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# ATHENÆUM

*Polish Political Science Studies*

*Polskie Studia Politologiczne*

vol. 29/2011

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**Cover design & logo:** PMK Design

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ISSN 1505-2192

Publication financed under the "Index Plus" Programme constituted by the Minister of Science and Higher Education on November 8, 2010. (M.P. Nr 89, poz. 1012) [Publikacja dofinansowana w ramach programu „Index Plus” ustanowionego przez Ministra Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego z dniem 8 listopada 2010 r. (M.P. Nr 89, poz. 1012)].

Sales Department: ph./fax 56 648 50 70; e-mail: [marketing@marszalek.com.pl](mailto:marketing@marszalek.com.pl), [www.marszalek.com.pl](http://www.marszalek.com.pl)

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## FROM THE EDITOR

**WE ARE HAPPY** to present you a unique issue of our journal – the first English edition published thanks to the financial grant of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education – as part of the project of the internationalization and popularization of the English edition of a quarterly „Athenaeum. Polskie Studia Polityczne” (*Athenaeum. Polish Political Studies*). Throughout fourteen years of its existence, our magazine has become a comprehensive forum for the exchange of ideas, views and research results among different centres of political science. Our unique publishing formula, unprecedented in Poland, was soon appreciated, both by readers and scholars.

In the light of such dynamic development of *Athenaeum*, and being aware of the need for conducting scientific research in cooperation with foreign centres, we want to seize the opportunity for creating a journal which will integrate scientific circles both in Poland, and abroad. We intend to publish *Athenaeum* in English on a regular basis. Our efforts have led to the integration of the Polish academia of political science. It comes natural that the next stage in the development of the journal will be the establishment of international cooperation. To this end, the articles included in *Athenaeum* must be written in English and have to be interesting for scholars from abroad. We want the results of the scientific study presented in our magazine to be a valuable contribution to the work of foreign researchers.

From this perspective, the way in which politics in the postmodernist world is described in the first section of this issue appears to be interesting. We present both the forecasts concerning the development paths of the global society, and the analyses of the contemporary concepts of the state, which – since the time the classical theories of political science were established – have undergone changes affected by postmodernism. Moreover, somehow against classical analyses, an

original concept of music as a tool of the policy of memory has been discussed. Postmodernism also involves a new way of playing the political game and new objectives of this game – we recommend the articles on the issue of security and the transfer of resources in contemporary international relations in the context of controversies aroused by Turkey's potential accession to the European Union.

Another section of this issue deals with political systems. We present a paper on the tools for studying and interpreting empirical data gathered in political science, as well as the examples of the application of such measures. In the face of constantly changing political systems, the phenomenon of Internet voting is undoubtedly worth presenting, especially in the light of the issue of direct democracy, which is also discussed in the journal. It would have been impossible for us to skip the issue of the Polish presidency in the European Union, its conditions and expected results.

The scope of this issue also encouraged us to include some analyses concerning the issue of international relations, seen both from the angle of Poland's foreign policy, and, quite differently, against the background of Japanese-Korean relations. One of the articles focuses on the subject of the management of global financial markets.

Thus, the first English edition of *Athenaeum* presents a wide range of deliberations, related to different subdisciplines of political science. At the end of the issue, there is a list of selected papers, published by Polish political scientists in the English language. We hope that this volume will be warmly received and you will enjoy reading it.

# **POLITICS IN THE POSTMODERN WORLD**

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*Mariusz Gulczyński*

## **HARBINGERS OF THE CIVILIZATION OF RATIONAL ABUNDANCE**

### **ABSTRACT**

Ecological barriers to economic growth and the Third Great Depression are usually only seen as a threat. I argue that they can and should be treated as an opportunity to overcome the model of civilization of wastefulness and military expansionism, by creating and implementing a higher stage of progress: a civilization of rational sufficiency. Premises of such progress are now visible – not only in the virtual ideas and projects, but in the real innovations. Such progress requires changes not only in economics but also in political relations – democracy understood not only as the right to co-decision, but also as a duty of responsibility for social and ecological consequences of economic and political decisions.

**Keywords:** Third Great Depression, premises of progress, civilization, rational sufficiency

### **CRISIS – THE OPPORTUNITY FOR SAVING THE DEMOCRATIC FREE-MARKET CIVILIZATION**

**E**COLOGICAL BARRIERS TO economic growth and the Third Great Depression are usually perceived as a threat. However, they may also be viewed as a perfect opportunity for abandoning the crisis-prone model of the civilization of prodigality and military expansionism by creating and implementing the higher level of progress: the civilization of rational abundance. Such approach is becoming increasingly popular – it is reflected not only in virtual ideas and projects, but also in real life.

This new thinking involves abandoning the predominant ideas of the past, such as moralizing and threatening with negative effects of ecological barriers and economic crisis. It makes us appreciate new ways of fighting the crisis, which are more likely not only to save global civilization, but also to create its more effective model through a “leap in the future.”

## RETROSPECTIVE SELF-CRITICISM

Prof. Andrzej Małkiewicz has recently noted [in: *Kryzys. Polityczne, ekologiczne i ekonomiczne uwarunkowania*, 2010: 54] that I was one of the few people who predicted the present economic depression. I wrote about it in my article “Zwiastuny II wielkiej depresji i III wojny światowej?” published in a low-circulation periodical *Kontrpropozycje*, no. 1(2)/2002. High-circulation magazines obviously showed no interest in my forecast. My pessimism contrasted with the atmosphere of “honeymoon years,” as Poland was going through the transformation from socialist “poverty” into capitalist “abundance” and Polish people pinned a lot of hopes on European integration. It is quite understandable that pessimistic voices were unwelcome. I would be happy myself if my predictions would have proved wrong.

The contemporary threats to the global civilization are well known: the ecological conflict, which has been increasing for decades, and the Third Great Depression in the area of economy, which began at the end of 2007. After three years, it has become evident that this is not a cyclical recession – a *bear market* which clears the market of superfluous elements and turns into a subsequent *bull market* – but a deep and long-lasting depression. The Nobel Prize winner Paul Krugman maintains this is the third great depression in the history of the world: “It will probably be more similar to the Long Depression of the 19th century (also known as the Panic of 1873) than to the Great Depression of the 20th century, which was a lot more dramatic. Its costs – for the world’s economy, especially for millions of people at risk of unemployment – will unquestionably be high.” (“The Third Depression,” *The New York Times*, June 27, 2010). Many experts believe that the crisis will last for at least seven more years (Robert J. Shiller, “Seven More Years of Hard Times?,” Project Syndicate 2010). Hence, the forecast expressed in the article reminded by prof. Małkiewicz turned out to be true in this respect.

I do admit that I was only half right – my prediction concerning the outbreak of the Third World War proved to be wrong. At the time I wrote my article, another military conflict seemed quite probable. After all, both previous Great Depressions

ended with wars. The aim of those wars was not only to “extinguish” social conflicts (by imparting the character of international conflicts to them), but also to fuel economy. The prerequisite for the cycle of capital reproduction is the sales and consumption, which restore demand – military demand is more easily restorable and grows faster as it is usually destroyed completely.

Wars ruined the countries they had swept through – but not all nations were affected. Those societies that stayed far from battlefields – benefited from them. In the first half of the 20th century, Europe – and Poland in particular – experienced disastrous effects of two world wars. The United States, however, doubled its economic potential after each of those wars had ended. It was due to the fact that armed conflicts did not directly affect the American territory – this superpower neighbours on weaker countries in the north and south, and is protected by the Atlantic Ocean in the east and the Pacific in the west. Thanks to the wars the USA waged overseas from the end of the 19th century, it gained supply that stimulated its economy. Thus, it is often defined as a “warfare/welfare state” (see: Lawrence Glickman, *Buying Power: A History of Consumer Activism in America*, 2009). No wonder that America has initiated so many wars – such as in Vietnam, Iraq or Afghanistan – as they helped to reproduce demand for weapons and made it possible to test them in training grounds abroad. The American economy still significantly relies on armament: the USA is the largest arms exporter in the world.

When I predicted another Great Depression ten years ago, I believed that the world’s superpowers wanted to evoke another global conflict as it would boost their economies due to increased military demand. It would have been quite easy to find a pretext - the need for fighting real threats such as on-going local conflicts (e.g. the Palestinian-Israeli one) or dens of fanatical terrorists in different countries or regions, as well as some invented dangers, like the motives behind the attack on Hussein’s regime in Iraq...

## **THERE WILL PROBABLY BE NO THIRD WORLD WAR**

Today I must admit my forecast concerning the possibility of the Third World War was wrong. The reason is not the fact that war, which allows making money on military demand, is something “dirty” and “immoral.” It has never been an obstacle for those who made fortunes on armed conflicts.

There are three aspects that undermine my prediction.

Firstly, the causes and the nature of Depression have completely changed.

The Great Depression of the 1930s was the crisis of overproduction – the increasing excess capacity not matched by purchasing power of the most developed countries. The crisis was brought under control and the economy was fuelled thanks to increased demand – both the consumer demand, stimulated through the programmes of the “affluent state” and the “abundant society,” and the military demand, boosted by the Second World War, arms race with the Soviet Union and local conflicts.

The contemporary Great Depression has been caused by the crisis of overconsumption. Its main reason was the ecological crisis – the loss caused by the international race which consists in transforming nature into goods (the actual nature of the economic growth as measured by the global GDP of countries). In order to fight the crisis it is necessary to reduce rather than increase production which destroys our planet and depletes its resources. Thus, neither the global military conflict nor the dissemination of the “abundant society” can serve as a remedy (My precise explanation of the differences between Depressions can be found in the entry published in Google’s encyclopaedia – [www.kryzysnadkonsumpcji2007-20??](http://www.kryzysnadkonsumpcji2007-20??) – a knol unit by Mariusz Gulczyński).

Secondly, great, global scale wars break out when they are needed by a few economic and political superpowers, which want to use them to reinforce their international status and to distract attention from their domestic problems (Konopnicka summed up this approach saying that “it is the kings who are the bravest warriors, but it is the peasants who usually die.” Today, the global military conflict would have to turn into a nuclear war, which would threaten not only ordinary people, but also those in power (it is clearly shown in the movie about the leaders’ motivation during the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962).

Thirdly, and most importantly, the contemporary Great Depression can be fought more effectively and safely. People can make money on it without stimulating economy through military demand and triggering a world war. This chance has appeared, quite paradoxically, due to the need for overcoming the ecological barrier to economic growth. It appears that money can be earned here, employment increased and social needs fulfilled. Therefore, we can fight the crisis by creating a higher level of the progress of the global civilization.

It all results in strategies of getting out of the Third Depression, which tend to focus on stifling international conflicts and – which is very important – reducing rather than increasing expenses on wars and armament. The USA, which spends about \$ 700 billion on the above-mentioned purposes (the sum almost equal to the total military spending of the rest of the world), for the first time since the end

of the Cold War cut down military expenses by \$ 78 billion in the 2011 budget. It also plans to freeze them in the following years and to reduce the size of its armed forces (see: Craig Whitlock: "Pentagon to cut spending by 78 billion, reduce troop strength," *The Washington Post*, January 7, 2011).

### **THREE WAYS OF FIGHTING THE THIRD DEPRESSION**

It takes a long time to understand and appreciate the last, but the most important of the above-mentioned determinants. It is reflected in the fact that the theoretical and political programmes to combat the present recession are usually of dual nature.

The first group of solutions aims at revitalising the model of the "abundant society" by stimulating demand at the expense of the growth of public debt, and is prevalent in the US policy, with mediocre effects, though.

The second type of solutions – prevalent in the European Union countries – involves minimizing the role of the "welfare state", reducing public spending and proclaiming "the age of austerity."

The alternative third way involves taking advantage of the crisis by creating a more rational model of civilization development than the one commonly defined as the "abundant society." This new model should be referred to as the "society of rational abundance."

The first two approaches share the same mistake of trying to "win future wars" or making a "leap in the past." They do not take into account all the opportunities created by a "leap in the future" with respect to political, demographic, technological and ecological changes in the world.

Both strategies view the ecological conflict as "divine retribution" – which has negative influence on economy and makes it more difficult to overcome the crisis. Thus, environmental issues are often ignored and many decision-makers call for postponing them *ad calendas graecas*.

It is surprising that the countries which have been most heavily hit by the crisis underestimate the fact that in order to survive the Great Depression and avert the danger of the fall of our civilization, we need to overcome the ecological crisis and enter the next stage of development: the civilization of rational abundance. A threat that excessive resource depletion poses to our civilization has been present for quite a while. A number of once splendid civilizations collapsed because they had depleted their natural environment (see: Jared Diamond, *Collapse: How Soci-*

*eties Choose to Fail or Succeed*, 2005; Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Civilizations. Culture, Ambition, and the Transformation of Nature*, 2008).

Civilizations of the past were confined to a single island, a part of a continent or a sea or ocean basin. After their fall, new civilizations were formed in other, less exploited areas.

Our modern civilization has a global dimension. Environmental degradation does not bode well for the future. Mass production and consumption patterns defined as the “American way of life” and the “affluent society” – or more precisely, the “prodigal society”, as Andrzej Małkiewicz defined it (in: *Crisis ...*) – which are reinforced by omnipresent advertising leading to the “throwaway consumer society” (as an American scholar Regina Lee Blaszczyk called it in *American Consumer Society, 1865–2005: From Hearth to HDTV*, 2009), lead to the situation in which the Earth’s natural resources will be insufficient to satisfy the needs of this kind of production and consumption. If the American standards of production and consumption were to be followed by the whole mankind, it would require four and a half planets. Before the subprime mortgage crisis, the American individual consumption had been seven times bigger than in China – reaching this level by other countries in the world is economically unreal and would lead to an ecological disaster, resulting in the collapse of the global civilization.

All those issues are commonly known. Until recently it was pointless to remind them as people did not want to consume less (and pollute less), and manufacturers were not willing to reduce production and increase costs due to the need for abiding by ecological requirements.

### THREE TOOLS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

The process of becoming aware of the threats caused by the ecological conflict was rather slow as long as it emphasized its negative aspects and focused on moralizing. Only two “tools” for making people change their attitude and actions were used: a “stick” and an “aspergillum” (this idea is borrowed from Andrzej Kołakowski, PhD).

Using a “stick” involves disseminating knowledge about perilous effects of environmental degradation and forcing limits on the exploitation and pollution by means of law regulations and prohibitions – which is becoming less and less effective in the conditions of the Great Depression.

Using an “aspergillum” involves moralizing appeals for moderation out of concern for the fate of humanity, future generations and dying species. This tool

was not only used by scientists, but also by politicians. However, it was ineffective as well, the best example of which was the programme of the “moral equivalent of war” proposed in 1977 by U.S. President Jimmy Carter, who wanted to have the American defense industry invest in clean technologies and renewable energy sources.

Both tools – “a stick” and an “aspergillum” – were used out of noble intentions but they failed to serve their task, which I emphasized in a number of books on these issues (see: *Bariera aspiracji*, 1982; *Szanse i zagrożenia*, 1986; *Jaki rozwój*, 1987).

The situation improved when the existing tools were backed by another one, i.e. a “carrot” – which involves economic benefit from replacing “dirty” technologies – which deplete and devastate our planet’s natural environment – with the “clean” and “renewable” ones. This new tool made pro-ecological actions not only wise and noble, but also profitable. Andrzej Lubawski says that “in the battle for climate a lot of new technologies appear in the field of renewable energy sources. At present, instead of emphasizing the need for saving climate, Europe focuses on finding ways of making money on it. China and India, with the growing middle class, are also beginning to treat this issue more seriously, which translates into the increased demand for energy.” (Andrzej Lubawski, “Prognoza na 2011 rok: Zapiąć pasy – będzie huśtać”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, December 20, 2010).

The capitalist market economy is governed not only by moral or social values, but also by the law of the extended reproduction of capital, which makes a capitalist enterprise a two-wheeled vehicle – it has to move fast forward because if it slows down, it will inevitably collapse, making room for more efficient competitors. Only the person who can accumulate their wealth and compete effectively with other market participants can be called a true capitalist. The ultimate winner is neither the person who has power – it was the case in the times of slavery and feudalism – nor the one who is morally right – which was enough in the systems dominated by religion. It is the person that has the ability to earn more than others that will emerge victorious.

## **CHALLENGES OF THE POSITIVE STAGE OF THE GLOBAL CIVILIZATION**

All premises of reorientation from overconsumption and prodigality, typical of the society of abundance, to the economy which is friendly to present and future generations and which does not harm environment have developed throughout

long decades. They were not only virtual – in the form of theoretical ideas and suggestions – but have also become real: in the form of new technologies, enterprises which apply them and policies of governments and international institutions which support and promote such types of progress.

The need for a wider use of these opportunities arose as a result of the contemporary Great Depression when the traditional means of fighting a crisis (increasing production and demand – both civilian and military) had become ineffective. The pro-ecological reorientation of enterprises and countries appears to be necessary and likely to bring financial, political and social benefits. The economic landscape is beginning to change and we are entering a new stage in the development of the global civilization – **the society of rational abundance**.

I realize it sounds less attractive and spectacular than the “affluent state” or the “society of affluence,” but it realistically defines the positive meaning of the next stage of the democratic free-market civilization which follows three previous phases.

The history of the mankind shows that those systems which were able to overcome their internal crises through adapting their goals and adjusting the behaviours of interdependent societies have contributed more to increasing the level of satisfaction from life. Social systems do not usually stay uniform for their whole life. They transform as new opportunities come up and the need for the civilization development arises. On the basis of general characteristics of these processes, four stages of the development of social formations, each of them more functional than the previous one, can be distinguished:

**BARBARIAN**, which create a more effective and better organized formation not only owing to their higher efficiency, but also as a result of wasteful exploitation of the resources of weaker communities, which function according to previous rules. Such were the beginnings of both the slave system and the feudal civilization. Capitalism also involved industrial production and market exchange linked with barbarian colonial conquests and global plunders, the reestablishment of slavery, and ruthless exploitation of labour force

**DRAMATIC**, which are full of internal social conflicts, often quelled through channelling aggression to external wars. In case of capitalism, this stage refers to the era of wars for the division of the world territories – from the Spanish-American War, through the Boer Wars, the Russo-Japanese War, the Sino-Japanese Wars, the Italo-Abyssinian Wars, to the two most dramatic and tragic World Wars.

**ROMANTIC**, which are “golden age” characteristics of a given civilization system – they are marked by uncontrollable exploitation of the natural environment and blind belief in uniqueness, universality and eternity of this development



model. In capitalism, this stage falls on the period of the Second Industrial Revolution, corresponding to the latter part of the 19th century. It was the time of very fast economic growth, growing popularity of the consumerist model of the “abundant society” and democracy, which breaks the constraints regarding class, ethnic group, minority (e.g. homosexuals) and majority (women) considerations. What was also important, it effectively and peacefully eliminated the communist alternative to the democratic-market system.

**POSITIVIST**, achieved by those systems which were able to overcome crises resulting from excessive pride and extravagance, typical of the romantic stage, through more rational formulation of goals and ways of achieving them. From what we know about human history, Ancient Greece was the only civilization which reached this level of “peaceful cohabitation” of the society and the natural environment and which managed to balance material wealth with cultural values. This stage seems to be a great challenge for the democratic-market system.

History also shows us that the development to a higher stage of each formation is not voluntary but is determined by the evident crisis of the old formula of goals and methods. There is also a demand for people who are interested in progress and are brave enough to challenge *status quo*.

When there are no forces which forge ahead with modifications, the system falls into conservative stagnation. One way out could be to move the centre of the civilization established in this system to another region or country. However, it may also end with the collapse of the whole system, and the subsequent fall of its civilization. The recent example is the fact that the civilization of the so-called real socialism went through just two full stages: the barbarian and the dramatic one. It collapsed when it was trying to come up with the socialist version of the romantic stage – the attempt to “catch up with and overtake” capitalism in the era of Khrushchev and Gierek. It provided double delegitimation of the system alternative to capitalism. Firstly, because of its blind imitation of capitalism – “catching up with and overtaking” the rival in turning nature into goods – it betrayed its historical mission, which consisted in establishing social order which would lead to finding a “true solution to the conflict between the man and the man as well as between the man and nature.” (Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*, 1844). Secondly, because it was not able to fulfil illusory promises and real hunger stimulated by the model of the “affluent society.” All this made the system lose its initial impetus and its role as the model to follow for other societies. As a result, the system disintegrated and collapsed – fortunately, in a peaceful way (see: Mariusz Gulczyński, “Dłaczego krach socjalizmu i restauracja kapitalizmu”, *Dziś. Przegląd Społeczny*, no. 6, 1991).

The main strengths of the capitalist civilization are innovativeness of production and market impetus, which gave it a global character.

Its weaknesses include two kinds of limitations. Although it was more economically effective and socially attractive than all previous civilizations, it did not bring benefit to: 1) the whole nations and 2) all nations.

The first of these limitations is reflected in the fact that the wealth of the privileged minority contrasted with the poverty of the majority of most capitalist societies, which resulted in class struggle and anti-capitalist revolutions in the first half of the 20th century. Not only did they threaten the functionality of the whole system, but also endangered its further existence.

Capitalism created a new, romantic version of the civilization progress: the “affluent state” and the “state of abundance,” thanks to which it managed to avert the above-mentioned dangers and gained new impetus and strength. The system became more democratic and it benefited from the increased consumer demand. It won this round “hands down” not because it “dug in on its established positions,” but because it made a “leap in the future.”

The second of the limitations mentioned above turns out to be a lot more difficult to solve. Decolonization was a necessary, but insufficient step. It gave people hopes that they could reach the same living standard as in the former metropolis – but it was impossible to achieve.

Although this new, romantic version of the “affluent society” and the “state of abundance” is commonly desirable, it cannot be easily implemented and – which is becoming increasingly relevant – it can be dangerous to the environment. Thanks to the information revolution, people all over the world have better access to knowledge and they want to reach the living standard enjoyed by the citizens of highly developed countries. However, most underdeveloped countries do not provide possibilities of satisfying those needs. The revolution in transport is conducive to the increase in migration – not only legal, but also illegal.

There is growing criticism of the enclaves of “abundance,” which separate themselves from wide areas of “dissatisfaction,” which threaten their complacency. It gave fuel to social frustration and destructive activities, involving the negation of traditional values and pointless attacks, which only aim at “spoiling others’ fun,” which one cannot accept and adapt to.

