it is *political technologists*²⁵ that are mostly involved in these processes. They are often unreasonably associated with political scientists. However, the task of a political technologist is to provide the customer with the desired result. They are usually not interested in the impact of certain political decisions and legal norms on the country.

This confusion has a number of reasons, including: 1) political reasons: at the beginning of Ukraine's independence there were no certified political scientists, therefore political consultants were persons who were practically involved in political activities, for which education and knowledge of political patterns were not required; 2) theoretical reasons: political consultants and political technologists do not distinguish between *policy*, as a strategic program for the development of society, and *politics*, as a struggle for power. Consulting such specialists leads to a situation in which public policy and the related legal acts are focused on ensuring short-term interests of political actors, for example gaining the support of the electorate before the election; 3) communication reasons: there is no effective communication between the authorities and scientists, in particular political scientists, who have relevant knowledge regarding the development of state policies, and who constantly analyse and can predict the consequences of political decisions and legal norms for the society and the state.

Thus, considering the American and the European models of scientific consulting, it should be noted that for the needs of modern countries, including Ukraine and the Republic of Poland, it would be worthwhile creating national networks of scientific consultants, as well as a Ukrainian-Polish network of scientific advisers with the purpose of shaping a good neighbourhood policy.

25. Eastern-european term roughly meaning 'spin doctor'.

The establishment of a joint scientific platform can contribute to the provision of professional scientific advice to public authorities regarding the maintenance and development of good neighbourly relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland. Information posted on such a platform should include, among others: 1) a list of all Ukrainian scientists whose research is dedicated to the Republic of Poland; 2) a list of all Polish scientists whose research is dedicated to Ukraine; 3) electronic versions of research conducted by Ukrainian and Polish scientists, with indication of a type of policy for which this research can be useful.

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