The Great Depression shows that developed countries will find it difficult to maintain the social consensus based on accepting the fruits of the “society of abundance” and the “affluent society.” Those fruits are available only to a narrow group of the rich, whereas the social “state of affluence” is shrinking rather than increasing in size.

Therefore, in order to understand the essence of contemporary threats, we cannot view them only from the perspective of today's crisis. Fighting the contemporary, multi-level depression requires looking at it from the historical point of view as only this spectrum helps to realize that the uncontrollable desire to turn nature into goods, which is characteristic of "affluent societies," and the Third Great Depression are not an absolute threat. They repudiate the democratic-market model of civilization, but not its romantic variant.

This approach lets us recognize that those threats are not only of a negative nature, but they could also lead to new opportunities. They give us a chance of saving everything that is the most valuable and most functional in the democratic-market system. We will have to abandon the illusory and crisis-prone "affluent society" and force changes, which will lead to the formation of the fourth, positive stage – rational abundance, which does not degrade the environment and which will spread across the whole world. These are the prerequisites for the survival and the peaceful development of the global civilization.

## **TEN CURRENTS OF THE PRO-ECOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT**

There is no doctrine or ideological schedule concerning the development of another stage of our global civilization. The content and form of on-going changes may be deduced from multiple indications of practical innovation in different countries and companies. This goes in accordance with the features of the capitalist system – its energy and strength stem from, among other things, pragmatism. New, functional and progressive ideas are a result of effective practical innovations rather than sophisticated theories.

I believe that there are ten main currents that determine strategies of managing the contemporary financial crisis and the ecological conflict. As the result of their implementation the rational abundance of societies will grow and, consequently, a new stage in the development of the global civilization will be formed. For the sake of remembering I defined them as 10 innovative Rs:

**REGENERATION** – renewable sources of "clean" energy (wind power, solar power, hydropower and biomass energy). It is not just an experiment any longer but a large investment, especially in China, which is the world leader in this field – in 2009, the Chinese government invested \$34.6 billion dollars in clean, renewable energy, which is almost twice as much as the USA. Other countries are also trying to keep up with this trend – for example, Google Inc. said it would invest in

a \$5 billion underwater transmission network that can harvest electricity from wind farms off the Mid-Atlantic coast and power 1.9 million homes from New York to Norfolk. This way of thinking has also reached Poland, which is also starting to invest in windmills. Not only does this type of development bring benefits to the natural environment, but it also creates new jobs – in 2009, three million people were employed in this industry, including 700,000 employees in China (Reuters, October 6, 2010).

**RECYCLING** –processing used products instead of turning nature into goods. It is also becoming increasingly profitable – industrial recycling of plastic proves to be a lot cheaper as it requires below 10% of the energy needed to make this product out of crude oil. It is worth noting that although technology was created in America, there is only a laboratory which employs 25 people there, and its industrial application was possible in the European Union countries (Austria and the United Kingdom) and China, where there already exist law regulations which stimulate collecting and recycling this type of waste. In the USA, lobby groups are starting to call for the introduction of regulations similar to those already implemented in the European Union, Japan and China (Thomas L. Friedman, “Aren’t We Clever?,” *The New York Times*, September 18, 2010). The UN programme stipulates that common use of recycling in all possible fields of manufacturing, common use of renewable energy sources as well as energy-saving production and consumption should lead to the development which would not deplete the Earth’s resources. It is the only way as the only alternative involves our planet becoming completely barren and, consequently, destroyed.

**RECUltIVATION** of the planet’s nature – which is more and more often motivated by the need for profitability as the ruined ecosphere increases the illness rate among people and decreases a crop of plants which require pollinating by insects and birds fighting vermin. This path of development not only involves restraining from making the Earth barren, but it also aims at restoring its lush, natural diversity and vitality. This is actually the same strategic change which occurred in the beginnings of industrialization in the area of land cultivation – replacing primitive leaching of soil with renewing its fertility in accordance with the principle of “power determines efficiency.” It means that people have drawn the right conclusions and realized that they cannot endlessly use the Earth’s resources without thinking.

**RATIONALIZATION** of fulfilling needs, e.g. through improving public transport, which is part of the Chinese transport development schedule, according to which within the next 25 years the Chinese are going to build a network of ultra-

modern airports, 42 ultrafast (over 300 km/h) railways and replace combustion cars with electric ones. It appears to be more effective as every 18 months the costs of using such a car become twice lower owing to increased size and lower prices of electrical batteries – which may be charged from renewable sources.

**REDISTRIBUTION** of capital by the country and the European Union. Wealth concentration appears to be crisis-prone as the richest people do not create consumer demand for mass products. The argument that they invest surpluses is wrong because they tend to invest where labour force is cheaper – abroad or in the speculative financial capital. This is proved by the fact that crises occurred in the USA – both in 1929 and 2008 – when the wealthiest 1% of people generated a quarter of the country's income, and the top 10% earned half of it. In the times of economic prosperity, it was the middle class that had the highest share in the wealth of the country. Progressive taxation introduced after the Great Depression causes the dispersion of wealth which resulted in the formation of a strong middle class. In the past 35 years, America has made some changes in taxes which led to the situation in which 1% of the richest Americans own 1/3 of the country's wealth and 80% of the US citizens possess just 16% (Ray D. Madoff, "Give Up on the Estate Tax," *The New York Times*, December 14, 2010). The right remedy could be progressive taxation – accompanied by the investment of public money in innovative technologies, education and scientific advancement rather in welfare (benefits and early retirement). Such reorientation has become necessary also for political reasons. In China, where the concentration of wealth has reached an even more extreme level than in the USA – 1% of the richest families own 41.4% of private wealth – unequal income distribution is viewed as the main threat to social order. Thus, the task of fighting anti-egalitarian tendencies is one of the main goals of the Five-Year Plan for the years 2011-15 (Chen Weihua, "Income Gap, a Woe for China and US," *China Daily*, October 12, 2010).

**REDUCTION** of military demand and war involvement. This is quite a new thing in the history of crisis management. The world's superpowers used to fight crises by stimulating economy with consumer and military demand. This has changed due to a number of reasons. First of all, wars of today are not fought by armies of conscripted citizens, but small troops of professionals. Moreover, both Russia and the USA repeatedly lose against guerilla forces from Vietnam, Afghanistan, Iraq or Chechnya. What is important, during this depression the demand for armament is falling (in 2009, the defense industry revenues decreased by 1/3 in relation to the previous year). All this makes problems connected with war less important than other issues in the centre of interest of the people of America, Russia, India or China, as well as Europe, including Poland.

**REORIENTATION** of the goals of economic activity through replacing “the fetish” of GDP (which measures the total value of products and services) with the Net Social Benefit (NSB) (a new measure of economic performance suggested by the Nobel Prize winners Joseph E. Stiglitz and Amartya Sen at the request of French President Nicolas Sarkozy). This new measure also takes into account costs to the environment and shows benefits of satisfying social needs. It differentiates between positive consumption (rational needs) and negative consumption (irrational desires stimulated by advertising). This direction of development is also included in the policy of the Communist Party of China, which defined it – in accordance with traditional Confucian values – as aiming at “xiaokang” (moderately well-off society). Rather than focusing on imitating foreign and devalued patterns of development, the Chinese view the process of the advancement of their country as fierce competition with other nations trying to adapt to changes in the global economy. They realize that the only alternative is regression. (Zheng Quinyan, “Strive For a Brighter Future,” *China Daily*, October 23, 2010). This is not just a statement of short-term policy, but the expression of traditional Chinese understanding of the word “crisis.” – shown by two ideographs: “weī” (threat) and “jīn” (opportunity for development and progress).

**REVITALISATION** of democracy. Democracy involves linking the right to do decide with the responsibility for the effects of one’s decisions. If we confine ourselves to the economic aspects of the ecological conflict and the Third Great Depression we may fail to notice the fact that their underlying cause is the erosion of democracy. Over the last fifty years, the processes of democratization in the political sphere have emphasized the right to choose governments. In the economic sphere, they focused on replacing the legitimization of rule by “providing” means of existence, which was characteristic of autocratic systems, with “voting” through purchasing goods and service, which marks market democracies. It was a significant step forward although it also led to the degeneration of democracy and, consequently, the crisis of the system. It was conducive to the oligarchization of political and economic power – elites concentrated on their own interests and problems instead of serving the society. People were not motivated to take citizens’ responsibility – both for choosing and scrutinizing those in power and for the effects of their economic decisions. It results in low turnout in elections as well as in purchasers not taking responsibility for the effects of excessive consumption, which degrades and pollutes the natural environment (at present, this problem manifests itself in conflicts over landfill sites and waste utilization). Not only are people becoming aware of this crisis-prone deviation of democratic systems, but they are also undertaking some practical steps in order to fight them. These meas-

ures include pro-ecological social movements, forwarding proposals to increase the influence of citizens on the executive power, and launching referendums on the most important, controversial issues.

**REGIONALISM** – in other words: glocalization, defined by the slogan: “Think-globally, act locally.” This motto has become a remedy for the threats posed by wild globalization – uncontrolled by any democratic institutions – and a tool for making local communities a part of globalization processes, which involves seizing opportunities created by the global exchange of goods and information in order to modernize and enrich the existence of these communities. The fact that I place regionalism (glocalism) in the final part does not mean that it is less important than the previous aspects. Just the opposite, this approach to handling the crisis is the essence of all the others. Globalization processes lead to an increase in migration – especially from less developed regions to industrialized countries. In the areas where this tendency is dominant, it threatens the global order as it deprives poorer countries of the most valuable professionals – which further impoverishes these regions and increases social tensions. Regionalism offers a positive alternative. It is understood not as conservative separation from the world, but is defined as glocalization: when local communities join processes of civilization progress as partners, being aware of both threats and opportunities connected with globalization. Thus, this thinking focuses on taking advantage of what is positive and neutralizing what is negative – not only from the present point of view, but also having in mind the future interests of a local community. Looking from this regional perspective, both threats posed by the bankrupt model of the “society of affluence” and the values of the “society of rational abundance” become evident. It also emphasizes the relevance of all the paths of civilization progress described above.

A good example is Germany, the economy of which seems to be coping with the crisis better than other countries of Europe and North America. An American commentator explained that the reason is German people’s ability to “link social democratic values with locality.” It is reflected in the fact that private enterprises, which supply foreign markets, are firmly established in specific lands and are serviced by municipal banks. German companies also pay a lot of attention to retaining employees, training them and making them participate in the management process. The same author contrasts this approach with America’s attitude to globalization – focusing on financial speculations and moving production to those parts of the world in which it is easier to make a profit at the expense of social order in the United States (Harold Meyerson, “How Germany got it right on the economy,” *Washington Post*, November 24, 2010).



Harbingers of positive regionalism are also appearing in other countries, including Poland. It was evident in the recent elections to local governments – voters preferred those leaders who govern their regions with the interests of a local community in mind. They are often non-party administrators as the interests of party elites often collide with the interests of local people.

**REEDUCATION** – teaching how to live wisely in the global civilization of rational abundance. I analyzed this significant civilization change in a separate text – [www.Jak uczyć się żyć w epoce globalizacji](http://www.Jak_uczyc_sie_zyc_w_epoce_globalizacji) – a knol by Mariusz Gulczyński – to which I refer everyone interested.

A common denominator of all the aspects of the changes in the capitalist system is the fundamental shift in the philosophy of the development of the global civilization. The new approach involves being guided by the words “make the Earth friendly” rather than following the guideline “make the Earth yield to you.” It actually means abandoning a “zero-sum game” which was the dominant feature of the development of industrial economy. Like among hunter-gathering barbarian communities, this game led to an increase in economic performance, but simultaneously resulted in resource depletion and environmental degradation. People are now trying to act according to the principles of a “non-zero sum game” – in which the growth of production and consumption changes the shape of the Earth, but *per saldo* it does not degrade the natural environment. Just like Dutch polders or English parks changed the composition of the landscape of those countries, but did not destroy their human-friendly values. Thus, barbaric attitude towards the natural environment transformed into a more civilized one.

Such a shift in the formulation of goals and management methods bodes well for business activity. It gives hope that the quality of people’s existence will not deteriorate and people’s material, intellectual and emotional needs will be satisfied in a more rational and comprehensive way. Sustainable development is not an obstacle or a “JOKE”, but it is a “JOB” – a task and an incentive for more effective, more profitable and more time-consuming entrepreneurial activity.

In order to seize this opportunity, companies, regions and countries need to realize that the Third Great Depression does not only bring threats, but it also has a lot of positives – which make it possible to overcome something that was harmful, unrealistic and dangerous in the previous circumstances of the civilization development.

Instead of using old methods to restore an obsolete formula of the “prodigal society” and defensively “closing down” the “state of affluence,” they need to make a significant “leap in the future” – by formulating and implementing a positive alternative to the civilization of rational abundance.



This alternative is real not because it is motivated by a “stick” of fear of the negatives of the old development pattern and an “aspergillum” of moral duties. It receives an additional incentive – a “carrot” of economic benefits and social peace and order.

We have to definitively say goodbye to the development model of the “society of affluence” – as socially unrealistic and ecologically devastating.

The new stage of the civilization progress has already been heralded with some innovative changes in technology, consumption patterns, use of goods, and formulating goals and measuring performance of companies. What seems just a pipe dream or a temporary fad and a utopia of fanatical ecologists today, may turn out to become “mainstream” – a common fashion of the civilization of rational abundance.

We also need to recognize the fact that great ecological and economic crises have played a positive role in the history of mankind. They made it necessary to make a “leap in the future” by creating more and more effective conditions of human existence. The first evidence is the fact that thanks to a great environmental crisis millions years ago, which made vast parts of our cradle Africa turn into steppe, our ancestors – in order to survive – had to descend from trees, equip themselves in tools, humanize themselves and create increasingly more effective conditions of their existence, i.e. the civilization.

The most notable evidence of the efficiency of this development is the growing rate of survival, i.e. an increase in the size of human population from about five million people in the hunter-gathering stage, through 500 million in the agriculture-craftsmanship period, one billion in the industrial era, two billion in 1930, up to seven billion today.

It is an undisputable fact that so many once splendid civilizations, which conservatively tried to stick to the old development patterns, have collapsed. This is the most dramatic warning against disregarding opportunities for development created by the contemporary ecological and economic crisis.

### **THREE DETERMINANTS OF DEMOCRATIC-MARKET INNOVATION**

In order to benefit from the Third Great Depression, we must be aware of the specific values of market democracies. The following two of them have the most significant influence upon the civilization processes analysed here.

The first kind of advantages over other systems is the tendency and ability to introduce innovative changes thanks to economic and political competition – as

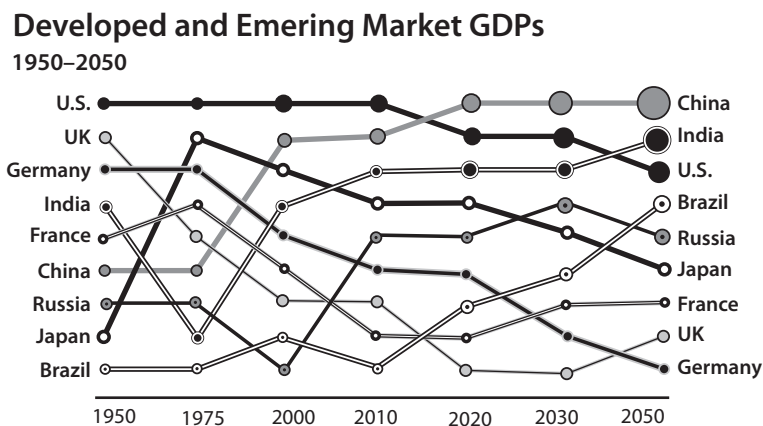
opposed to conservative tendencies of monopolies. This is where the vitality and adaptability of liberal-democratic systems comes from – “permanent effort which has been undertaken for many years, since as early as the 16th century in Europe, thanks to which they are not rigid, self-blocking mechanisms, but an on-going social process, which guarantees flexibility and order, and avoids the rigidity of structure and disorder, which are characteristic of dictatorship.” (Wojciech Lamętowicz, *Paradoksy liberalnej demokracji* [in:] *Interpretacje polityki. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana prof. Mariuszowi Gulczyńskiemu w 80. Rocznicę urodzin*, 2010). These values of market democracies were not appreciated by Lenin, who forecast the fall of capitalism at the imperial stage because of monopolization. Stalin was even more wrong as he monopolized the communist economy and politics and, consequently, blocking any chances of innovation.

China, which effectively stimulates the economic growth thanks to adapting to the principles of market competition, may face the slowdown of its economy unless it links the values of post-Confucian ethos of team-working with innovative characteristics of democracy. This task will probably be much more difficult to complete than fast transformation from centrally planned economy to free market. There is also strong resistance to the adaptation of democratic patterns, the source of which lies not only in strong monocratic traditions in China. These traditions are more acceptable by the Chinese society as they have a long history and are free of the tendency to gerontocracy, with the helm of the state handed over to new generations of “mandarins,” which is to a certain extent conducive to linking continuity with innovativeness (see: *Dalekowschodnie systemy polityczne* [in:] Mariusz Gulczyński, *Panorama systemów politycznych świata*, 2004). In the light of experience of other hastily democratized countries, the Chinese authorities are quite unwilling to blindly copy the Western model of democracy. They fear that it may result in replacing the Confucian ethos of discipline and team-working with overweening individualism and freedom understood as freedom from obligations and shared responsibility. “It is not quite true that China rejects all Western values, such as democracy – they just debate over them” – this is a conclusion of *The Economist* editorial, which introduced a series of articles on this issue (“The Debate over Universal Values,” September 30, 2010). It must be noted that thirty years ago this magazine forecast the advent of the post-Confucian era in the global civilization (R. McFarquar, “The Post-Confucian Challenge,” *The Economist*, February 2, 1980).

**The other source of the vitality and innovativeness of the democratic-market democracy is its tendency and ability to move its centre to new regions of the world.** This is a huge advantage of market economies as previous civilizations col-

lapsed when their centres lost vitality – Babylon, Alexandria, Rome, Cuzco, Angkor or Byzantium. The most recent evidence is the fall of the communist system, which lost its innovative qualities and went bankrupt mainly because of Moscow blocking the spontaneous movement of its leading centre. Beijing, which competes for this role with Moscow, benefits thanks to changing its system into the competitive one. This trend lends credence to the possibility of the fall of our global civilization – following the example of past superpowers, which collapsed due to the loss of innovation capabilities of their centres.

In capitalism the centre moved from mainland Europe to Great Britain in the 19th century, and then to the USA in the following century. In our times – it is probably shifting to China, India, Brazil, the RSA... or to a wider, multi-state centre. It is less likely to move to BRIC (Brazil-Russia-India-China), which some experts have already proclaimed the new centre of the world. It is more likely to become located in the conglomerate of countries surrounding the Pacific Ocean – from the West Coast of the United States to South-East Asia and Australia. This thesis is supported by the recent trends in the global economy, defined in the chart published in *The Wall Street Journal* on October 10, 2010.



Source: Credit Suisse

It clearly shows that the USA and the most developed European countries are beginning to lose their leading positions. An American feature writer quotes opinions of Indian people on this issue: “But the U.S. seems sadly unprepared to take advantage of the revolution it has spawned. The country’s worn-out infrastructures, failing education system and lack of political consensus have prevented

it from riding a new wave to prosperity.” (Thomas L. Friedman, “It’s Morning in India,” *The New York Times*, October 30, 2010).

This was and is painful for the countries losing their leadership, like for the Netherlands and France, which had to give up their positions in favour of the British in the past, and the British themselves, who were overtaken by the United States. In our times this is probably a bitter pill for the Americans, who have already become used to thinking their country is the leading world superpower. They are gradually becoming aware of the fact that America no longer marks out paths and standards of development for others to follow. It is reflected in the opinion poll which indicates that 65% of the U.S. citizens believe that their country is degrading (David Brooks, “The Genteel Nation,” *The New York Times*, September 9, 2010). It also brings discomfort to other nations, which are used to perceiving the USA as the model of advancement and their main ally in developing a favourable version of the world order. It particularly affects India, the dynamic development of which was significantly determined by its close links with the United States, which supported the New Delhi government in its difficult relations with conflict-prone Pakistan and dominant China (Nyan Chanda, “The Third Revolution. The US Seems Unprepared to Take Advantage of the Silicon Valley Revolution It Has Spawned,” *Businessworld*, November 8, 2011).

The reason for such a significant advantage of the democratic-market civilization over the previous one is the fact that it is winning the free market rivalry that determines the leadership position of both companies and countries. The main centre of innovation and development patterns is shifting to new parts of the world when the established leader falls into stagnation. It usually becomes a “prisoner” of the manufacturing and consumption model which laid foundations for its success. As a result, it loses its competitiveness and innovativeness in favour of other centres, which were less successful in the past, but also less fossilized and more inventive.

The countries which joined the democratic-market “race” later – new, emerging economies – have a “latecomer advantage:” although they are less developed, they are free of devalued technologies, management methods and consumption patterns characteristic of advanced countries. That is why the centre of the global capitalist civilization is shifting to new regions.

Originally, in the 18th century and in the early 1900s, the leading position in the world market was occupied by the countries of mainland Europe – north Italy, the Netherlands and France, which supplied their own markets and the elites of the rest of the world with their luxury products.

Great Britain was able to take over the leadership role thanks to flooding the world markets with cheap textiles, mass produced by steam-powered industry.

In the 20th century, the United States gained and maintained the position of the global leader owing to mass production of oil-fuelled vehicles – cars, aeroplanes and ships – not only civilian, but also military ones, which was stimulated by the need for defending democracy. That need was justifiable during both World Wars, but with time it became a tool for stimulating economy, used not only for defending democratic governments, but also for supporting dictatorial pro-American regimes. The old saying “they may be sonofabitches, but they’re our sonofabitches”, which was first used in the era of neo-colonial American expansion, is still up-to-date. There are indicators that today the USA is becoming a “prisoner” of the devalued “engine” of its economy. The clear evidence is a \$60 billion Saudi arms deal – in return for crude oil. It contrasts with the fact that the promotion of renewable energy sources was limited to just one Congress directive, in accordance with which the U.S. government was to approve wind, solar and other projects on public land. However, “the Interior Department had approved more than 73,000 oil and gas leases since 2005, but only one offshore wind energy project and not a single solar project.” (“Remember Renewable Energy?” *The New York Times*, October 27, 2010). It is the evidence that the USA is becoming a “prisoner” of a degrading – and ecologically devastating – generation of technology and demand patterns, due to which it “condemns itself” to losing the leading position in the world.

The contemporary China seems to be the keenest to step into the breach in the new stage of the civilization progress. Although this superpower is one of the biggest “devastators” and “polluters” of the natural environment, not only do its leaders admit it, but they are also making efforts to implement sustainable development. China invests the money it earned as a “cheap factory” of the world in the economic growth based on renewable energy sources, recycling and disruptive technologies because, as the leader of the German Green Party Joschka Fischer indicated, they have to. When the PRC increased resource-intensive production and consumption, it soon encountered – because of the size of its population – the barrier to economic growth, with disastrous ecological, social and political consequences (Joschka Fischer, *China as Superpower*, Project Syndicate, 2010). That is why China is now “changing from the factory of the world to the clean-tech laboratory of the world” (Thomas L. Friedman, “Aren’t We Clever?” *The New York Times*, September 18, 2010). “If America opts, for the first time in history, for nostalgia and ideology instead of pragmatism and progress, then the new model of capitalism will probably be made in China, like so much else in the world these

days”(Anatole Kaletsky, “Blaming China Won’t Help the Economy,” *The New York Times*, September 26, 2010).

India, which now holds the second position, is ready to challenge the leader. What increases its chances is its higher intellectual potential than that of China, strong ties with the Anglo-Saxon culture, and the very fact that they enter this “race” from the position just behind the leader.

Europe – even as the European Union – stands no chance. It is too deeply “imprisoned” in the past generation of technology and consumption patterns. It is also too closely linked to the United States and its consumption patterns and approach to military safety to become a strong contender in this race.

It is also almost certain that no Islamic country will join the world leaders. They are too busy trying to handle conflicts to play a constructive role in solving crisis-prone issues of the present and past. These conflicts include both internal clashes, such as the one between the Shia minority and the Sunni majority, and the ongoing argument with the Israeli enclave, which separates itself from its neighbour with a concrete wall, assuming the role of a hostile body in this conflict-prone region. They also lead endless disputes with Russia in the South Caucasus and defend their Islamic values against the “American way of life.” However, what they beat more developed societies with is their twice as high demographic growth. Along with mass migration, it may be the indication of their more significant role in the future development of the global civilization.

### **CHANGES IN THE FORMULA OF “SOFT POWER” AND ITS EPICENTRES**

Countries which aspire to the leading position may become leaders of the new stage of the civilization progress but it is not enough to stimulate economic growth, increase military power or technological innovativeness. They can achieve this goal only if they consistently link innovative economic growth with the formulation of functional patterns of consumption and social order, which will be attractive for other countries of the world.

The experience of past leaders shows that the top position is not gained by means of “hard power” – using military and economic coercion to influence others – or not even with the use of “clever power” – which refers to influencing others through technological innovativeness and economic proficiency. The key to success is “soft power” – the ability to obtain what one wants through co-option

and attraction. The history of shifts of the global economic epicentre is in fact parallel to the history of changes in lifestyle fashion – from the Italian and French culture, through everything that is British, up to the “American way of life,” which has dominated the past few decades. Broadly defined culture – as a system of values and a way of life – plays a key role in piloting, spreading and consolidating popularity and influence of products, companies, brands and countries (Lawrence E. Harrisom, Samuel P. Huntington (ed.), *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress*, 2003). It is the essence of “soft power” as it makes other countries voluntarily accept and imitate lifestyle models of new epicentres – “capitals of the world.”

When we observe the process of shifting the epicentre of the capitalist civilization, it becomes evident that each new “fashion” concerning the consumption of material goods and culture, lifestyle and the shape of social relations becomes increasingly available. The original Italian and French patterns used to be accessible only to elites. The subsequent models were more and more egalitarian and democratic. Not only are they admirable, but also widely imitable – attracting more and more nations and increasingly wide parts of their societies to this fashion’s sphere of influence, including market economy and ideology.

The original epicentre gained its pattern-making position by manufacturing and trading handmade luxury goods – Italian faience, Netherlandish brocade, velvet and laces, French fashionable apparel and German coaches. Those products were unquestionably elite, but more widely available than previous craft goods, not only in royal courts and to aristocracy, but also to minor landowners, who bled their serfs dry in order to be able to afford such luxuries, as well as to *nouveau riche* from outside nobility. They were accessible not only in the places of manufacture, but in the whole world.

The fact that the pattern-making epicentre moved to Great Britain meant that more available, mass produced goods, especially textiles, came into fashion. They supplanted French luxury items not only thanks to their low price and wide availability, but also due to ostracism against those who wore French or Dutch style clothes, which was quite common in Britain. The history of culture knows cases when people were publicly stripped off their foreign garments – more attractive and elegant than tacky, mass produced, domestic clothes – which was then destroyed.

The real reason for the Napoleonic Wars was to stop an influx of British goods to continental Europe as they were increasingly competitive to French products. The main motive behind the tragic military expedition to Russia was the Tsarist government’s refusal to impose an embargo on English goods.



We are relatively well aware of the reasons for which America took over the role of the global epicentre. The driving force of progress was a mass produced, cheap car, the availability of which, along with mass production of other goods – jeans, Hollywood movies, Coke and fast-food – resulted in the creation of the affluent lifestyle of the American middle class – the consumerist “American way of life.” This lifestyle soon spread across the whole world. Until recently, almost everyone tried to wear something American, designed their flats or houses and entertained in the American way. Jeans have become a “national garment” of Poles – when I was abroad, was it Beijing or, paradoxically, New York, I recognized fellow countrymen by the jeans clothes they were wearing.

These times seem to belong to the past now. And they are probably gone for ever. Today, there is plenty of evidence that what Americans once gained owing to the attractiveness of their “affluent society” model, they are now losing because of replacing it with the pattern of the “abundant society.” Wide availability of the “American way of life” standard, in accordance with the democratic ethos, is now becoming devalued due to the differentiating pursuit of prestige luxury.

The Third Great Depression revealed that Americans – and not only them – have lost moderation. They replaced the rational model of consumption with the irrational one, which focuses on satisfying not only rational needs, but also irrational desires. It was Keynes who warned against the implications of such economic deviation. “Now it is true that the needs of human beings may seem to be insatiable. But they fall into two classes - those needs which are absolute in the sense that we feel them whatever the situation of our fellow human beings may be, and those which are relative in the sense that we feel them only if their satisfaction lifts us above, makes us feel superior to, our fellows. Needs of the second class, those which satisfy the desire for superiority, may indeed be insatiable; for the higher the general level, the higher still are they” (John Maynard Keynes, *Economics. Possibilities for Our Grandchildren*, [in:] *The Collected Works of J. M. Keynes*, v. 9: *Essays in Persuasion*, 1972).

The contemporary crisis reveals the negative aspects of business activity aimed not only at satisfying rational needs, but also at the escalation of desires – rational and irrational ones from the perspective of the needs of human existence and ecological requirements. The economic growth is boosted through stimulating the average consumer to desire goods which they hardly need.

“Maybe the first decade of the 21st century will come to be known as the great age of headroom. During those years, new houses had great rooms with 20-foot ceilings and entire new art forms had to be invented to fill the acres of empty overhead wall space.



People bought bulbous vehicles like Hummers and Suburbans. The rule was, The Smaller the Woman, the Bigger the Car — so you would see a 90-pound lady in tennis whites driving a 4-ton truck with enough headroom to allow her to drive with her doubles partner perched atop her shoulders. When future archaeologists dig up the remains of that epoch, they will likely conclude that sometime around 1996, the U.S. was afflicted by a plague of claustrophobia and drove itself bankrupt in search of relief” (David Brooks, “The Gospel of Wealth,” *The New York Times*, September, 2010).

The American society is flexible, easily adapting to changes – as they have proved on a number of occasions in the past. This adaptability is a credit to America’s multiethnicity and multicultural character – aided and stimulated by a permanent influx of immigrants. This is where a chance of recovery lies – after abandoning unreflective overconsumption and prodigality. The current crisis offers a chance of leaving a dead end. “it might be the right time to shun the throwaway culture and return to the idea of a family “treasure box” (Regina Lee Blaszczyk, “End of the Throwaway Culture,” *The New York Times*, September 9, 2010).

However, from what we know about the inertia of such social processes, Americans may not be strong and persistent enough to fully get rid of the habits obtained in the era of “abundance,” “prodigality” and “throwaway culture.” Thus, they might not be able to create a model of rational abundance, which could spread across the globe.

This model has to meet new requirements in terms of quality – it needs to take into account a higher standard of attractiveness and availability. The previous model involved satisfying aspirations of only developed nations, whereas the new pattern has to take all countries into consideration – in accordance with modern requirements. Decolonization, the globalization of the market, information and democracy stimulated the societies which used to be enslaved and vegetating. Now they are joining the wave of the civilization progress. It requires standardizing progressive changes in politics and economy, so that they will be attractive and available to all nations.

Based both on logical premises, and on increasingly rich information, we can risk a statement that the new generation of models will not be conceived in any of the previous epicentres of “soft power.” It may be formed as a result of the practical experience of the societies which are presently joining the new stage of the civilization progress. It is most likely that it will be India and China.

India has a huge advantage of being an efficient, dynamically growing market democracy. Let me describe just one of numerous examples of innovative activity

in this country. An American columnist was fascinated with a completely new idea of providing banking services. Instead of extending a network of ostentatiously impressive locations, which is a real plague in Polish cities, small mom-and-pop kiosks selling a variety of items were turned into virtual banks, which are linked in the system and make it possible for people to make basic financial transactions. "The whole system is being run out of a little house and garage with a dozen employees" (Thomas L. Friedman, "Do Believe the Hype," *The New York Times*, November 2, 2010).

China may win this race thanks to the fact that it has a long tradition of planning social processes centrally. The Middle Kingdom has already proved its efficiency in planning demographic processes and it is likely to effectively introduce social changes in future. It particularly concerns the creation and implementation of the model of the "society of rational abundance" included in the next Five-Year Plan.

Both of these emerging economic superpowers may become a consumption model to follow. The level of this consumption will be lower than in the times of the "affluent society," but at least it will be commonly available and more rational – not prodigal. Both India and China may serve as examples of the development which is more adequate for other "emerging" markets. They have achieved it not only through top-down initiatives – by building great industrial powers – but also through bottom-up initiatives, such as different forms of entrepreneurial, agricultural and service activity in local communities. It may be an alternative to post-colonial countries, which are discouraged to copy their former rulers by negative aspects of past transplantations.

From the European and Polish point of view, following the Chinese, Indian or Brazilian markets may not seem very credible. This perspective does not seem very objective as it is determined – consciously or subconsciously – by an arrogant "superiority complex" of Europeans towards other cultures. The patterns formed by these cultures, however, may become attractive for us if they turn out to be more economically efficient and more effective in fighting illnesses and dead ends of the contemporary civilization. For example, they should create an alternative to air pollution and traffic jams caused by a growing number of cars, which are increasingly bigger in size.

These countries are likely to become the new centre of "soft power" provided they prove they can handle the crisis through a "leap in the future" – by overcoming the ecological barrier to economic growth, a tendency for excessive wealth concentration and for wasteful – "prodigal" and "throwaway" consumption. Instead of using a "stick" of bans and regulations or an "aspergillum" of moralizing appeals,

they should be able to cope with the crisis with the help of a “carrot” – tangible, measurable profits and benefits from the creation, implementation and dissemination of the new stage of the civilization progress, which is more effective than the previous, romantic one.

The history of the mankind shows that the significant driving force of progress is the societies’ optimistic belief in the rightness of the development path they chose. According to the research results quoted by *The Economist* Pew Researcher Centre – 87% of Chinese people, 50% of Brazilians and 45% of Indians are certain that their country is developing in the right direction – compared with 31% of the British, 30% of Americans and 26% of the French (“The Redistribution of Hope. Optimism is on the Move – with Important Consequences for Both the Hopeful and the Hopeless, *The Economist*, December 16, 2010).

The main difference between the old Euro-American world and the new emerging markets lies in the fact that in the former the battle for retaining *status quo* continues, including privileges in a retirement system, and in the latter more emphasis is put on increasing access to higher education and seeking opportunities for change (Iwan Krastew, “Europa: mocarstwo na emeryturze,” *Gazeta Świąteczna*, December 18-19, 2010).

## THREATS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR POLAND AND EUROPE

The Great Depression has been rather an unpleasant surprise for Polish people. After all, now that twenty years have passed since the transformation, we have just caught up with beneficiaries of the capitalist “abundant society.” As soon as we started to enjoy new tastes that had been unavailable to us before, the crisis forced us to “tighten our belts.”

The fact that our country was the least affected by the crisis – after all, Poland still maintains positive GDP growth, being a “green island” among other European countries with “black,” negative economic indicators – does not offer much comfort. The unemployment rate is still around 10% and the percentage of impoverished people is much higher than among our Western neighbours.

The crisis is an ordeal for Europe. We nurtured hopes that the common market potential will effectively stimulate economic growth and will be conducive to eliminating the conflict of interest, resulting in the peaceful coexistence of Europeans. Instead, there is an on-going dispute over who should bear the costs of the crisis and old ethnic conflicts revive.

Both the Poles and other Europeans reacted to the crisis in a spontaneous way – proposing actions that would be a “leap in the past,” which would involve adjusting different versions of the European model of the social “welfare state” or attempting to alleviate the effects of the crisis and to stimulate economic recovery. They hoped they would be able to regain high pace of economic growth, sticking to the goals and methods of the model defined as the “state of abundance,” which means the return to the idea of “turning nature into goods” – with all environmental and social implications.

Europe was a cofounder of the main premises of the global civilization – industrial methods of production, market exchange of goods and democratic politics. The European Union’s economy has the biggest potential in the world – bigger than the economies of the United States and China. Europe is also the main trade partner of China.

It is highly doubtful whether Europe will become the leading centre of the new stage of the civilization progress. Its most economically developed part is too “tied” by the constraints of the previous economic system. However, it does stand a chance to regain the position of one of its politically significant centres. It may be perceived as a source of important values and intellectual and social experience of market democracies – signals of which are already received from China and other emerging markets. As an integrated economic, political and cultural structure, Europe is able to promote innovative progress in all fields of pro-ecological reanimation of economy and to create a new, democratic “society of rational abundance.” Some key aspects of such innovative approach were included in the development plan which became known as the “Lisbon Strategy.”

The above thesis may be supported by the historical regularity that it was not only the leading power that benefited from each new stage of development, but also a number of smaller countries, which were able to find and develop an untapped market niche. The recent examples include Japan, South Korea and Finland, which made efforts to meet demand for consumer electronics - not fully satisfied by the United States, which focused on military and space electronics (I anticipated this in the essay entitled “Luka programowa,” *Kultura*, no. 22, 1968). There is a lot of evidence that among the leaders of tomorrow will be those countries which will be able to overcome a tendency to be “locked” in the devalued generation of technology, economy, politics and consumption patterns, and which will be able to separate themselves from the waning American leader and to consistently link the pro-ecological shift in their economy with specializing in meeting needs of the global market in the fields which have not been tapped by others.

Europe may lose this battle if decentralist tendencies prevail and changes are limited to adjusting the model of the “welfare state” – without strategic investment in innovative paths of the civilization progress.

Poland, which has been relatively successful in fighting the effects of the Depression, pursues a policy of “small steps.” It seems quite right from the tactical point of view, but it does not hold promise for qualitative progress. Like a tailor who patches clothes, we are implementing short-term solutions, without deeper strategic thinking and investing in future. In the long run, however, Poland may win the crisis if it participates in the process of formulating and implementing the strategy of the civilization of rational abundance within the framework of the European Union.

The range and complexity of tasks resulting from the contemporary threats and opportunities lies far beyond the capabilities of not only Poland, but also much bigger countries. The integration with the European Union, however, offers Poland a chance to join and become a participant of these processes. It requires overcoming a spontaneous tendency to restore the old model of the “society of rational abundance,” which has become devalued by the ecological conflict and the Third Great Depression. Together with its European partners, Poland should develop and implement a winning strategy for coping with the crisis by creating more rational goals and methods of the civilization progress.

The EU presidency which Poland took up in July 2011 is a great, historic challenge for Poland and its political, economic and intellectual elites. Poland will be able and will have to support processes of recognizing and seizing opportunities that the ecological and economic crisis creates for the mankind – including Europe and Poland – for the formulation of new, more rational goals and methods of production and consumption.

The future fate of Poland and Europe depends on their ability to face these challenges-tasks. I do not worry about the future of the mankind. I believe people will successfully handle the challenges of today and tomorrow. I would be happy to see Poland and Europe positively contribute to this process. However, unless the present Polish and European political elites cease to focus on their own interests, they will stay out of the mainstream of change. This is not only the battle for survival of the mankind, including European and Polish people. We should also fight for our position in the next stage of the civilization progress: whether we will be in the vanguard or the rear-guard. And whether we will be the cofounders of the civilization of the future or we will lag behind.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

The ecological conflict and the Great Depression have made us aware that the future will not be the end of history, as anticipated by Francis Fukuyama, spreading and copying of the “affluent society” – a romantic version of the democratic-market civilization. It may be and must be a fascinating adventure of writing another chapter of Human History – a positive civilization of rational abundance of the present and future generations of all nations.

It sounds like utopia. However, this is not a fantasy, but sheer reality. It is not based on virtual pipe dreams, but on real innovation programmes, which are already being carried out in different parts of the world.

History shows that people have the courage to pursue higher levels of the civilization progress, which is determined by the need for overcoming crises and is motivated by seemingly utopic visions of changes which increase chances of survival and reaching satisfaction with life.

Winning a crisis in this way was possible in the past. Therefore, it may be and must be possible today.

*Danuta Kabat-Rudnicka*

## **THE STATE IN THE FACE OF THE CHALLENGES OF POSTMODERN TIMES**

### **ABSTRACT**

The dynamic character of changes we are observing in the contemporary world makes us ponder on the condition of the state – one of the most firmly established institutions, which has been a central unit in the international system so far. We got used to the unquestionably dominant role of the state as the main architect and arbitrator in both internal affairs and international relations. The superior position of the state has been undermined neither by World Wars nor the global economic crisis. At present, the world order based on the system of national states, commonly known as the Westphalian system, seems to be becoming a thing of the past due to huge international transformations, the most important of which is globalization. The multi-level character of changes affects basic spheres of international cooperation and is exerting an increasing influence upon the state, which is gradually losing its omnipotent position. The article presents how the above-mentioned processes of change create new conditions of the functioning of the state and erode the foundations of its national identity: territoriality of state authority, sovereignty of the country and its generally secular character. All of them have been quite difficult to implement over the past twenty five years. As a result, the postmodern state is becoming less and less autonomous in its operations and is vulnerable to difficulties it encounters in the conditions of a turbulent environment and uncertain future. Not only the complexity of the international system, but also the fragmentation of the national society in the times of growing threats lead to the instability of traditional support usually offered to the state by a more homogenous national background. In these circumstances, the issue of the future of the national state becomes a subject of scientific research.

**Keywords:** national state, sovereignty, globalization, interdependence, the Westphalian system (sovereignty), international integration, multiculturalism

**THIS ARTICLE DISCUSSES** the main directions of changes that the state and its institutions are undergoing in the new, post-Westphalian international order. These changes affect the main attributes of statehood, making them erode and lose their unambiguity. The changes which occur as a result of increasing global interdependence mainly refer to globalization and are reflected in the generally growing differentiation and fragmentation of old structures and emerging the new ones.<sup>1</sup> The state as the most important component of the international system has been in the heart of these processes, which affect its territorial structure, borders and the

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<sup>1</sup> At the turn of centuries and at the beginning of our century a number of research papers which discuss globalization from different theoretical perspectives were published. Among the most important ones are the works of authors representing different approaches, such as: the world-system theory (Immanuel Wallerstein), conceptual (Anthony Giddens), sociological (Manuel Castells), global transformations (David Held and Anthony McGrew), sceptical (Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson), geography of global shift (Peter Dicken and Saskia Sassen), legal positivism (Thomas Friedman and Martin Wolf), reformist (Joseph Stiglitz), radical (Naomi Klein, George Monbiot), revolutionary (Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri) and cultural (Arjun Appadurai). The most representative works of the above-mentioned authors include: I. Wallerstein, C. Aguirre Rojas, Ch. Lemert, *Uncertain Worlds World-systems Analysis in Changing Times*, Boulder 2011; A. Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity*, Stanford 1990; A. Giddens, *Runaway world: how globalization is reshaping our lives*, New York 2000; M. Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society*, Oxford 2000; M. Castells, *Globalisation, Networking, Urbanisation: Reflections on the Spatial Dynamics of the Information Age*, "Urban Studies" 2010, vol. 47, no. 13; M. Castells, *The network society: a cross-cultural perspective*, Cheltenham 2004; D. Held, A. McGrew (eds.), *Globalization Theory: approaches and controversies*, Cambridge 2007; D. Held, A. McGrew, *Globalization/anti-globalization: beyond the great divide*, Cambridge 2007; P.Q. Hirst, G. Thompson, S. Bromley, *Globalization in question*, Cambridge 2009; P. Dicken, *Global shift: mapping the changing contours of the world economy*, New York 2007; P. Dicken, *Tangled webs transnational production networks and regional integration*, Marburg 2005; S. Sassen, *Territory, authority, rights: from medieval to global assemblages*, Princeton 2006; S. Sassen, *Sociology of globalization*, New York 2007; S. Sassen, *Globalization and its discontents, [essays on the new mobility of people and money]*, New York 1998; S. Sassen, *Deciphering the global: its scales, spaces and subjects*, New York 2007; T.L. Friedman, *The world is flat: a brief history of the twenty-first century*, New York 2005; M. Wolf, *Why globalization works*, New Haven 2004; J.E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and its discontents*, New York 2002; J.E. Stiglitz, *Making globalization work*, New York 2006; N. Klein; D.A. Levy, *The front lines of the globalization debate*, New York 2002; N. Klein, *No logo*, London 2001; N. Klein, *The shock doctrine: the rise of disaster capitalism*, London 2007; G. Monbiot, *Heat: how to stop the planet burning*, London 2006; M. Hardt, A. Negri, *Empire*, Cambridge 2000; M. Hardt, A. Negri, *Multitude: war and democracy in the age of Empire*, New York 2004; M. Hardt, A. Negri, *Commonwealth*, Cambridge 2009; A. Appadurai, *Globalization*, Durham 2001.



fundamental attribute of statehood, i.e. sovereignty, which is the main principle of the state's actions both in its internal affairs and in international relations. The latter will be discussed on their three levels of global cooperation: international, transnational and supranational.

First, I am going to discuss changes which concern the principle of territoriality, which is traditionally connected with the state, and the issue of sovereignty, which is inextricably linked with it. Later, I am going to focus on changes which concern the secular character of the modern country and the phenomenon of multiculturalism.<sup>2</sup> Changes in all of these fields have been described from the perspective of political theory and then analysed from the practical point of view.

In the discussion on contemporary transformations in the era of globalization, great emphasis has been put on the role of the state, which has become the central unit and the reference point in the international order since the Westphalian system was adopted.<sup>3</sup>

A series of historic events, such as the fall of the Soviet empire, the collapse of communist governments in Eastern Europe and the consequent reunification of Germany, as well as the enlargement of NATO with countries of the former Eastern bloc, put an ultimate end to the post-Cold War international order, which meant the fall of the bipolar system and uncertain future. It turned out that uncertainty does not only concern the direction of system transformations, but also the development path of the basic unit of the international system – the national state.<sup>4</sup>

The national state can be described as an inherently independent territorial unit, which is governed by the principle of the nation's sovereignty, which is connected with the supremacy of government institutions in internal affairs and reflects the state's supremacy as a legal entity in foreign policy.<sup>5</sup> In order to analyse the process of the erosion of the character and role of the state in the contemporary world, we need to remember that there are three underlying principles of modern statehood: territoriality, sovereignty and secularity. The emerging, new international order,

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<sup>2</sup> Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity*, Oxford 2007.

<sup>3</sup> A.G. McGrew, P.G. Lewis (eds.), *Global Politics: Globalisation and the Nation-State*, Cambridge 1992.

<sup>4</sup> Prem Shankar Jha, *The twilight of the nation state: globalisation, chaos and war*, Ann Arbor 2006.

<sup>5</sup> F. Kratochwil, *Of systems, boundaries, and territoriality: An inquiry into the formation of the state system*, "World Politics" 1986, vol. 34, pp. 27–52; S. Nahlik, *Wstęp do nauki prawa międzynarodowego*, Warszawa 1967, pp. 13–14.

the indicators of which are interdependence, globalization, integration, fragmentation and post-modernity, creates an array of challenges for countries and affects the above-mentioned main principles of statehood.

## TERRITORIALITY

The principle of territoriality as the basis of the national state has been a rule since the times of the peace of Augsburg (1555), which established a *modus vivendi* between Lutherans and Catholics based on the principle “whose realm, his religion” (*cuius regio, eius religio*), which was confirmed in the Peace of Westphalia treaties.<sup>6</sup> Irrespective of the fact that a lot of historians<sup>7</sup> have overestimated the importance of the Westphalian Treaty, thus, also the year 1648, the resulting establishment of the modern system of sovereign national states made the principle of territoriality the key rule, on which the modern national state should be based. Peter Malanczuk emphasizes its principal importance, writing that “the control of territory is the essence of a state.”<sup>8</sup>

The principle of territoriality says that the mankind is naturally divided into separate territorial (and political) communities with strictly defined borders. Territoriality also means that borders and a territory play more than just an administrative role.<sup>9</sup> In the functional sense, territoriality means that problems arising in a specific area can be effectively solved by authorities operating within the boundaries of a given national territory. Until recently, the modern state was not able to meet these needs and its political-legal scope of authority was far larger

<sup>6</sup> A. Gotthard, *Der Augsburger Religionsfrieden*, Münster 2004. See also: J. Larkins, *From Hierarchy to Anarchy: Territory and Politics before Westphalia*, Houndmills, Basingstoke 2009

<sup>7</sup> L. Gross, *The Peace of Westphalia: 1648–1948*, “The American Journal of International Law” 1948, vol. 42, no. 1; A. Oslander, *Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth*, “International Organization” 2001, vol. 55, pp. 251–287; D. Croxton, *The Peace of Westphalia of 1648 and the origins of sovereignty*, “International History Review” 1999, vol. 21, pp. 569–591. The revisionist approach to commonly accepted judgements was presented in an interesting work of B. Teschke, *The myth of 1648: class, geopolitics, and the making of modern international relations*, London 2003.

<sup>8</sup> P. Malanczuk, *Akehurst’s Modern Introduction to International Law*, 7th rev. ed., London–New York 1997, p. 75.

<sup>9</sup> H. Lacher, *Beyond globalization: capitalism, territoriality and the international relations of modernity*, London 2006; J. Baylis, S. Smith, *The Globalization of World Politics. An Introduction to International Relations*, New York 2001, p. 31.

than the range of social influence of people and groups within the area of its jurisdiction.<sup>10</sup>

In theory, we distinguish two basic elements in the principle of territoriality: a general political problem, concerning the territorial scope (as a subject of policy conducted in order to effectively control a society) and a specific problem, which concerns the optimal territorial scope to ensure the proper functioning of democracy.

The principle of territoriality on the ground of political philosophy was deeply analysed by J.J. Rousseau, who tried to define the conditions necessary for direct democracy forms to function.

These conditions are closely linked with political rules, which indirectly concern the issue of territoriality. Rousseau was looking for a way of preventing citizens' economic activity from crossing the political (territorial) borders of their national community, which could lead to the loss of political control over economy.<sup>11</sup> Political authorities kept economy within the boundaries of a local community (political unit) in order to fully control it.<sup>12</sup>

The principle of territoriality as a political rule was expected to help the state not only supervise the economic activity of its citizens, but also guarantee its control over the field of internal and external security. It seems possible for the state, despite some difficulties, to exercise general control over citizens, at least in theory, and it is implemented up from the local level. However, it cannot be applied

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<sup>10</sup> J. Agnew, *Sovereignty Regimes: Territoriality and State Authority in Contemporary World Politics*, "Annals of the Association of American Geographers" 2005, vol. 95, no. 2 pp. 437–461.

<sup>11</sup> History does not provide evidence that methods of exercising political control over economy corresponded to Rousseau's ideas in reality. Even in the glory days of the national state, entrepreneurial activities, especially those undertaken by individual citizens, had to go beyond political borders of countries. Nevertheless, the traditional state traditionally established laws and possessed the instruments of control reaching beyond national borders as it scrutinized the entrepreneurial activity of its citizens using the appropriate protective measures (e.g. the control of money flow and exports).

<sup>12</sup> J.J. Rousseau, *A Discourse on Inequality*, London, 1984. This principle – the practical application of which Rousseau could observe on the example of the functioning of the city-state of Geneva, allowed using direct democracy – democracy defined as the way a society lives. In the introduction to *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* Maurice William Cranston writes that Geneva, which was inhabited by 25 000 people at the time, only 1000 out of 5000 of adult men were numbered among the group that J.J. Rousseau was so proud of.

to external (international) relations to the same degree,<sup>13</sup> as the state is not able to fully control the situation and dictate conditions in the global arena.

The control of external relations exercised by the state concerns, first of all, the issues of war and peace. In the past, it used to be reflected in thinking that all external dangers come down to threatening the inviolability of national borders. In order to be ready to defend against acts of aggression, countries formed their own armed forces.

Despite the still binding principle of territoriality, globalization results in a new kind of geographical systems relating to political organization and governance, the scope of which exceeds national territories and their borders.

Against this background, the erosion of the territorial foundations of statehood becomes evident, both in respect of law, politics and economy, and as regards ecology, which poses a serious challenge for the state. Wars between countries are no longer the main source of threat. So far, however, traditional instruments of solving international conflicts have not been replaced with any peaceful regime of international security on a global scale.<sup>14</sup> The system of collective security turned out to be imperfect and new international problems resulting from decolonization and the new division of the world lead to internal conflicts, which are not only quite unlikely to be solved quickly, but also jeopardise stability and international peace. Combined with an often tragic fate of the civilian population, they require external intervention, some aspects of which may in turn raise doubts from the perspective of international law. On the other hand, we may observe the growing phenomenon of the "privatization" in the field of the "authorized use of violence," which was a monopoly of state authority until recently. Private armies, organized like corporations, offer their services to countries which have a mission's mandate to restore peace in the post-war regions. The phenomenon of collapsed countries

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<sup>13</sup> This control mainly concerns the problem of criminal behaviour of citizens. The state is generally able to guarantee that criminal deeds will be dealt with by national police forces. As far as this form of scrutiny is concerned, if it is effective, crime may be limited to minor offences.

<sup>14</sup> The notion of international regimes is used here in the meaning commonly accepted in the world international relations literature. They are sets of "implicit and explicit principles, norms, rules and decision making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations. Regimes are bound by four fundamental elements, which are principles, norms, rules and decision making procedures. These elements are essential to the existence of the regimes and are the necessary elements for the formation of regimes. They manage interactions of different countries and non-state actors in the areas such as the natural environment or human rights." J. Baylis, S. Smith, *The Globalization of World Politics. An Introduction to International Relations*, New York 2001, p. 970.

is difficult to solve. International law does not provide for any solutions which could lead to the recolonization or seizing the area of a collapsed country within the framework of the mandate policy. Civil wars in the Third World and international terrorism provide a lot of examples of the participation of non-state military forces. Thus, it seems justifiable to conclude that the contemporary state has lost a monopoly on the authorized use of violence.

Traditional instruments of national security policy, which aim at fighting acts of violence and undertaking preventive measures within national borders, consisting in the deployment of troops in threatened regions, have proved to be insufficient today. However, if such deployment occurs, like, for example, in Kosovo in 2001 or in Afghanistan (after the September 11 attacks), the situation forces a significant change in the approach to the mission, both in terms of politics, and with regard to a military strategy.

Another problem is international crime, which involves trafficking in drugs, women and arms. At present, instead of helping to fight organized crime, territorial borders of countries are not a real obstacle because of their "openness."

An accumulating wave of environmental threats, often impossible to handle and monitor, is becoming one of the most important challenges for the territorial state today. Carried by air currents, pollution spreads easily across borders and covers vast spaces, creating a new kind of threat to countries, which cannot protect their territories. Memorable examples include a radioactive cloud floating in the sky after the Chernobyl disaster and a similar cloud which appeared after the Fukushima nuclear plant failure caused by an earthquake.

Paradoxically, what may also affect the territorial foundations of the national state is the development in the field of science and technology. The Internet and the information revolution have cast doubt on all forms of state borders. After all, the virtual world of flowing information does not need any separated physical area. Borders in the traditional meaning of this word have no practical importance here; moreover, they are impossible to delineate. The new, virtual space created thanks to the Internet, affects the global economy and makes it possible to effectively circumvent traditional forms of scrutiny routinely exercised by national police units for combating business crime.

The real-time data and information exchange causes that speculations in the international financial market may lead to serious political problems. Numerous money transfers made by private participants of the international business exchange in order to make profits, reach such a high level that governments must intervene in order to defend their national currency and the economic position of their

country. Attacks on national currencies, such as the one “legally” launched on the pound sterling by George Soros in 1992, revealed a new danger awaiting the national state.<sup>15</sup> It turned out that in some circumstances, a liberal formula of the global free market may be dangerous for the state the currency or economy of which creates an opportunity for speculative games on an international scale.

The experience of the last few years has shown that speculative currency operations carried out by great private tycoons in the international financial markets<sup>16</sup> may even lead to a slump of the whole national finance systems, as it was the case to a certain degree during the 1997 Asian financial crisis.<sup>17</sup> Rare border controls, which are still carried out in the conditions of the traditional trade exchange, do not fulfil its scrutiny functions in the case of most international transactions and that is why they seem to be a relic of a bygone age.

New problems and phenomena of a transnational character are becoming more and more difficult to solve for the countries which encounter them. It is not surprising as they are new issues and the state has not been able to develop appropriate precautionary measures yet. Some of them, such as international terrorism or large-scale international organized crime, require the application of emergency measures, which often stand in contradiction to established principles of a democratic state.<sup>18</sup>

Not only security, but also democracy necessitates solving problems of territoriality. Admittedly, these problems do not concern the theoretical essence of democracy raised by Rousseau to the same degree. They only appear in one context: expressed in the question what must be done so that political control would also be democratic.<sup>19</sup>

Irrespective of new international phenomena, the question remains how big a country should be, considering the requirements of a democratic system and the possibility of maintaining it, and bearing in mind that on the competence level

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<sup>15</sup> Y-W. Cheung, D. Friedman, *Speculative attacks: A laboratory study in continuous time*, “Journal of International Money and Finance” 2009, vol. 28, iss. 6, pp. 1064–1082.

<sup>16</sup> M. Obstfeld, K. Rogoff, *The Mirage of Fixed Exchange Rates*, “The Journal of Economic Perspectives” 1995, vol. 9, no. 4, pp. 73–96.

<sup>17</sup> A. Prakash, *The East Asian crisis and the globalization discourse*, “Review of International Political Economy” 2001, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 119–46.

<sup>18</sup> Even the issue of collecting and storing biometric data by authorized state institutions is subject to debate and criticism from the defenders of traditional democratic principles.

<sup>19</sup> As it was mentioned above, historical experience indicates some departures from the principle of direct democracy advocated by Rousseau. It was practically applicable only in some small countries, such as Switzerland.

democracy does not involve the transparency of political processes. It does not entail readiness to stand up for someone and does not mean the acceptance of a common political fate. In pragmatic sense, it does not go hand in hand with the possibility of carrying out one's interest through participation. It must also be mentioned that the "territorial borders" of democracy are commonly believed to have a much wider scope than those defined by the national state, although they should be generally smaller than those "defined" by globalization.<sup>20</sup>

The thing is that a territory under the political authority cannot be too small as the political control of social problems becomes pointless then. On the other hand, it cannot be too large as it may lead to the paralysis of democracy. The plan of the political integration of the European continent may serve as a case study here.<sup>21</sup> The problem is that we do not know to what degree Europe, more specifically, the European Union (as a political project), will require the imposition of controversial mechanisms of political scrutiny, and to what degree it will embody direct democracy (so far as it is possible).

The first doubt that comes to mind is whether the European Union will be able to exercise real political control. The answer may be generally positive as the ability to exercise political control is first of all dependent on the applicability of regulatory principles in a bureaucratic mode.<sup>22</sup> The *acquis communautaire* itself, composed of approximately 900,000 pages of legislation, legal acts and court decisions, includes regulations which imply that at least in this field there is no concern about the lack of the applicability of a bureaucratic apparatus.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> D. Held, *Democracy, the nation-state and the global system*, "Economy and Society" 1991, vol. 20, iss. 2 pp. 138–172.

<sup>21</sup> C. Joerges, N. Walker, *Europa ein Großraum?; Putting the European house in order*, "EUI working papers in law" 2002, no. 2. See also: S. Konopacki, *Integracja Europy w dobie postmodernizmu*, Poznań 1998, pp. 116–121 and J. Zielonka, *Europa jako imperium. Nowe spojrzenie na Unię Europejską*, Warszawa 2007.

<sup>22</sup> G. Majone, *The European Community as a Regulatory State*, [in:] *Academy of European Law* (ed.), *Collected Courses of the Academy of European Law*, vol. V, book 1, 1996, pp. 321–419.

<sup>23</sup> When a country joins the European Union, the existing body of European Union law, composed of about 900 thousand pages of treaties and laws adopted up to the given country's accession to the EU, has to be translated into this country's language. It is the government of this country which is responsible for this task, and the Community institutions are responsible for the completion and publication of translated texts in a special issue of the Official Journal of the European Union. See: *Translation in the Commission: where we stand two years after Enlargement*, MEMO 106/173, Brussels, 27.04.2006, Europa, Press releases RAPID.



Another problem is whether the European Union will be able to fully implement democratic principles. Strictly speaking, can we realistically expect that the need for transparency in decision-making processes will be fulfilled, not only in the activities of government bureaucracy, but also in a broadly defined public sphere? The problem about the Europeans' identity is that there are attempts at producing a conviction about a common fate of the European Union as a political creation. This conviction may be of fundamental importance for the development of Europe's security and common defence policy. From the practical point of view, it may be difficult to persuade people from very far apart, geographically and culturally, regions to jointly defend not only themselves, but also the whole community.

The question also arises as to whether the European Union will be able to ensure such conditions of political participation that would allow members of one national society to influence the public opinion in their country – in other words, so that they could make full use of their political rights and have a sense of being an inseparable part of the *European society*. It is difficult to find solutions to all the above-mentioned problems, which makes us conclude that the territory occupied by the united Europe is much too "vast" (beyond its capabilities).

To sum up, the development of information and communication technology as well as the emergence of new transborder and supranational phenomena, such as the pollution and degradation of the natural environment, the creeping globalization of financial markets, the growing power of multinational corporations, which are becoming increasingly independent from states, as well as the development of international trade, cause that, on the one hand, the territorially defined possibilities of the national state are shrinking and, on the other hand, the problems it needs to solve are increasing.

## SOVEREIGNTY

In the context of international relations, the concept of sovereignty refers to the state's independence from external influences and having supreme authority within its territory.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> S. Nahlik, *Wstęp do nauki prawa międzynarodowego*, Warszawa, 1967, pp. 13–14. In a more general meaning "sovereignty is the condition of a state being free from any higher authority. The state has supreme authority domestically and independence internationally. A sovereign state has a sovereign supreme ruler to protect or to guard that sovereign state." J. Baylis, S. Smith, *The Globalization of World Politics. An Introduction to International Relations*, New York 2001, p. 972.



Like in the case of territoriality, the application of the principle of sovereignty brings a lot of problems today. National sovereignty in its classical form is subject to relativization as new non-state and para-state political structures appear. On the one hand (like in Europe), we are witnesses to the emergence of transnational regimes (supranational systems of authority, which operate above national governments); and on the other hand (on a global scale), international regimes are growing in importance. The latter may operate regardless of a country and its help, without the need for cooperating with it, which means, in practice, that they may exercise authority on their own, without governments and state institutions.<sup>25</sup>

Irrespective of the above-mentioned structures, which weaken sovereignty, we observe some important processes of political differentiation of the main participants of international life, which pose a challenge for the dominant role of state entities, which has been unquestionable so far. As a result, a strong link between politics and the state has become difficult to maintain.<sup>26</sup>

Such a deep change needs referring to history in order to be better understood. Until recently, the process of the concentration of state authority was evident. Its first stage was the establishment of the national state; and then, as the concentration of power grew, the imperial state emerged. Finally, the bipolar bloc system, which left its mark on the international relations of the Cold War era, developed.<sup>27</sup>

In turn, newly emerged countries, which have just joined the international game, implement only partial solutions to the most urgent problems, which are more and more often of a global nature. This is coupled with the awareness of the need for establishing international regimes, which in turn entails the acceptance of the presence of non-state, "private" actors on the international scene, which include some well-known international organizations and multinational corporations.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> J.H. Jackson, *Sovereignty-Modern: A New Approach to an Outdated Concept*, "The American Journal of International Law" 2003, vol. 97, no. 4, pp. 782–802; T.L. Ilgen (ed.), *Reconfigured sovereignty: Multi-layered governance in the global age*, Aldershot 2003.

<sup>26</sup> J.A. Camilleri, Jim Falk (eds.), *The end of sovereignty? The politics of a shrinking and fragmenting world*, Aldershot 1992; J.A. Agnew, *Globalization and sovereignty*, Lanham 2009.

<sup>27</sup> Now that the competition between two blocs constituting the bipolar Cold War system has come to an end, we observe the developing process of the decentralization of power. Large political entities, such as the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, have collapsed and some new movements towards the right of nations to self-determination have led to an unexpected growth in the number of new countries in the international arena; unprecedented since the times of colonization.

<sup>28</sup> D. Held, A. McGrew, D. Goldblatt, J. Perraton, *Introduction*, [in:] *Global Transformations*, D. Held, A. McGrew, D. Goldblatt, J. Perraton (eds.), Cambridge 1999, pp. 2–30. See also: E. Brahman, *New Threats and New Actors in International Security*, Basingstoke 2005.

If this trend continues, the identity of the sovereign national state may be replaced by making it a part of transnational structures and, additionally, the relations based on the principles of public-private partnership will emerge and become common. However, as a result of serious system disorders, such as the current financial crisis accompanied by the growing debt of countries or a wave of revolutionary unrest in North Africa and the Middle East, which result in recession in national economies, the above-mentioned trend may be reversed. In the times of growing uncertainty and turbulence, the state as the most proven form of organization may again gain importance. In order to understand current problems with sovereignty, we need to refer to traditional political philosophy. It was already at the beginning of the modern era that Thomas Hobbes uttered his famous statement which has found its permanent place in the history of ideas: "It is not wisdom but authority that makes a law."<sup>29</sup> The authority becomes authority in the full sense of this word when it is able to make and implement decisions in the conditions of no competition in this field.<sup>30</sup> The authority in the modern state was superior to any other social, political or economic institutions out of necessity. It had to, as it was accurately expressed by Max Weber, to have exclusive rights in the field of the "monopoly on violence."<sup>31</sup> In internal relations, it was the police that was authorized to use violence, whereas in external relations, it was the military forces that could use it.

Bourgeois revolutions brought a new order, which resulted in the need for redefining the idea of sovereignty. In the bourgeois system, the sovereign royal power was replaced with the nation's sovereignty. The change of the definition resulted in the change of the subject of sovereignty, but it did not change its foundation – reflected in the idea that it is the national state that has the ultimate and absolute right to implement the decisions it has made.

In the present situation, which has developed under the influence of globalization processes and other associated phenomena in the postmodern world, claims that result from their right to make final decisions inevitably become subject to relativization. For ages, it has been the state's unquestionable prerogative to make sovereign decisions about making war or peace. Thanks to the dissemination of this prerogative, mutual relations among sovereign countries have been institu-

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<sup>29</sup> T. Hobbes, *Leviathan or The Matter, Forme and Power of a Common Wealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil*, London 1651, p. XXVI.

<sup>30</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>31</sup> M. Weber, *Politik als Beruf*, München–Leipzig 1919.

tionalized, either in the form of the system of the balance of powers or the system of collective security.

The principle of national sovereignty was significantly limited soon after 1945. It is evident on three levels of relations: international, transnational and supranational ones.

### **International relations**

The international character of relations causes a wide array of problems, the most important of which concern the issues of war and peace. The original doctrine did not stipulate any reduction of sovereignty, letting states decide on their own. After all, war was a traditional way of demanding compensation for one's harm, even if it was only imaginary. The principle that a war has to be justifiable and be waged according to certain rules, which was already known in ancient times, went into oblivion. It only revived during religious wars and in the 16<sup>th</sup> century it contributed to the emergence of a new science – international law – which in this original form was limited to the law of war. The Grotian principle of the law of nations included a set of rules, against which to decide whether a war is just or not, how to wage it and how to make peace and fulfil its conditions. However, in practice, it does not restrict the principle of sovereignty.

Except for the efforts aimed at the establishment of a peaceful system of settling international disputes or the League of Nation's attempt of building a system of collective security, the first real constraint on national security was the adoption of the Charter of United Nations in May 1945. At the prescriptive level, the provisions of the Charter guarantee full sovereignty of state authorities as regards starting a war or the use of force (Article 51 of the UN Charter). In the technical sense, a country may waive this right only out of its own will, i.e. without formally violating the principle of the state's sovereignty.

Nevertheless, especially in relation to Chapter VII of the UN Charter, which says about the possibility of taking joint measures, the prohibition of the use of force acquires significance as it limits the sovereign authority of countries. The case of the Persian Gulf War of 1991 was characteristic in this respect.<sup>32</sup> Later international

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<sup>32</sup> A. Hurrell, P. Hirst, *Politics – War and Power in the 21 st Century*, "Times Literary Supplement" 2003, no. 5216; D. Cooper, *War, Aggression and Self-Defence*, "Commonwealth law bulletin" 2006, vol. 32, iss. 4, pp. 741–743. For more details see: Y. Dinstein, *War, Aggression and Self-Defence*,

interventions undertaken during the civil war in former Yugoslavia, in Afghanistan and Iraq revealed difficulties in acknowledging them as being in full accordance with the letter of the law. The need for a humanitarian intervention and peace missions in the areas which were destabilized by civil wars and international terrorism showed how difficult it was in practice to reconcile the parallel use of the principle of national sovereignty and a humanitarian intervention.

### **Transnationalism**

Transnational relations, which lead to interdependencies, are changing the nature of international relations to an increasing degree. The following two types of the relativization of the principle of national sovereignty have no specific historical connotations, but they result from the gradual evolution of the modern international society.

The first of them is connected with the growing importance of transnational participants of international business relations. Global entrepreneurs and traders are becoming more and more independent from national economies and business policies of countries as the modern state is often unable to precisely define the political framework for its economic activity. In this situation global business partners dictate their own, basic rules of conduct to countries. They are able to negotiate favourable conditions of business in the national territory, because the national state cannot afford to not be involved in global affairs and allow the reduction of its manufacturing potential.<sup>33</sup>

The other kind of relativization is connected with the activity of transnational organizations, also known as non-government organizations, which are often competitive to the state. This activity shows how much the political viewpoint is changing as the issues of national territories and state borders have been pushed into the background.<sup>34</sup>

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Cambridge 2005. See also: W. Czapliński, *Odpowiedzialność za naruszenie prawa międzynarodowego w związku z konfliktem zbrojnym*, Warszawa 2009.

<sup>33</sup> S. Cohen, *Les États et les 'nouveaux acteurs'*, "Politique internationale" 2005, no. 107.

<sup>34</sup> T. Risse-Kapen, *Bringing Transnational Relations Back*, [in:] *Non-State Actors, Domestic Structures and International Institutions*, Cambridge 1995: 5. The evidence of the weakening authority of states is provided by the fact that well-known non-government organizations, such as Greenpeace or Amnesty International, which used to take the national governments' opinions into account, now ignore them – their campaigns and protests often harm the issues of national sovereignty. See:

Globalization equated with progress makes us aware that it leads to the development of the whole mankind. In other words, it allows us to put ourselves in other people's shoes and have a sense of human solidarity. It is worth quoting Kant here. He said that the "community of the peoples of the earth has developed so far that a violation of rights in one place is felt throughout the world."<sup>35</sup> These words, uttered over 200 years ago, have lost none of their relevance. It is true that today a violation of human rights in any part of the world attracts everyone's attention and may arouse a feeling of political responsibility.

What is characteristic of the political activity of international non-government organizations is the fact that they indirectly question the state's exclusive right to sovereignty, i.e. the exclusive right to make decisions preceding action (without the participation of other political entities which compete in the issues of authority). Wherever problems resulting from a violation of human rights or humanitarian disasters arise – as well as problems related to the pollution of the natural environment, natural disasters, starvation, genocide or mass migrations – they draw a strong response from local non-government organizations, which use their right to political participation. National states have to tolerate initiatives of these organizations and try to reach an agreement with them in order to establish rules of cooperation.<sup>36</sup>

### Supranationality

The third direction of changes which harm the national state's sovereignty is the emergence of supranational structures, which first developed in Europe. Their member states agree to delegate some of their authority to a lower management level, giving more power to local governments and individual members of a society, and in the same way transfer some of their sovereignty to a higher level, ceding it to the European Union institutions.

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P. Wapner, *Politics Beyond the State: Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics*, "World Politics" 1993, vol. 47, no. 3, pp. 311–40.

<sup>35</sup> J. Moore, *Kant's ethical community*, "The Journal of Value Inquiry" 1992, vol. 26, pp. 51–71.

<sup>36</sup> In the military field, such cooperation between civilian and military authorities – "CIMIC" (Civil-Military Cooperation) has become a model for the state's supervision over military operations. S.P. Huntington, *Reforming Civil-Military Relations*, "Journal of Democracy" 1995, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 9–17; L. Jenkins, *A CIMIC Contribution to Assessing Progress in Peace Support Operations*, "International Peacekeeping" 2003, vol. 10, iss. 3, pp. 121–36.

It must be remembered here that the European Union is in fact a traditional intergovernmental agreement based on international law (at least in the part concerning the Council of the European Union and the European Council). Moreover, considering the status of the European Commission, the Union is a highly developed supranational organization, whose *acquis communautaire* takes priority over national legislation.<sup>37</sup> The “supranational” mode of gradually reducing national sovereignty and replacing it with quite an enigmatic category of shared sovereignty has far-reaching implications, irrespective of the fact that it is difficult for national states to accept a loss of their sovereignty.<sup>38</sup>

### THE SECULAR CHARACTER OF THE STATE

At present, the vast majority of countries are in fact secular. The religious wars of the 17<sup>th</sup> century clearly revealed the limitations of religion as the basis for the establishment of political communities. State organization generally evolved towards the separation of the religious sphere and that of public policy.<sup>39</sup> As the state became more secular, it no longer drew its legitimacy from religious or transcendental sources.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, as soon as the dualistic, medieval idea of *Corpus christianum*<sup>41</sup> became a thing of the past, it was possible to talk about the state in the strict sense of this word – the secular and church leadership of the political commonwealth. It does not mean, however, that the secular political commonwealth, presently known as the “state,” does not have its own problems. From the very beginning, the formula of a secular state had an effect on the way it functioned. It is connected with the notion of the reason of state (*raison d'état*).

<sup>37</sup> W. Sandholtz, A. Stone Sweet, *Integration, Supranational Governance, and the Institutionalization of the European Polity*, [in:] *European Integration and Supranational Governance*, W. Sandholtz, A. Stone Sweet (eds.), Oxford 2004; A. Menon, S. Weatherill, *Democratic politics in a Globalising World: Supranationalism and legitimacy in the European Union*, “LSE Law, Society and Economy Working Papers” 2007, no. 13.

<sup>38</sup> J. Agnew, *Territory and political identity in Europe*, [in:] *Europe without borders: remapping territory, citizenship, and identity in a transnational age*, M. Berezin, M. Schain (eds.), Baltimore 2003, pp. 219–242.

<sup>39</sup> P. Hamburger, *Separation of Church and State*, New Haven 2002.

<sup>40</sup> The above considerations do not refer to the characteristics of confessional states, which today are located in the cultures that are different from the Western one.

<sup>41</sup> J.A. Jr. Wood, *Christianity and the State*, “Journal of the American Academy of Religion” 1967, vol. XXXV(3), pp. 257–270. See also: J.E. Wood, *Church and State in Historical Perspective: A Critical Assessment and Annotated Bibliography*, Westport 2005.

Another important feature of the secular state is the issue of its legitimacy, thanks to which we find out what being guided by the interest of the state really means and what makes people follow state norms and be driven by the “reason of state?”

In this context, secularity means that, as religious aspects of life vanish, the original sense of politics crystallizes. The modern definition of the reason of state was formulated by Niccolò Machiavelli, whereas Frederick the Great, the King of Prussia, must be considered its chief promoter.<sup>42</sup>

Tolerance introduced by Prussia was based on an indifferent attitude towards the issues of a language, customs and religion. However, the state was far from being tolerant as regards its requirements concerning sovereignty and national security.

Machiavelli's *The Prince* became a symbol of the new approach towards political reality. From then on, the state was defined as the one acting on the basis of the reason of state – Machiavelli described it as a part of the secular world view regarding history and a political system.<sup>43</sup> A political system, “free” from the influence of Divine Providence, was not intended to protect anything but itself. That is why

Machiavelli conceived the idea of the “reason of state,” which was to become an imperative for the country – the duty to protect it at all costs. According to this, all moral or legal norms functioning within the framework of a political system are effective as long as they are able to protect the state, both in internal and foreign affairs.

The secular character of the modern state and an increasingly racially mixed society, which is becoming less homogenous (and more multi-ethnic), causes that the acceptance of nationalism as the functional ideological foundation of the state seems rather a doubtful remedy. Waves of migration, which are triggered off by many factors and are heterogeneous by nature, bring newcomers from

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<sup>42</sup> In one of historical works, we find an accurate description of the Prussian state as a “rational state,” rather than a “national state.” In reality, in Prussia the principle of rationality was considered to be the superior principle in ruling the country. Each royal subject could think, say and write whatever he wanted on the condition that it did not harm the “reason of state.” See: S. Haffner, *The rise and fall of Prussia*, London, 1980 and C. M. Clark, *Iron kingdom: the rise and downfall of Prussia, 1600–1947*, Cambridge 2006.

<sup>43</sup> The traditional view of history was marked by the idea of Divine Providence, according to which “all things are subject to divine providence, not only in general, but even in their own individual selves.” (*Dei providentia mundus administratur, idemque consulit rebus humanis non solum universis, verum etiam singulis*).



abroad, who form a new category of dwellers, who need to become integrated within the society.

This problem draws attention to the mechanisms which should be used by the secular state in order to meet the needs of newcomers and other foreigners. In an increasingly more diverse (racially, ethnically and culturally) society, assimilation, which was traditionally preferred by the advocates of national ideology as the best method of integration, cannot be adopted as the only real solution. It must be noted that the problem of integrating immigrants, who come from such a wide variety of cultures, gives rise to a lot of difficulties. When trying to tackle the new challenges that the modern state faces, one must remember about the significance of long-established ideas, which have shaped our notions and expectations about the national state. The state which so far has been the main actor in international relations and the basic point of reference to international law.

If the state of the globalization era seems to be losing its established prerogatives, which result from traditional constitutional principles: territoriality, sovereignty and secularity, one should ponder about the causes of such a situation. The key to understanding the state's problems in the contemporary age seems to be multiculturalism in internal policy as it undoubtedly reflects current global transformations. The state is losing its monolithic character, not only because of growing interdependence in international relations, but also because its society is becoming less homogeneous and is undergoing fragmentation. As a result of widespread migrations for economic reasons and waves of political refugees looking for an asylum, national societies are disintegrating, becoming more and more differentiated in terms of race, world view and culture. They are creating a characteristic ethnic melting pot, in which new identities may be blended. This problem cannot be solved through the policy of assimilation, which used to be preferred by the state, because circumstances have changed and, regardless of the weakening of state-building ideas, there is a need for adapting to changes brought about by globalization. Societies, which formally live within state borders, irrespective of the growing disintegration, are generally becoming more and more heterogeneous, open and cosmopolitan by nature.

The usefulness of national ideology for solving contemporary problems of the identity of societies and their cohesion seems limited to the old formula of assimilation, which in the new circumstances may become a source of conflict rather than a positive factor which shapes social cohesion. As the more democratic idea of the civil society is more universal by nature, despite its limitations caused by differences in the development of social culture, may play an important role in



the unification of a society, but this is likely to happen in unspecified future. The idea of the secular state also encounters new barriers in many parts of the world because of the renaissance of religion, which appeals to growing masses of immigrants. In these circumstances, the idea of multiculturalism seems to be worth discussing in the context of the above-mentioned problems.

## **MULTICULTURALISM**

At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the mutual link between the secular “reason of state” and the secular nationalism seemed less obvious than in the past and sometimes it is even questioned. The key problem in the conditions of newly formed national commonwealths is the multiculturalism of societies inhabiting the same state territory. In empirical and social categories, multiculturalism involves lack of the homogenous cultural model, which could become the foundation of statehood. In all countries of Europe, long-established national cultures are being continuously enriched and complemented. Refugees and migrations, as well as the internationalization of the labour market, trigger off cultural differentiation in Europe to an unprecedented degree.

What also plays an important role is the fact that more and more indigenous Europeans are deriving pleasure from discovering the Far East spiritual and medical observances. It all leads to interactions of alternatively treated cultural functions, which significantly hampers or even cripples their representative overview.

In the field of politics, multiculturalism involves different social groups’ requests concerning the need for keeping their collective identities. They demand that their particular group identity be publicly recognized through wearing special clothes, celebrating different festivals, using characteristic definitions of gender roles in the practice of social life, introducing specific church architecture or religious rituals, etc.<sup>44</sup>

What is becoming a problem today is the question how to transform the traditional national state so that it will fulfil its integrative function in the conditions of multiculturalism. At present, we observe the tendency to replace national cultures

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<sup>44</sup> W. Kymlicka, *Multicultural odysseys: navigating the new international politics of diversity*, Oxford 2007.

by environmental cultures (such as the culture of fundamentalist environments, traditionalist culture or modernistic culture).

Under the influence of such processes as globalization or internationalization, it is becoming evident that the dividing lines which delineate external borders of social-cultural environments have begun to blur. Unlike geographical borders, they are almost always very easy to cross.<sup>45</sup> We often find it difficult to talk about the European culture, whereas globalized environmental cultures are becoming increasingly common. What is more, environmental cultures tend to form mutually exclusive borders, both in the national and global contexts. Thus, the question arises as to whether the country is able to offer any level of normative integration, which, in the face of such differences, may be always found doubtful.

The question remains whether the postmodern reality and the conditions it has determined is tantamount to the emergence of post-national conditions. It is true that postmodernism seems to be setting the direction of changes today. However, the current state of play and the freshness of experience do not make it possible to authoritatively predict the future shape and scope of the postmodernist transformation of the state.

## FINAL CONCLUSIONS

In the light of the above considerations it must be said that the changing role of the state in internal relations and its position in the international arena are part of the wider process of change, in which the influence of powerful factors of global transformations becomes visible. These changes are of a multiple character and are a series of events of a historical, political, economic, social and cultural nature. Processes of interdependence, integration, globalization and fragmentation significantly influence not only the traditional institutions of state organization, but also affect the sphere of notions and political philosophy which have shaped the modern state. As regards the monolithic character of the state and its extremely dominant position on the global scene, it must be emphasized that changes in the international environment and the associated problems disorganize and weaken the state unit, which has new competitors in the form of international non-government

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<sup>45</sup> R. Schipper, *Book Review: Thomas Meyer, "Identity Mania: Fundamentalism and the Politicization of Cultural Differences"* (London–New York 2001), "Millennium – Journal of International Studies" 2003, vol. 32, pp. 145–147.

and private organizations as well as giant multinational corporations. Some of those huge companies have wealth which often exceeds the assets of small or developing countries, not mentioning bankrupt states. The factors which determine the state's new position in the international system are also of an intangible character. They are associated with the new, post-Westphalian vision of the world order, in which countries are no longer the only constituents of the global system and have to share authority and influence with international organizations and multinational corporations. The new type of international relations, which have changed under the influence of technological innovation and new political ideas, represents a fresh environment, in which the distribution of roles and competences in maintaining the world order as well as the division of responsibility have not yet been established. Although the changes affecting the postmodern state are comprehensive, they become more evident when we view them from the perspective of the three main principles of state organization: territoriality, sovereignty and secularity. Countries in the contemporary, post-Westphalian world face the need for re-evaluating their fundamental ideas, such as sovereignty, the reason of state or the national interest. The state also has to establish the rules of their participation in the polycentric world, in which they still play a stabilizing role. They bear greater responsibility, coupled with the need for cooperation with other participants of international relations, which will be based on partnership rather than dominance.

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*Marta Dorenda-Zaborowicz*

## **THE IMPACT OF INEQUALITIES ON THE STABILITY OF THE GLOBAL SOCIETY**

### **ABSTRACT**

The article analyses the impact of inequalities on the stability of the global society. The author asks questions concerning the reasons for global inequalities. The link between globalization and global inequalities is presented as well as the connections between the free market rules and the growing gap between the North and the South. Some solutions to the problem are also suggested.

**Keywords:** inequalities, globalisation, free market, capitalism

### **INTRODUCTION**

**T**HE CRITICS AND proponents of globalization wage a fierce debate over the effects of globalization on inequality. Are the world's rich and the world's poor growing closer together or further apart? Can the global international society which contains both extremely rich and extremely poor states be viable over the longer term? A decade ago, there was a general scholarly consensus that global disparities of wealth and income arose between 1970 and 1990. However, more recently the negative impact of globalization on inequality has been questioned, especially by economists suggesting that globalization tends to create a more equal world. The debate is becoming more and more severe.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> B. Milanovic, *Global Income Inequality: What It Is and Why It Matters*, World Bank research paper WPS 3865 (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2.03.2006), [go.worldbank.org/XSKB9QVEE0](http://go.worldbank.org/XSKB9QVEE0),

The proponents make claims such as “globalization has brought the world together on a level playing field,” while the critics contend that “globalization has created an unequal world.” Such general statements, from supporters of globalization and from detractors alike, are too sweeping to be accurate.

It is very clear, however, that current global inequality levels – whether they have been moving up or down – stand very high. The inequality of income, for instance, is as severe in the global society as it is in any particular country in the world. Let us consider the degree of economic disparity in some of the most economically unequal countries in the world, like South Africa, Guatemala, and Brazil. If we envision the whole world as one society – which is precisely what globalization encourages us to do – we would see that the economic inequality among the world population is greater than it is within the countries marked by economic disparity and social fractures.

It is precisely the rising consciousness of an interconnected world – the globalization of our imagination – that calls us to think anew about the social and political implications of global inequality. Global inequalities of particular kinds and of a severe degree are grave matters of political and economic consequence. Therefore, we should care about both poverty and inequality as far as their impact on the future of global international society.<sup>2</sup>

## **A LINK BETWEEN GLOBALISATION AND GLOBAL INEQUALITY**

It is often implicitly assumed that the changes in global inequality can be interpreted as telling us whether globalization leads to widening or shrinking income differences among individuals in the world. However, the causal link between globalization and global inequality is very difficult to make. To see this, let us consider several ways in which globalization affects inequality among individuals in the world. The first channel goes through globalization's effects on within-country distributions. As we would expect from economic theory, the effect varies between rich and poor countries. In the simplest Heckscher-Ohlin world, globaliza-

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accessed 19.02.2011; N. Birdsall, *The World is Not Flat: Inequality and Injustice in our Global World*, WIDER Annual Lecture 2005 (Helsinki, Finland: World Institute of Development Economics Research, 2005), [www.wider.unu.edu/publications/publications.htm](http://www.wider.unu.edu/publications/publications.htm), accessed 19.02.2011.

<sup>2</sup> D.A. Hicks, *Global Inequality*, Center For Christian Ethics, Baylor University 2007, [www.baylor.edu/christianethics/GlobalWealthArticleHicks.pdf](http://www.baylor.edu/christianethics/GlobalWealthArticleHicks.pdf), accessed 19.02.2011.

tion would increase demand for, and the wages of, low-skilled labour in poor countries and the wages of high-skilled workers in the rich world. Consequently, we would expect income distribution in poor countries to become “better” and income distribution in rich countries to get “worse.” This is not, however, consistent with what has been observed over the last twenty years when distribution in poor, middle-income and rich countries has grown more unequally.<sup>3</sup> This is an issue which has recently been studied a lot and is still the subject to intense debate: Is openness to blame for increasing wage and income differences in the US? Is openness associated with rising income inequality in poor countries? For example, Milanovic<sup>4</sup> and Ravallion<sup>5</sup> find that openness is associated with increased inequality in poor countries, and lower inequality in rich countries, while Dollar and Kraay<sup>6</sup> argue that there is no systematic effect of openness on inequality.

Then, and this is the second channel, globalization may differently affect mean income in poor and rich countries: in other words, it might lead to divergence or convergence in country incomes. There is no unanimity on this point either. Most authors agree that openness is positively associated with mean income growth, but some of them<sup>7</sup> find the effect stronger for poor countries, while others<sup>8</sup> argue that the openness premium has been larger for rich than for poor countries during the last twenty years. The first group of authors would expect openness to lead to shrinking differences in national average incomes. Therefore, they have to explain away the observed divergence in country average incomes by the lack of openness among the laggards. According to the second group of authors, the divergence is an indication that the effects of openness might change over time, and that openness, even if positive for all on balance, may exacerbate inter-country inequality. Third, the effects of globalization may vary between populous and small countries.

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<sup>3</sup> G.A. Cornia, S. Kiiski, *Trends in income distribution in the post WWII period: Evidence and Interpretation*, <http://www.wider.unu.edu/research/1998-1999-3.1.publications.htm>, accessed 20.02. 2011.

<sup>4</sup> B. Milanovic, *Worlds Apart: Global and International Inequality, 1950-2000*, Princeton 2005.

<sup>5</sup> M. Ravallion, *Growth, inequality and poverty: Looking beyond averages*, “World Development” 2011, no. 29, pp. 1803-1815.

<sup>6</sup> D. Dollar, A. Kraay, *Growth is good for the poor*, “Journal of Economic Growth” 2002, no. 7, pp. 195-225.

<sup>7</sup> J. Sachs, D. Warner, *Fundamental sources of long-run growth*, “American Economic Review” 1997, no. 87, pp. 184-188.

<sup>8</sup> B. DeLong, S. Dowrick, *Globalization and convergence*, [in:] *Globalization in Historical Perspective*, M. Bordo, A.M. Taylor, J. Williamson (eds.), Chicago 2003; S. Dowrick, J. Golley, *Trade openness and growth: Who benefits*, “Oxford Review of Economic Policy” 2004, no. 20, pp. 38-56.

This area has not been much explored except in the context of the rather limited (in scope and number) studies of small island economies. Yet, one can imagine that globalization may play out differently in populous countries with large domestic markets, or in small niche economies like Hong Kong, Singapore or Luxembourg, than in middle-size countries.

And finally, and possibly, most importantly, the effect of globalization on global inequality will depend on history, that is on whether populous countries happen to be poor or rich at a given point in time. To see this, let us assume for a moment that globalization has a positive impact on the growth rates of populous and poor countries, and has no effect on internal income distribution. This means, in the current constellation of world income, that India and China will be expected to catch up with the rich world, while their national distributions will not change, and global inequality will tend to decrease. There will be both average-income convergence and reduction of global inequality. But let us decouple the poor and populous countries. Suppose that India and China are rich (and still populous) and let most poor countries be relatively small. Now, average-income convergence will continue, but the effect on global inequality will be ambiguous. China and India will benefit from the pro-big bias of globalization, but since they will rich, globalization will be less beneficial to them than to poor countries. These two effects will pull in opposite directions, and global inequality may go down or up. Moreover, if populous countries are generally poor, the convergence effect is nil, globalization on average favours small countries and leads to the widening of national income distribution, then the overall effect must be to increase global inequality. This illustrates a key point: even if the effects of globalization on internal inequality, average-income convergence, and populous vs. small countries, are unambiguous and do not change over time, globalization's impact on global inequality will vary depending on where countries with different attributes happen to lie with regard the international income distribution at a given point in time. The implication is, of course, that all statements about the relationship between globalization and global inequality are highly time-specific, contingent on the past income history, and not general.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> B. Milanovic, *Global Income Inequality: What It Is And Why It Matters?*, "Economic and Social Affairs" August 2006, [http://www.un.org/esa/desa/papers/2006/wp26\\_2006.pdf](http://www.un.org/esa/desa/papers/2006/wp26_2006.pdf), accessed 19.02.2011.

## FREE MARKET FOR ALL

It is not easy for citizens deeply influenced by the modern discourse on freedom and individualism to focus on the disparities and corresponding deprivations that economic free markets allow or even exacerbate. Economic arguments about growth, productivity, and efficiency are often taken as a kind of immutable reality that cannot and should not be questioned. The names of Adam Smith and Alfred Marshall, the respective “fathers” of classical and neo-classical economics, are invoked to assert that the economy and its Invisible Hand should be left alone. The fact that Adam Smith himself was a moral philosopher who believed that the economy should operate within a wider framework of justice is less often noted. More specifically to the issue of economic deprivation, Smith insisted that all citizens should have the means “to appear in public without shame,” means that are always relative to the society in which one lives.<sup>10</sup> Alfred Marshall added that poverty and its alleviation “are at the heart of economic studies”<sup>11</sup> Smith and Marshall would be deeply troubled by economists and others who believe that inequality and poverty are not the matters of public concern. We must attend to all indicators that give some idea of the effects of the economy on persons’ actual well-being. The moral bottom line is the impact of economic policies and conditions on people’s lives.

## GROWING GAP

According to the UNDP Human Development Report (HDR) 2009 only 9 countries (4% of the world’s population) have reduced the wealth gap between rich and poor, whilst 80% of the world’s population have recorded an increase in wealth inequality. The report states that “the richest 50 individuals in the world have a combined income greater than that of the poorest 416 million. The 2.5 billion people living on less than \$2 a day – 40% of the world’s population – receive only 5% of global income, while 54% of global income goes to the richest 10% of the world’s population.”<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, London 1991, pp. 351–352.

<sup>11</sup> A. Marshall, *Introduction to Principles of Economics*, London 1980.

<sup>12</sup> Human Development Report 2009, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2009/>, accessed 19.02.2011.



The UN's Report on the World's Social Situation 2010: *Rethinking Poverty*, identifies non-economic aspects of global inequality (such as inequalities in health, education, employment, gender and opportunities for social and political participation), as causing and exacerbating poverty. These institutionalised inequalities result in greater marginalisation within society. The report emphasises the inevitable social disintegration, violence as well as national and international terrorism that this inequality fosters. Ironically, the diversion of social development funds to national/international security and military operations produces further deprivation and marginalization, thus creating a vicious cycle.<sup>13</sup>

In agreement with previous analyses, the above reports identify the forces of globalization, deregulation and liberalization as key contributory factors to global inequality. The HDR 2009 cites the unjust global trade regime as a primary cause in increasing global inequality. The countries of the South would benefit much more in financial terms if they were able to trade equitably with the North rather than receive funds through official development assistance (ODA). However, the North's agricultural subsidies alone cost developing countries' economies nearly as much as they receive in ODA each year. Even the World Bank's World Development Report 2009 'Equity and Development' makes recommendations to end subsidies and tariffs and create an even playing field. Despite widespread recognition of these facts, the South is forced to continue trading on unfair terms, and the consecutive World Trade talks continue to neglect the needs of the majority world. In spite of apparent efforts, it thus becomes more and more common.

## **INEQUALITIES AS A GLOBAL PROBLEM**

Despite a general conviction, this growing inequality is not confined to the global South but is rampant in economically powerful nations. The most striking fact is the growing level of inequality in the USA, a country with the highest GNP and the primary exponent of the "Washington Consensus." Economic inequality has continued to increase in the USA since the late 1970s. This inequality can be seen in numerous aspects of socio-economic life, such as growing income disparities, loss of opportunities – especially for women and minorities, the inequality in health, education and crucially, political participation. One in eight people

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<sup>13</sup> Report on the World Social Situation, <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/rwss/index-print.html>, accessed 19.02.2011.

in the USA live in poverty and for a 'developed' country it has an unusually low life expectancy level. These factors highlight the extremely distorted benefits of the free market model, even within national borders.

Given the overwhelming evidence of the inability of the political economy to reduce inequality and deal with non-economic aspects of prosperity, why are free market policies so ardently pursued by economically powerful nations? The answer is, unsurprisingly, profitability. According to the International Forum on Globalization, 52 of the top 100 wealthiest economic entities are corporations as opposed to states. Unlike in the case national countries, however, the key beneficiaries are a limited number of shareholders. It is the economic activities of these corporations that are so vital to the economic power and income of their countries of origin. The share of corporate profit as a portion of national income is at its highest for at least 25 years, and year on year growth in corporate profits is at an all-time high. But, of course, the distribution of these profits is highly distorted. According to *The Economist*, over the past three years American corporate profits have risen by 60%, whereas wage income by only 10%. The neoliberal approach clearly favours corporate interests. Their vast resources and influence on governments and International Financial Institutions through their billion dollar lobbying activities is considerable. This influence, combined with the competitive, economic growth based directives pursued by dominant governments has promoted this model at the expense of the global public – a clear indictment of the democratic process.<sup>14</sup> However, such analysis indicates that the problem of inequalities concerns not only the field of relations between the South and the North, but also the economies perceived as highly developed, which, consequently, enforces the statement that the phenomenon is global.

## PROPOSITIONS OF CHANGES

Having reviewed 41 years of high level reports on poverty and inequality (since the Pearson Report 1969), it becomes clear that any alleviation of inequality is increasingly subdued by the growing levels of economic competition between developed countries, and fueled by profit driven commercial interests. Ultimately, measures to create equality must entail a net transfer of resources from the richest

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<sup>14</sup> R. Makwana, *Global Inequality*, <http://www.stwr.org/poverty-inequality/global-inequality.html>, accessed 19.02.2011.

5% of the population to the majority world – the 40% of the world who currently live on less than \$2 a day. Such a transfer requires international cooperation and the redirection of economic and political policy away from the existing competitive, growth driven regime, to a more cooperative, equitable framework. Given the absolute involvement of corporate interests in maintaining existing conditions of global inequality, new regulations capping the power and influence of corporations, and preventing their ability to exacerbate local, national or global inequality, without curbing their ability for innovation must be sought by the global public. Concerted public effort along these lines is crucial if the international political economy is to be rendered democratic and guided by the global public for their own benefit.

The hypothetical sharing of essential global resources to secure basic human needs would entail the removal of corporate control over them, allowing them to be cooperatively owned and managed by the global public, under the guidance of the United Nations. One of the primary results of sharing resources and regulating markets would be drastic reduction in the disparities in wealth and income, access to food, water, energy, healthcare, education, technology and political participation. Marginalisation would be dramatically reduced and the underlying framework of international cooperation necessary to implement a redistributive economic system would inherently foster peaceful relations among nations. Such is the vision proposed by alterglobalists, who seek for solutions at the expense of international corporations and other subjects of economy on the highest level.

## **THE EVIL CAPITALISM**

The cultural ties that bind the super-rich to everyone else are also beginning to weaken. Since World War II, the United States in particular has had an ethos of aspirational capitalism. As George Soros once told, “it is easier to be rich in America than in Europe, because Europeans envy the billionaire, but Americans hope to emulate him.” But as the wealth gap has grown wider, and the rich have appeared to benefit disproportionately from government bailouts, that admiration has weakened. There is more and more criticism of the super-elite, expressed even by its representatives. At a *Wall Street Journal* conference in December 2009, Paul Volcker, the legendary former head of the Federal Reserve, argued that Wall Street’s claims of wealth creation were without any real basis. “I wish someone,” he said, “would give me one shred of neutral evidence that financial innovation has led to

economic growth-one shred of evidence.” At Google’s May Zeitgeist gathering, Desmond Tutu, the opening speaker, took direct aim at executive compensation. “I do have a very real concern about capitalism,” he lectured the gathered executives. “The Goldman Sachs thing. I read that one of the directors general-whatever they are called, CEO-took away one year as his salary \$64 million. *Sixty-four million dollars.*” He sputtered to a stop, momentarily stunned by this sum (though, by the standards of Wall Street and Silicon Valley compensation, it’s not actually that much money). In an op-ed in *The Wall Street Journal* last year, even the economist Klaus Schwab-founder of the World Economic Forum and its iconic Davos meeting-warned that “the entrepreneurial system is being perverted,” and businesses that “fall back into old habits and excesses” could “undermine social peace.”<sup>15</sup>

## THE REASONS FOR A CHANGE

All the arguments cited above concern rather moral questions and a matter of social justice or injustice. Nevertheless, the co-existence of extremely poor and rich states causes a severe problem of financing the former by the latter. In September 2000, the 189 countries of the United Nations unanimously agreed to “spare no effort to free our fellow men, women and children from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty,” specifically hunger and the “major diseases that afflict humanity.”

It would be expensive to accomplish this great objective, and the price was later estimated at about \$195 billion a year. It would be very difficult for this amount of money to be raised by private charities or individuals. It would require the combined efforts of governments throughout the world to do it. In the March 2002 Monterrey Conference, 22 of the world’s wealthiest countries agreed to make “concrete efforts” towards the goal of each giving 0.7 per cent of their national income as aid to the poorest countries. This conference was attended by British Prime Minister Tony Blair, U.S. President George Bush, French President Jacques Chirac, and many other world leaders. In the September 2002 Johannesburg Summit, these same 22 counties re-affirmed their commitment to reach the 0.7% goal. This would provide enough money to raise the amount of \$195 billion per year.

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<sup>15</sup> C. Freeland, *The Rise of The New Global Elite*, “The Atlantic,” January/February 2011, <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/print/2011/01/the-rise-of-the-new-global-elite/8343/>, accessed 19.02.2011.

The countries made this agreement because they realised that it was hard for each of them to give a consistent, minimum level of aid each year on their own. Despite good intentions, a country would find that the aid it wanted to give was eaten away by competing political interests, concern about budget deficits, “problems at home,” “problems abroad,” etc. So they agreed to a minimal, flat rate that each country could afford each year regardless of its current political or economic state.<sup>16</sup>

The increase awareness of the problems of developing countries is not a sole reason for taking steps against global inequalities. To fight them effectively, it is essential to maintain economic stability in richer states. Maintaining economic stability is partly a matter of avoiding economic and financial crisis. Economic stability also means avoiding large swings in economic activity, high inflation, and excessive volatility in exchange rates and financial markets. Such instability can increase uncertainty and discourage investment, impede economic growth, and hurt living standards. The dynamic market economy must involve some degree of instability, as well as gradual structural change. The challenge for policymakers is to minimize this instability without reducing the ability of the economic system to raise living standards through the increasing productivity, efficiency, and employment that it generates.<sup>17</sup>

Economic and financial stability is both a national and a multilateral concern. As recent experience in the world financial markets has shown, countries are becoming ever more interconnected. Problems in one apparently isolated sector, within any one country, can result in problems in other sectors and spread across borders. Global economic and financial conditions have a significant impact on the developments in most national economies. Taking into consideration the fact that the most developed national economies allocate part of their funds in less developed systems, it becomes essential to guarantee a certain level of stability for the richer ones – if, as a result of instability, more developed economies cease their help towards poorer states, the risk of the global economic crisis, deeper than the one we experience nowadays, becomes real.

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<sup>16</sup> 2009 International Aid, <http://www.poverty.com/internationalaid.html>, accessed 19.02.2011.

<sup>17</sup> *How the IMF Promotes Global Economic Stability*, <http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/facts/globstab.htm>, accessed 19.02.2011.

## DO GLOBAL INEQUALITIES REALLY MATTER?

As one may expect, there are two views concerning this question. A certain group of people claims that the notion of “global inequalities” is irrelevant, as there is no global government or global civil society. According to this opinion, what really matters, are the national inequalities, because they are the content of public discourse and they organise the interest groups. Another reason for the irrelevance of global inequalities is the fact that only changes in absolute income matter to the poor and the rich alike.<sup>18</sup> In the words of Anne Krueger, “poor people are desperate to improve their material conditions rather than to march up the income distribution ladder.” Thus, even if the absolute income gap between an average American and an average African increases, these authors are unconcerned. After all, they argue, the average African would be a bit less poor. This, of course, assumes that our income relative to the incomes of others does not matter. Yet, this conclusion is at odds with psychological studies that invariably show that people do not care only about their absolute income, but also about where they stand in the social pyramid, and also whether they think this position to be fair.<sup>19</sup>

Or – quite opposite – global inequality may matter. On this side of the issue, there are also different approaches. For Thomas Pogge and Sanjay Reddy, as well as Peter Singer, global poverty and global inequality are ethical issues. Hence, the rich world cannot disown all interest in global poverty and inequality: to some extent, the fate of every individual in the world affects us. Distributional justice within a nation, and in the world as a whole, is – from the ethical perspective – the same thing.<sup>20</sup>

There are also more pragmatic reasons why global inequality may matter. Kuznets produced the following statement half a century ago: “Since it is only

<sup>18</sup> A.O. Krueger, *Supporting globalization*, remarks at the Eisenhower National Security Conference on ‘National Security for the 21st Century: Anticipating Challenges, Seizing Opportunities, Building Capabilities’, 26 September 2002, <http://www.imf.org/external/np/speeches/2002/092602a.htm>, accessed 19.02.2011; M. Feldstein, *Reducing poverty not inequality*, “Public Interest” Fall 1999, pp. 33–43.

<sup>19</sup> C. Graham, A. Felton, *Does inequality matter to individual welfare? An exploration based on household surveys in Latin America*, Center on Economic and Social Dynamics Working Paper No. 38, Washington 2005; R.H. Frank, *Positional externalities cause large and preventable welfare losses*, “American Economic Review” 2005, no. 95 (2), pp. 137–151.

<sup>20</sup> T.W. Pogge, S. Reddy, *Unknown: The extent, distribution, and trend of global income poverty*, <http://www.columbia.edu/~sr793/povpop.pdf>, accessed 19.02.2011; P. Singer, *One World: The Ethics of Globalization*, New Haven 2002.

through contact that recognition and tension are created, one could argue that the reduction of physical misery associated with low income and consumption levels permit an increase rather than a diminution of political tensions because the political misery of the poor, the tension created by the observation of the much greater wealth of other communities may have only increased.”<sup>21</sup> When people observe each other and interact, it is no longer simply a national yardstick that they have in mind when they compare their income with the income of others, but an international or global one. What globalization does is to increase awareness of other people’s income, and therefore, the perception (knowledge) of inequalities among both the poor and the rich. If it does so among the poor, then their aspirations change: they may no longer be satisfied with small increases in their own real income, if they know that other people are gaining much more. Therefore, the process of globalization by itself changes the perception of one’s position, and even if globalization may raise everybody’s real income, it could exacerbate, rather than moderate, feelings of despondency and deprivation among the poor.

Globalization, in that sense, is no different from the process which led to the creation of modern nation states out of isolated, and often mutually estranged, hamlets. National income distribution was similarly an abstraction for the people who did not interact with each other, and almost ignored each other’s existence and way of life. However, once nation-states came into existence, national inequality became an issue – simply because people were able to compare their own standards of living and to make judgments as to whether these income differences were deserved or not. If one believes that the process of globalization would slowly lead to the formation of a global polity, then global inequality will indeed become a relevant issue. For it is difficult to envisage that a fully free exchange of goods, technology and information, transfer of capital, and some freedom in the movement of people can go on for a long time without creating a global polity of sorts and requiring decision-making processes at the global level.

If so, then we need to develop some rules for global redistribution. The first rule is that funds should flow from richer to poorer countries. This requirement is easily satisfied. Even today, bilateral aid is given by rich to poor countries (not the other way round). But in a globalized world, this is not enough. Redistribution needs to be globally progressive – that is, to satisfy the same criteria that we require from it within a nation-state. This means that the tax-payer ought to be richer than the beneficiary of the transfer. But both rules may be satisfied while the beneficiary

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<sup>21</sup> S. Kuznets, *Economic Growth and Structure: Selected Essays*, New Delhi 2002, pp. 173–174.

is a relatively rich individual in a poor country and the tax payer is a relatively poor individual in a rich country. And it is precisely the perception that many transfers end up in the pockets of the rich elite in poor countries which is fuelling the current discontent with multilateral and bilateral aid. Thus, the third requirement ought to be that transfers be such that inequality decreases in both donor and recipient countries. Only in such conditions can the global society stay viable over the long term.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> B. Milanovic, *Global Income Inequality: What It Is And Why It Matters?*...



## **PATHS IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONTEMPORARY THEORY OF THE STATE**

### **ABSTRACT**

The theory of the state today has developed from a variety of disciplinary perspectives and is subject to a myriad of theoretical approaches. The state has changed with time and in this article the author indicates how the concept of the state in political science has reflected it. The article focuses on the contemporary state theories. The author claims that a “new wave” of theories of the state is changing our understanding of the state and results in the fundamental re-evaluation of politics, power and the state. The author puts particular emphasis on the cultural turn in the theory of the state and tries to examine how the globalization debate and the emergence of the globalization perspective in social sciences have affected the theory of the state.

**Keywords:** state, cultural turn, post-modernism, global turn, complexity turn

**POLITICAL SCIENCE** IS especially concerned with the macro-social political order, viewed as an institutionalized and formalized system, with the help of which some individuals and groups gain, maintain and exercise authority over others. The state is at the heart of this order, and thus it has always played a significant role in political science research. The state is considered to be an important subject of politics, which to a large degree shapes a specific social-political reality, transforming it in accordance with its own interest and needs. Political phenomena are so strictly connected with the functioning of the state that in many previous works on politics its research was identified with the study of the state and its bodies of authority. Most contem-

porary researchers also have no doubts about the central position of the state in political relations, and the state is viewed as the basic form of the organization of political life. That is why political science is often defined as the study of the state or the knowledge of its bodies and institutions as well as of relations between countries. The state is the subject of research of many disciplines and this term has a wide range of meanings. They include: a set of institutions, a territorial unit, a philosophical idea, and an instrument of coercion or oppression.

The deliberations on the state – its origin, transformations, the source and scope of state power, the legitimacy of different political systems – have always been part of the discussion on the social life of the man. Issues of the state have been subject to numerous studies, the purpose of which is to try to answer the question what the state is and what role it plays in human communities. It stems from the fact that the state has emerged as a result of processes occurring in the structure of human societies. This institution is under constant change triggered by transformations in the organization of social life. Its dynamics has been always connected with the dynamics of the society. The current developments in the field of political science have brought the revival of the debate on the nature of the organization of the state. It is a consequence of great civilization changes (the information revolution, globalization, the emergence of the so-called information society), which are believed to affect the function and organization of state authority, or to generally influence the sphere of politics. Therefore, some scholars indicate that the definition of the state used in contemporary political science was developed in the industrial era and refers to a specific kind of the organization of the state, i.e. the modern national state. Civilization changes cause that previous definitions are unable to adequately reflect the real essence of the contemporary organization of the state. Therefore, it is proposed that old concepts should be abandoned and some new ideas, which would help to explain the role and meaning of the state in social life – should be pursued. The theory of the state evolves and tries to keep up with sudden civilization changes. The changing social reality requires new conceptualization, thus it will be useful to study the direction in which the contemporary theories of the state are developing.

In the classical formulas, the state is viewed as a large and complex social group with a common purpose. It is assumed that it is a separate state of institutions, which has a power to establish the rules governing the society. In the subjective aspect, i.e. from the perspective of the group which forms it, it is a political organization of the sovereign territorial community.<sup>1</sup> The way in which the state

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<sup>1</sup> G. Skąpska, *Państwo*, [in:] *Encyklopedia socjologii*, vol. 3, Warszawa 2000, p. 56.

is understood and defined in contemporary political science has been particularly influenced by the tradition of Georg Jellinek and Max Weber. In his main work, *The General Theory of the State*, Georg Jellinek (1851–1911) proposed a brief definition of the state, which took into account three main elements: population, territory and supreme authority. He believed that the state is a group of people, inhabiting a limited part of land, and equipped with ruling authority, which all makes it a unity.<sup>2</sup> Hence, the literature on the subject often presents a view of the state as the political organization of a society, which occurs at a specified stage of the development of the mankind, when the state-specific constitutive factors – population, territory and supreme authority – emerge. Jellinek's concepts significantly influenced later scholars who defined the state broadly as a community of people inhabiting a specific area, which is subject to supreme authority.<sup>3</sup> Max Weber was another scholar whose ideas had a huge impact on the academic debate on the state. According to Weber, the state is a rational organization, which functions thanks to the existence of the professional administration apparatus (government), which implements public tasks and has a monopoly for the application of coercive measures towards the inhabitants of a given territory. The present thinking about the state still perceives the organization element as the constitutive feature of the state, because the state requires the political apparatus of authority (institutions, such as parliament and civil service), which governs a given territory, and the power of which is based on the system of law and on the possibility of using institutionalized coercion in order to accomplish specific political goals.

The contemporary definitions of the state, which are also present in the Polish literature on the subject, emphasize that the state is a political association, which establishes the sovereign law and exercises power through the system of permanent institutions. These institutions have a public character as they bear responsibility for the collective organization of public life and are financed with public funds. It is assumed that, as the political organization of a territorial community, the state is an “organization which controls the community which inhabits a specific territory,” and is: different from other organizations operating in the same area;

1) autonomous;

2) centralized;

and

3) the activities of their constituent elements are coordinated;

<sup>2</sup> G. Jellinek, *The General Theory of the State*, part 2, 1900, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> See: M. Chmaj, M. Żmigrodzki, *Wprowadzenie do teorii polityki*, Lublin 1998, p. 162.

the state

- 4) has the exclusive right to use force;
- 5) integrates the society and secures its survival.<sup>4</sup>

The concepts of Jellinek and Weber represent the “classical” thinking about the state, which often prevails in the theory of politics. In the contemporary literature, there is a dominant view that the state is the political organization of a community inhabiting a specific territory. As the term is popularly understood, the state is a legal-political institution equipped with legal means of force, and at the same time it is a national community, the intrinsic good of all its members. The notion of the state is commonly associated with everything which is public, including officials and offices, functionaries of different bodies of public authority, courts, police and military service.

The works of Jellinek and Weber were devoted to the analysis of the phenomenon which was contemporary to those scholars – the centralized national state being the product of the modern era. However, their classical concepts have been criticized in social science of recent years and some new approaches in the thinking about the state have appeared. More and more attention is being paid to the fact that at the present stage of the development of the mankind, civilization changes, such as, for example, the emergence of the information society and globalization, lead to the fundamental transformation of the organization of the state. Although the state remains an important centre of the concentration of political power, its character is considerably changing.

The debate on the contemporary state puts emphasis on the fact that globalization and the information revolution have contributed to the reduction of the state’s control over the sphere in which it has exercised authority so far. All three kinds of the state’s sovereignty – political, economic, and cultural – have become limited. Moreover, globalization processes have significantly modified the relations between the three constituents of the state and its international environment: borders, population and power. The authority of contemporary national states is being constantly undermined both from the “top” and from the “bottom;” both by external pressure (from the international environment) and the internal one (from the inhabitants of a given state territory). It is more and more frequently assumed that the centralized national state, equipped with the same prerogatives as before,

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<sup>4</sup> See: A. Heywood, *Politics*, New York 1997; P. Dunleavy, *The State*, [in:] *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy*, R.E. Goodin and Ph. Pettit (eds.), Oxford 1993, p. 777; G. Skąpska, op.cit., p. 57.

is too big to effectively solve regional or local problems (thus, smaller territorial units and communities strive for more autonomy and want to delegate some of their competence regarding the development of the socio-economic order), and at the same time too small to tackle global challenges. That is why the organization of social and political life is undergoing gradual changes: the state is being decentralized, delegating some of its competence to local communities and authorities. The international subjectivity of the state is also being reduced. As states accept the obligations resulting from the norms of the international law and acknowledge the existence of international and transnational institutions, they transfer part of their sovereignty of their own free will. Therefore, the development of the structures and mechanisms of controlling social life on a global scale has become a vital element of the process of the transformation of the national state. Interactions among different actors participating in international politics are becoming increasingly frequent and intense, ranging from customary *ad hoc* cooperation and formal collaboration within an organization to cooperation within the network of non-government actors, or even “virtual” interactions between communities via the Internet.

Civilization transformations are accompanied by deep changes in the way the world is understood and depicted. Changes occurring in social reality have evoked the need for seeking new research paradigms, which will correspond to modern challenges, such as: the growing mobility of people, objects, pictures, information as well as complex interdependency.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, in the development of modern humanities we observe a departure from static system models and the growing emphasis on the dynamic process character of social life. As a response to the challenges mentioned above, the metaphor of the “field” of social fabric models – viewed as a liquid and constantly moving mosaic, changing matrix of human actions and interactions – has become more commonly used. We are also less interested in the “hard” issues of institutions, social organization or structure, and have become more concerned with the “soft” issues of culture, including systems of value, meanings, norms and rules, forms of discourse and group mentality. The analyses of social reality have emphasized “soft” intangibles, such as meanings, symbols, rules, values, norms, principles, framework and forms of discourse.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See: J. Urry, *Sociology Beyond Societies. Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century*, London 2000, pp. 11–14.

<sup>6</sup> See: P. Sztompka, *Zaufanie*, Kraków 2007, p. 28.

In the past decades, political science, trying to cope with the challenges of the social reality analysis, has gone through a few characteristic “turns.” One of them is the *cultural turn*, which to a large extent influenced the way in which political scientists analyse such traditional subject areas as: authority, state, violence, civil society, social movements. It was connected with the increased interest in the cultural aspects of social life and the recognition that they are the key to explaining the principles of the political and economic development of individual societies. Culture is now thought to determine almost everything.<sup>7</sup> The cultural, or post-modernist breakthrough in political science had a particularly significant influence on the sudden revival of this discipline at the turn of the 1980s, opening up new research perspectives and inspiring new, innovative studies.

Another significant turning point was the *global turn*, associated with the process of globalization. The global turn in political science was part of the growing interest of humanities in the causes, effects and future of globalization processes. Transformations in the modern world are of a global character. These changes have considerable influence on science, as a social activity of the man, used for gathering and synthesizing knowledge about the world and for identifying laws governing them. Hence, as the contemporary world is subject to globalization processes and has become a “unity,” humanities should be characterized by a global insight into the natural environment, economy, society, culture, and politics, too.

The third important breakthrough in contemporary political sociology was the so-called *complexity turn*, associated with common departure from static system models in humanities and focusing on the process character of social life, which is constantly developing. The complexity turn was strictly connected with the global turn: it became evident that the pace of change in the social world surrounding us is so fast that social science is unable to keep up with it, and the global dimension of the world is characterized by high complexity, i.e. the globalized world constitutes a complex system – a dynamic system, in which it is difficult to establish clear borders and the existing dependencies (relations) are non-linear. The complexity turn was meant to be a response to the difficulties in explaining the global social and political reality. It is a scientific analysis based on dynamics, lack of balance, emphasizing the multiplicity of factors, the existence of various

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<sup>7</sup> See: D. Landes, *Culture Makes Almost All the Difference*, [in:] *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress*, L.E. Harrison and S.P. Huntington (eds.), New York 2000, p. 42.

sections of development paths, historically rooted dependencies and intrinsic uncertainty.<sup>8</sup>

Civilization changes and new research perspectives in humanities have strongly influenced the contemporary theories of the state and the revision of former methods of analysis. What played a particularly important role in the evolution of the modern theory of the state was the cultural turn, which questioned many of the key concepts and research approaches of the past. The culturalist approach to the analysis of political phenomena led to the revival of interest in the works of Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser, as well as in the issues of the ideological hegemony and ideological apparatuses of the state. In the deliberations on the sphere of politics, it was emphasized that violence, which is inextricably linked with the field of politics and state authority, does not need to have a “physical,” or “visible” character, and the focus shifted to its metaphorical or symbolic forms. One of the biggest contributions to this new approach to violence came from Michel Foucault, who believed that forms of violence may be seen in everyday social discourses and practices, and from Pierre Bourdieu, who developed the notion of symbolic violence, which referred to all forms of instilling norms and patterns of social behaviour.

The cultural turn in the theory of the state questioned the perception of the state as a centralised, hierarchically constructed and sovereign organism in favour of the analysis of the state as a certain cultural form and the analysis of relations between culture and the state. What played an important role was the fact that Emil Durkheim’s classical works were once again appreciated as well the meaning of signs, symbols and rituals in human life and the perception of the state as a place of rituals and symbols. The problem of the importance of the state and public authority was also discussed by Clifford Geertz. His works on Bali and the so-called politics of meaning are an interesting example of the “cultural turn” in the theory of the state and of viewing the state as a specific cultural phenomenon. While analysing the Balinese society, Geertz put emphasis on the fact that the country’s political institutions are built on the cultural basis. He made an effort to discuss the cultural foundations of Bali, i. e. its beliefs and values, mostly of a religious character, which revived and guided it, gave it a meaning and shape, and then he analysed social structure arrangements and the political tools by means of which the state main-

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<sup>8</sup> See: J. Urry, *Społeczeństwa i wymiar globalny*, [in:] *Socjologia. Lektury*, P. Sztompka, M. Kuciam (eds.), Kraków 2005, p. 705.

tained the direction of development and achieved the desired shape.<sup>9</sup> In his analysis, Geertz emphasized the symbolic expression of power through rituals and symbols, and he indicated that authority exists in and through rituals and symbols. For Geertz, ceremony and ritual determined the essence of the state and justified its existence. State bureaucracy in Bali bore the main responsibility for organizing mass rituals representing the essence of politics.

The cultural turn led to the abandonment of thinking about the state as a set of institutions in favour of the view that the state is a set of activities and cultural practices – a dynamic reality. What shaped the new approach to the phenomenon of the state was the works of a French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. He noted that the main problem related to the issue of the state is the fact that most research papers on this subject area, especially at the historical stage of forming and developing the national state, participate, more or less effectively, in the process of building it, thus in its existence.<sup>10</sup> In order to change a method of analysing the state, Bourdieu used the concept of field. It mainly indicated the dynamic and fluent character of the state and the political processes occurring in it. Bourdieu wrote that in terms of analysis, the field may be defined as a network or configuration of objective relations among positions. The positions, in turn, are objectively defined on account of their existence and of the conditions they impose on the people or institutions that hold them, specifying their current and potential situation in the structure of distribution of various kinds of power or capital. Having such power (capital) determines access to specific benefits, for which the game in a given field is played. In highly diverse societies, the social macrocosm consists of a number of such relatively autonomous microcosms, the spheres of objective relations, which are the field of operation of the specific logic and coercion, which cannot be reduced to the ones that govern other fields. Using the concept of field, Bourdieu criticised previous theories of the state.<sup>11</sup> He indicated that, when developing the theory of the state, the state is treated as if it was a real entity, which is well-defined, clearly separated and internally coherent, which interacts with external, also well-defined powers. In reality, however, there is a set of bureaucratic and administrative fields, in which people or groups of people, connected or not connected with the government, fight, personally or *per procura*, for this special form of authority – the possibility of shaping a specific sphere of practice through

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<sup>9</sup> C. Geertz, *The Interpretation Of Cultures*, New York 1973, p. 375.

<sup>10</sup> P. Bourdieu, *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action*, Palo Alto 1998, p. 78.

<sup>11</sup> P. Bourdieu, L.J.D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Chicago 1992, p. 78



laws, regulations and administrative measures (permits, subsidies, etc.), i.e. with the use of something which is usually defined as politics. Thus, for Bourdieu the state is a set of power fields, in which battles are fought for obtaining the possibility of establishing and imposing a collection of obligatory norms within a nation, i.e. within the borders of a country, which will be universal and commonly used.<sup>12</sup>

Bourdieu wrote that the construction of the modern state was the process of the concentration of different kinds of authority or capital (economic, military, legal or cultural), which ends, at the early stages, with the monopolization of public power by the king. This power was both external and superior to all private powers (e.g. feudal lords). The concentration of all these kinds of capital led to the emergence of specific, purely state capital. Such accumulated capital allowed the state to exercise authority over different fields and different types of individual capital. This kind of metacapital, which is able to control other types of capital, determines state authority. The construction of the state is connected with building the field of authority understood as the game field, on which owners of capital (of all kinds) fight for power in the country, i.e. for the control of state capital, which in turn gives control over different types of capital and their reproduction.<sup>13</sup> In his theory of the development of the state being the result of the process of the accumulation of capital, Bourdieu paid a lot of attention to symbolic capital, which he believed to be the condition or context of all other forms of concentration, if they were to last for some time. Symbolic capital is the power to use symbols in order to legitimize possession of other types of capital on different levels and in different social configurations. The French sociologist emphasized that the state, acting as a bank with symbolic capital, is a guarantor of all acts by law. Appointment or a certificate belong to a class of official acts or discourses, which are symbolically effective because they are authorized by entitled, “official” people, who act formally, being endowed with an official/public function or rank.<sup>14</sup>

In his analysis of the state, Pierre Bourdieu also dealt with the issue of culture, especially the symbolic efficiency of the state, i.e. its power to create social reality. He largely contributed to the “cultural turn” in the analysis of the sphere of politics and political institutions, such as the state. Bourdieu noted that in our communities the state significantly influenced the production and reproduction of the tools

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, p. 95.

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem, pp. 98–99; P. Bourdieu, *Practical Reason...*, pp. 80–82.

<sup>14</sup> P. Bourdieu, *Practical Reason...*, p. 93.

for creating social reality. As an organizational structure and regulatory authority, it constantly acts towards shaping permanent predispositions, through all constraints and physical and intellectual disciplines. Moreover, it imposes and instils all basic principles of categorization, according to the criteria of gender, age, competence, etc. By providing a form to practices, it establishes and instils common patterns and categories of perception and thinking, social framework of perception, understanding or memory, mental structures, and state forms of classification.<sup>15</sup> Bourdieu believed that in modern societies the state is the main subject responsible for the construction of official categories, according to which both populations and minds are structured. Thanks to the codification, combined with actual economic and social activities (such as child benefits), it gives privilege to a certain form of family organization, reinforces those who are unable to adapt to it, and uses all possible tangible and symbolic measures to encourage “logical conformism” and “moral conformism” as the approval of a certain system of forms of understanding and creating the world, the unifying force of which is this specific type of organization, or this category.<sup>16</sup>

The works of Clifford Geertz and Pierre Bourdieu drew attention to cultural, or in other words, symbolic aspects of the organization and logic of the functioning of the state. They aroused interest in cultural process, which help to understand the functioning of modern states. The cultural perspective in the research on the state is far from being uniform. Generally speaking, it focuses either on the role of ideology and ideas, or on the issues of rituals and symbols. The last of the above elements is especially characteristic of contemporary studies, which are departing from previous orthodoxy in thinking about the state and represent the alternative approach to the analysis of the state. It is particularly reflected in abandoning the long-dominant method of research inspired by Weber and Marxism.<sup>17</sup>

One of the fundamental problems involved in the contemporary theory of the state is the fact that processes of globalization and deterritorialization cause the erosion of today's world, which has been structured by the existence of clear borders delineating the area of the sovereign supremacy of the modern national state. The change in the circumstances of the external environment necessitates the transformation of the state. Growing interdependency on a global scale, mutual condition-

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<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, p. 95.

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, p. 109.

<sup>17</sup> M. Marinetto, *Social Theory, the State and Modern Society: the State in Contemporary Social Thought*, Buckingham 2006, p. 117.

ing of what is global (external) and what is local (internal), high mobility of people, capital and ideas flowing freely across countries, have all contributed to the increasing “permeability” of borders, which fail to fulfil their present functions. The issue of civilization changes, which affect the gradual evolution of the state, has been part of political science research, resulting in the development of such concepts as the “global turn” and the “complexity turn.” Thanks to them, new notions – globality, complexity and liquidity – have entered the scientific discourse, becoming metaphors often used for describing the condition of the contemporary world. The debate on the global turn brought a conclusion that globalization decreases the importance of basic social institutions as the societies we belong to are changing. The global analysis of the dependency between ecological, economic, social and political processes occurring in the contemporary world necessitated redefining all previous research categories. The new global context of political science studies not only opened up new research areas, but it also led to the emergence of new opportunities for the interpretations of classical theories in the field of political sociology. The discussion on the complexity turn drew attention to the fact that the global world is a complex system, i.e. a dynamic system in which it is difficult to establish clear borders, and the existing dependencies (relations) have a non-linear character. John Urry, one of the scholars doing research on the issue of the complexity of the contemporary world, indicated that globalization cannot be analysed within the framework of the previous research categories as the socio-political system established at the national level is not simply transferrable to the global level. There is no linear dependence between what is global and what is local in this model. Global complexity is a complex system of mobile links between various phenomena occurring on different levels. It is a system of networks and circulating relations. According Urry, this system manifests itself in various global networks and global flows.<sup>18</sup>

The debate on the theory of the state has focused on the question how the contemporary state evolves in the face of the fact that its sovereignty and territoriality are losing importance because of global flows of capital, goods, services, technology, communication and information. Contemporary researchers emphasize that the fact that “the god of the national state is mortal does not mean that the state is dying,”<sup>19</sup> and try to answer the question how the strategy of the state is

<sup>18</sup> J. Urry, *Global complexity*, Cambridge 2000, pp. 245–249.

<sup>19</sup> U. Beck, *Power in the Global Age*, New York 2006, p. 325.

changing and what new forms of state organization have appeared in response to the civilization challenges of modern times.

The concepts of the global turn and the complexity turn were developed in order to tackle difficulties in analysing changes in the organization of the political and state life in accordance with the categories formed in the period of the national state's dominance. It is indicated that the previous theories of the state had to face the challenge of the unequal development of the European Community. The European Union is no longer an "ordinary" confederation of states (efforts to establish a social, legal and economic commonwealth), but it is not a state by traditional definitions, either. Decision-making procedures in the EU are clearly coalition-based and inconsistent, and central bodies of authority exercise no control over the use of force on the territory of any member state. The development of the European Union has also caused that the status of its member states is quite unclear.<sup>20</sup>

In an attempt to cope with the difficulties involved in the analysis of the EU, scholars concluded that it is the example of the new organization of the state, which responds to globalization processes and growing interdependencies on a global scale. At the heart of the study of the state, unlike in the "classical period," there is the ability of public authorities to act in the new, global circumstances rather than the issue of their sovereignty and autonomy. The contemporary theories of the state put particular emphasis on the problem of the growing disparity between the sphere of the state and the transnationally and non-territorially defined sphere of global flows (of capital, people, information, pictures, etc.) and mobility. Ulrich Beck argued that, in order to tackle this problem, states need to extend their activities beyond their current territorial borders.<sup>21</sup> To this end, their form will have to be changed. Ulrich Beck pointed out that the cosmopolitan state – which emerged as a result of the increased scope of cooperation among national states – may become such new form of the organization of public authority.

Such state would regain its operational ability by extending its capabilities of external and internal intervention owing to the fact that it participates in transnational networks, which encompass not only countries, but also non-government organizations, international institutions and multinational corporations. Such country, having no concern about the issue of sovereignty, takes advantage of the cooperation with other governments, non-government organizations and global

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<sup>20</sup> P. Dunleavy, *op.cit.*, p. 788.

<sup>21</sup> U. Beck, *op.cit.*, p. 230.

concerns in solving “national” problems or those transnational ones which have priority in the national sphere.<sup>22</sup>

Manuel Castells developed a similar idea in his theory of the network society as a new form of the organization of political life. The Spanish sociologist pointed out that the network state is characterized by the division of power (it ultimately means the possibility of using authorized violence) in accordance with a network.<sup>23</sup> This specific network structure is first of all the reaction to on-going civilization changes and the attempt to defend the sovereignty of the state in the new, global order. As the society was getting more liquid and complex, it became necessary to invent new mechanisms and methods of governance, which would be less based on hierarchized state institutions, thus reducing the disparity between the state and the society as well as between the global and the local. The network state is characterized by a multitude of the structures of authority. Such country pursues the model of multilevel governance, which encompasses subnational, national and supranational bodies as well as government and non-government actors. Castells believes that there is a new polyarchic system of power in the world today. This system has multiple sources of authority, and the national state is just one of them. States are becoming components of the international “political society” rather than “sovereign” entities. The new structure of the network society is more flexible as it is the result of a complex pattern of social alliances and compromises, which may often involve conflicting interests and values. These interests and values are not dominant in the society, but they play a subordinate role in this alliance in return for promoting some of the elements of their specific programme.<sup>24</sup> Castells indicates that the European Union is a prime example of such new form of the state.

John Urry was another scholar who dealt with the issue of the evolution of the state. He pointed out that contemporary countries have to cope with the growing interdependency and liquidity of social life, which necessitates the departure from social relations based on territories and states. Global mobility and flows make it difficult for centralized state institutions to control them, i.e. to make and enforce law. Thus, the biggest challenge that contemporary countries face is to regulate mobility, and the regulation of flows and networks of the civil society has become central to their formation. When analysing the transformation of the contemporary

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, p. 280.

<sup>23</sup> M. Castells, *End of Millennium, The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, vol. III, Oxford 1998, p. 331.

<sup>24</sup> M. Castells, *The Power of Identity, The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, vol. II, Oxford 1997, p. 326.

world, Urry refers to the metaphor of the “gardening” state and the “gamekeeping” state, first used by Zygmunt Bauman in his work *Legislators and Interpreters* (New York, 1987). The state as a “gamekeeper” did not bother about the general shape of its society and its details. In turn, the “gardening” state was greatly concerned about its condition, regularity and order, about its growth and “weeding.” Urry wrote that “the new global order involves a return to the gamekeeper state and away from that of the gardener. The gamekeeper was concerned with regulating mobilities, with ensuring that there was sufficient stock for hunting in a particular site but not with the detailed cultivation of each animal in each particular place. Animals roamed around and beyond the estate, like the roaming hybrids that currently roam in and across national borders. States are increasingly unable or unwilling to garden their society, only to regulate the conditions of their stock so that on the day of the hunt there is appropriate stock available for the hunter. (...) States turn into gamekeepers rather than gardeners, as they regulate the herds moving in and across their land.”<sup>25</sup>

For Urry, like for Castells, the European Union is a paradigm example of the evolution of the state’s form. They both claim the EU is a modern “regulatory state,” which is mainly concerned with monitoring and regulating its member states’ policy and activity. Urry indicates that countries of the future, like the EU, will be less concerned with the imposition of taxes and financing forms of economic and social security, but will act – following the EU’s example – as legal, economic and social regulators – thus playing “gamekeepers” – of all kinds of activity and mobility, which are carried out mostly in the private sector, through voluntary organizations, or in the so-called third sector.<sup>26</sup>

Because of the character of contemporary civilization changes, it is a difficult task to describe the functioning of the state. In the present political reality, the features of the national state, analysed by scholars such as Karl Marx or Georg Jellinek, coexist with some new organizational solutions, which have been developed in response to change. Therefore, a lot of competitive definitions and theories of the state have emerged and researchers are trying to cope with a laborious task of developing the adequate theory of the state. The cultural turn, the global turn and the complexity turn have all led to the development of completely new research approaches, the departure from thinking about the state as a set of institutions or

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<sup>25</sup> J. Urry, *Sociology Beyond Societies. Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century*, London 2000, p. 258.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 273.

as an isolated, “sovereign” reality in favour of perceiving it as a certain cultural practice, “field,” “game,” or a flexible reality, all being the components of the network of dependencies between the global and the local.

The state is one of those inventions of human civilization which, in different historical eras and different cultures, has adopted different forms, corresponding to the conditions of a given historical period. Therefore, the issues of the state cannot be presented in the form of established formulas and principles. Contemporary civilization changes have also triggered the evolution of the shape of the state, which makes it necessary to seek new research concepts in order to better understand the characteristics of the political organization of the society. It is indicated that the dominant civilization trends seem to imply that we may expect the form of the state to change significantly, which will affect relatively stable and wealthy liberal democracies.<sup>27</sup> The present revival of the state as the main subject of political studies and as the central issue of political analysis stems from the fact that contemporary civilization changes are making scholars look for new research paradigms, which would make it possible to formulate a political theory providing an explanation of what the contemporary state has become and in which direction its evolution progresses. The works of such researchers as Pierre Bourdieu, Ulrich Beck, Manuel Castells, or John Urry, are quite far from the “orthodox” ways of defining and understanding the essence of the state, and they constitute the framework of the debate on the contemporary evolution of one of the most important subjects of politics, i.e. the state. The state as an organization has not disappeared, but it is being constantly modified. It is still an important element of the social and political life, although it is functioning in a different way. The contemporary theories of the state help us to understand the dynamics of the transformations of the modern organization of the state and to link it with the civilization changes occurring in the world.

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<sup>27</sup> P. Dunleavy, *The State*, [in:] *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy*, R.E. Goodin and Ph. Pettit (eds.), Oxford 1993, p. 788.

*Iwona Massaka*

## **MUSIC AS A TOOL OF THE POLITICS OF MEMORY**

### **ABSTRACT**

The politics of memory is a sociotechnical operation of altering collective memory through the redefinition or removal of issues relating to history and to the image of social components, existing within it, or through the consolidation of such issues as its new, vital parts. This type of politics involves the promotion of those sets of information and interpretations of facts which suit the vision of the state shared by the nation and the ruling elite. The goal of the politics of memory is the integration of the society around the values commonly considered supreme in a given country. The additional goal is the strengthening of the legitimization of power and a subsequent gain of as much acceptance of the existing political order as possible. The tools used in the politics of memory can be categorized into three groups: aural, verbal and visual tools. Sounds and words (written, spoken and sung) constitute symbols which are commonly used in the politics of memory. Symbols, as well as myths, serve as the basis for rituals which, in the politics of memory, serve as key tools aimed at shaping the collective emotions. As a result of sociotechnical operations, symbols become both signifiers of identification and markers of integrity of the social structure. Rituals integrate and mobilize the community, but also serve as means of demonstrating the ruling elite's power and the enforced social and political order. Music has been emphasized as particularly influential on the general mood of different societies, as this particular tool of the politics of memory has a strong emotional impact on its recipients. In addition, music is highly abstract, which allows it to signify (symbolize) any given content. The natural qualities and influence of music, as well as the variety of its styles and genres, combined with the knowledge and experience of the ruling elite, makes it a highly effective tool of the politics of memory.



**Keywords:** politics of memory, sociotechnics, tools, music, symbols, rituals, affecting collective emotions

**DURING THE LAST** twenty-five years a surge of interest in collective memory has become noticeable, especially concerning national and regional memory. At the same time, a number of nation-states have undertaken a series of actions in order to create a consistent image of the shared past in conformity with the interests of the ruling elite and a sense of attachment to such image. The growth in importance of historical policy in contemporary states is reflected in more and more frequent demands for the conservation of national heritage, through opening new museums and increasing the number of registered monuments, as well as by a tendency towards glorification of a particular historical periods. The unification of Europe and the growing globalization necessitate highlighting cultural differences of particular nations and societies, and thus, creating opportunities for such. On the other hand, however, the abovementioned processes also create a need for establishing means of manifesting nationalist views which would be acceptable from the point of view of national interest. Among a number of relatively safe means of the expression of systematically and purposefully stimulated patriotic feelings are sports events and national commemorations, as well as some special occasions, such as formal meetings with eminent people who bear significance to social aggregates, such as high-ranking officials. Additionally, the burial ceremonies of said people are another occasion for manifesting patriotism and national status.

The effectiveness of historical policy can be measured by the resulting sense of collective unity, by attachment to tradition, which could be followed by direct action in its defense, and by the level of legitimization of authority of the governing party, since politics of memory is often employed as a tool to secure their position. The question of effectiveness of the politics of memory needs to cover multiple tools that can be used for its promotion. If we were to describe policy of memory as a process of instilling collective beliefs about the necessity of adhering to a particular system of values and of stimulating particular behavior required by the social order, then state and national symbols, including myths, should be viewed as tools of the politics of memory. They order and direct thinking of the collective components referring to the already shaped hierarchy of values. They simplify the perception of reality and aim at collective emotions, thanks to this assuming an attitude towards this reality proceeds relatively quickly, spontaneously and not much critically. Symbols and myths – to a large degree just because they are state-

ments greatly saturated with emotions and are received as such in mass – are basic measure of the influence of memory. They play a key part in rituals, which belong to activities that gather collective entities around the contents and values which are essential to them. Thus, we can see the politics of memory as the action aiming at enhancing of symbols and myths existing in collective consciousness and relating to selected historical facts and distinguished tradition or inserting new symbols and myths into it. These symbols and myths usually suggest cultural and historic significance of states and nations living within their borders. The functionality of music in the politics of memory is related to the functionality of symbols and myths, especially when they occur within the framework of ritual activities, on which the politics of memory rests. Functions of symbols, myths and music (as a symbol and as a message merely accompanying other symbols), especially in ritual activities, and also beyond them, are convergent in the most essential aspects of the politics of memory. The approval – thanks to the symbols and myths – of the importance of particular historic facts and traditions takes place in emotional atmosphere, which promises persistence of this recognition, and consequently – the persistence of desirable views and attitudes. The debasement of the symbols and myths which, according to the programme, are to be obliterated from memory is realized through exerting influence on the effective sphere of collectivism. Destroying emotional bonds with the myths and symbols is the most certain way to change opinions and attitudes. The rituals – during which the desirable attitude towards the political order established by current political authorities is shaped and reinforced – can be qualified as activities geared towards steering collective emotions. Music intensifies the influence of symbols and myths referring to the selected historical facts, selected traditions, current authorities and state ideology both in the framework of rituals and out of them.

The tools employed by the politics of memory can be categorized according to the types of senses they engage; thus, we can distinguish verbal, visual and aural tools. Word as a tool of politics of memory can be spoken or written, in the form of history textbooks, historical books, and published commentaries of historians on the topics connected with history. In texts dealing with history, the type of narration plays an important role. The historical narrative is a tool of politics of memory by its own, since it is always marked with the beliefs of a historian, and thus has a persuasive function. Among visual tools one can find examples of architecture, including funeral architecture, statues, commemorative plaques, historical-themed paintings and their copies, posters, postcards, stamps commemorating glorious historical events, coins with likenesses of historically sig-

nificant individuals, medals, decorations, and awards for service for the state and the nation. Also films can be placed in that category. Aural devices in the politics of memory include patriotic watchwords chanted collectively, as well as state or national anthems (as there are nations without their own states, which nevertheless have their own anthems, e.g. the anthems of Roms, Cathalonians or Jews until 1948), patriotic songs, including religious songs widely accepted as patriotic, and all other pieces combining music and text in order to evoke a feeling of collective unity based on remembrance of its chosen historical events. Such pieces differ in terms of kinds and style, as they range from rock to hip-hop, from opera to musical. The aural tool, which is the focal point of this article, is music. The aforementioned categorization of devices employed by the politics of memory helps mainly to raise the awareness of the multitude and diversity of tools at its disposal. In reality, verbal, visual and aural tools never appear alone; it is only for analytical purposes that they can be examined in isolation. Each of them is chosen more or less accurately with a given situation and a given collective in mind. Additionally, the politics of memory can be employed with a varying degree of skill. Experience, skill and intuition in utilizing tools of the politics of memory are very important in terms of its goals and effectiveness. The intensification of the politics of memory in a particular country can result in social fatigue, and, in consequence, in a decrease in the society's susceptibility to persuasive and manipulative devices.

The aim of this article is to show music as a specific means of communication and to point to its characteristic traits, which – when used in a correct manner – can make music one of the most efficient tools of the politics of memory. Considering the politics of memory as a sociotechnical operation and identifying its main goals enable us to indicate those aspects of music which can be useful for their fulfilment. The aim of the music of memory is to evoke a feeling of unity among collectives of different kinds and to mobilize them to action for a given cause by means of constructing a unifying vision of the past and of the future. Such vision is inevitably sentimental and task-based. This article focuses on the kind of the politics of memory which is employed for strengthening the power of the ruling elites by highlighting the usefulness of music in the process of legitimization of power; bearing in mind, however, that the politics of memory can also be used in an attempt to consolidate marginalized groups, which want to employ it in order to survive and secure the right of self-determination. Rituals are typical material for the politics of memory, and they in turn are based on symbols, which are usually mythologized. The article describes, among other issues, the mythogenic

aspects of music as well as its symbolic and heavily effective character, which can be successfully employed in the ritualized operations of the politics of memory.

The politics of memory is an action undertaken in order to shape thinking, attitudes and collective behaviour resulting from them. It aims at the consolidation, redefinition or removal of issues relating to history and the image of social components existing in collective memory. It aims at the integration of community around the values considered supreme, strengthening the legitimization of power and obtaining as much acceptance of the existing political order as possible. The politics of memory falls within the framework of political sociotechnics. It can be considered in the context of political marketing. In the 'Polish and English literature on the subject, it is much more often found under the name of historical policy,<sup>1</sup> although the term 'politics of memory' is used as well.<sup>2</sup> In the French literature, there is a term 'politique de mémoire,' which indicates deliberate lack or/and revision of what the society remembers as their own or their ancestors' experience. Among Polish researchers of this phenomenon, Sławomir Kaprański<sup>3</sup> and sociologist Ireneusz Krzemiński<sup>4</sup> justify their terminological preference with the intention to avoid association of the politics in question with the politics of people's

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. E. Wolfrum, *Geschichte der Politik und deutsche Frage. Der 17 Juni im nationalen Gedächtnis der Bundesrepublik (1953–89)*, "Geschichte und Gesellschaft" 1998, no. 24, p. 382; U. Baumgärtner (ed.), *Geschichte zwischen Kunst und Politik*, München 2002; J. le Goff, *Historia i pamięć*, Warszawa 2007; E. Domańska, *Historie niekonwencjonalne*, Poznań 2006; J. Topolski, *Świat bez historii*, Poznań 1998; M. Cichocki, *Władza i pamięć. O politycznej funkcji historii*, Kraków 2005; A. Wolf-Powęska, *Polskie spory o historię i pamięć, polityka historyczna*, "Przegląd Zachodni" 2007, no. 1, pp. 3–44; M. Kula, *Nośniki pamięci historycznej*, Warszawa 2002; A. Werner, *Pamięć i władza: komu służy polityka historyczna?*, "Przegląd Polityczny" 2006, no. 26, pp. 51–55.

<sup>2</sup> R. Hilderberg, *The Politics of Memory. The Journey of Holocaust*, Chicago 1996; L. Nasrallah, *In Review: Required Reading The Politics of Memory*, "Harvard divinity Bulletin" 2005, vol 33; J. Kramer, *Politics of Memory, Looking for Germany in The new Germany*, New York 1994; S. Hale, *Culture and the Politics Memory*, [in:] *Identity: Community, culture, difference*, J. Rutherford (ed.), London 1990; J. Rappaport, *The Politics Memory. Native historical interpretation in the Colombian Andes*, New York 1990; I. Amadiume, A. An-Na'Im (ed.), *The Politics of Memory. Truth, Healing and Social Justice*, New York 2000; B.A. B de Brito, E.C. Gonzalez, P. Aquilar (eds.), *Politics of Memory and Democratization*, Oxford 2001; L.M. Nijakowski, *Polska polityka pamięci. Esej socjologiczny*, Warszawa 2008; A. Cyganok, *Dewalwacja nagrad. Rossijskaja politika pamjati*, "Uroki Historii. XX wiek" 16.07.2010, <http://www.polit.ru/author/2010/07/08/ordena.html>, DOA 19.03.2011; G. Bordjugow, *Istoriczeskaja politika i politika pamjati w FR, ZSRR i i SNG*, Airo XXI 2010.

<sup>3</sup> S. Kaprański, *Pamięć, przestrzeń, tożsamość*, Warszawa 2010.

<sup>4</sup> See I. Krzemiński, *Wstęp* [in:] L.M. Nijakowski, *Polska polityka pamięci. Esej socjologiczny*, Warszawa 2008.

government. Robert Traba<sup>5</sup> is led by a similar purpose and opts for the term ‘politics towards memory’ or – which he finds more appropriate – ‘politics towards history’. It is doubtful whether this association was so powerful and discreditable on the ground of Polish science (and even less so on the ground of global science) that it would require a rejection of the term that is very well established in reference books and has a universal value (*Geschichtspolitik*, the politics of memory). On the other hand, striving for the objectification of defining of actions by the Polish researchers seems to be justified and the term politics of memory – more precise.

The politics of memory is conducted by all states since the beginnings of their origin. It is connected with the reflection on what occupies the memory of a nation living within the borders of this country, the way this content was preserved in the memory (thus in what way it could be possibly exchanged for desirable content), to what degree this content affects thinking and collective behavior. Theoreticians of collective memory or – as e.g. Barbara Szacka,<sup>6</sup> define the content of memory very generally as reminiscences of past events, or they try to put this content into the framework of various kind of *lieux de memoire* (according to Pierre Nora’s qualification<sup>7</sup>) occupied by historical, often mythologized characters, institutions, works of art and elements of landscape considered to be essential in the sphere of history and particular tradition. The distinction of various types of issues in collective memory shows the scale and heterogeneity of the phenomenon that it constitutes. As a matter of fact, it preserves not only facts from the past and ideas about people who created various historical events, but also everything that belongs to the wide context of the past. Pierre Nora pointed out that the variety of content stored on people’s minds focuses exclusively on its objectivized material and rational elements. Lech Nijakowski added that collective memory includes subjective and irrational ideas resulting from the experience of what is objective and material. They are feelings, emotions and atmosphere accompanying remembrance of particular facts. The recognition of the existence of an effective aspect of collective memory is not revealing, but it is essential for the present consideration, as well as Nijakowski’s statement saying that not only objective issues make up the cognitive aspect of memory but also those objectivized and irrational. Actually, the memory of facts exists inseparably from the opinions on them. In collective

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<sup>5</sup> See R. Traba, *Przeszłość w teraźniejszości. Polskie spory o historię na początku XXI wieku*, Poznań 2009.

<sup>6</sup> See: B. Szacka, *Czas przeszły, pamięć, mit*, Warszawa 2006.

<sup>7</sup> See: P. Nora, *Les Linux de memoire*, vol. 1–7, Paris 1984–1992.

memory, they are usually simplified and stereotypical. Some historical facts are considered to be heroic and glorious, the other ones are remembered as unnecessary and wrong. Some characters function as heroes in collective memory, the others – as traitors and enemies. This is the way resentments are born and they have both effective and cognitive value. Deducing the third – behavioural aspect of collective memory, Nijakowski builds the bridge between what is remembered, and what is already entirely objective (although not always rational) a common deed, action. In fact, what is preserved in collective memory – together with a stock of effects relating to it – appropriately justifies the actions of collective entities. Motivation, which Nijakowski places in the scope of collective memory, is *de facto* the beginning of any action, but only the beginning. Action, in the rituals Nijakowski mentions, is the result of what you remember, but is it correct to put action in the area of memory? It seems to be a logical slip to distinguish behavioral aspect of collective memory close to its cognitive and effective aspects. However, it is important that in this way the creativity of collective memory was emphasized, it was stressed that collective memory is a driving force of various activities. We can assume that the heart of collective memory is to a large degree its effective layer – which, however, in Nijakowski's theory was separated from the cognitive layer – in practice, overlaps it. Anyway, Nijakowski finally states that the storage of facts always exists together with a set of effects connected with these facts. Since the content of collective memory is not much objective, irrational or effective to the highest degree and as such causes adequate actions, the politics of memory can be defined as directing the collective emotional attitude to selective, which are important in the context of assumptions and objectives of the steering system, historical facts and various traditions. Seeing the politics of memory as the systematic and intentional interference in the effective state of the society raises a number of questions: what affects collective emotions effectively? How is it possible to induce effects desirable from the point of view of political assumptions? What situations and actions favour it? Which of the numerous tools used by the politics of memory is the most efficient in evoking and strengthening emotions? For the sake of this article, we will assume that music, among all of the commonly employed devices in the politics of memory, is a tool of remarkably high emotional value, with reference to both individuals and the collective. Establishing whether music – and not any other tool known to the politics of memory – is really a device that evokes the required collective emotional attitudes in the manner which is not only the fastest, but also the most permanent one, would require comparative and quantitative research. Such study seems a task worth conducting with the assumption that

music possesses some special qualities that allow it to exert influence in both the social and political sphere, which result from its very nature and from the fact that it has not yet been recognized as a tool for influencing the masses. Both word and picture are substantially less subtle in exerting influence in comparison to music and are more likely to be associated by recipients with the propaganda materials from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, it is assumed that in operations of exerting mass influence they are more likely to cause social resistance.

Every period has redefined music to accommodate its philosophical assumptions and the performance practice of the time. In the theory and philosophy of music – from the definitions proposed by Ptolemy and Aristotle, through the notion proposed by Eduard Hanslick, to Anton Webern's definition from the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>8</sup> – it has always been assumed that music is a sound structure organized in time, which consists of rhythm, melody, harmony, articulation, dynamics, tempo, tone colour, form, and acoustics, to which Webern added silence and other acoustic effects. Human voice is in fact considered to be a kind of a musical instrument, which can create or accompany music, since musicology distinguishes two general forms of music, vocal and instrumental; the word, however, is ignored. Textual layer, if it accompanies music, is considered to be an added value.<sup>9</sup> A composition including both musical and verbal layers is an example of a syncretic piece, of which a prime example is the opera – musical theatre. This article focuses on instrumental musical forms; other forms, such as vocal and vocal-instrumental shall be only briefly mentioned. The only reason for our interest in the latter two is the fact that seem to be more frequently used in the politics of memory, which is connected with the direction of the tastes of the general public in consumer societies. Researching the degree of influence that music exerts on the audience is connected with a number of methodological difficulties. It is a challenging task to examine the influential qualities of sound in isolation from other means of influence and from stimuli accompanying music. What is more, it is not yet certain how the influence of the lines of music on the addressee is supposed to be measured. In such circumstances, the influence of music on mental, volitional, and emotional processes, and thus, on social and political actions is most commonly reduced to the analysis of vocal-instrumental forms. Hence, researchers call their work a study

<sup>8</sup> For an overview of views on music as a pure (absolute) form see e.g. E. Hanslick, *O pięknie w muzyce*, Warszawa 1903; Arystoteles, *Ustrój polityczny Aten*, [in:] *Dzieła wszystkie*, vol. 6, Warszawa 2001.

<sup>9</sup> See: F. Wesołowski, *Zasady muzyki*, Kraków 1986, pp. 5–6; L. Erhardt, *Sztuka dźwięku*, Warszawa 1980; B. Pociąg, *Idea, dźwięk, forma. Szkice o muzyce*, Kraków 1972.



of music,<sup>10</sup> although what they do is, for the most part, the analysis of the verbal layer accompanying music rather than the examination of the influence of music.

On such a limited basis it is difficult to estimate whether and how the instrumental layer exerts influence. Extending the conclusions from the research on the verbal layer onto the musical layer is methodologically questionable and usually leads to oversimplification or erroneous conclusions. Therefore, the only justified manner of researching music as a causative device seems to be the study on purely musical forms, since it conforms to the traditional understanding of this phenomenon. In Poland, no one has yet shown interest in researching the ancillary nature of music in the politics of memory. In foreign literature, studies combining political science, social science and musicology are sparse, which can be possibly explained by the aforementioned methodological difficulties.<sup>11</sup>

Music, as a form of communication, has a number of special properties. It is able to adopt and impart meaning that may take shape of a message or an imperative; however, its communication is less explicit than that of word or image. The semantic value of music depends on the supporting elements, which may take form of

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<sup>10</sup> See e.g. D. Weinstein, *Heavy metal. A cultural sociology*, New York 1991; H. Ogawa, *Karaoke in Japan. A sociological overview*, [in:] *Popular music – style and identity*, W. Straw, S. Johnson, R. Sullivan, P. Friedlander (eds.), Montreal 1993, pp. 225–227; S. Frith, *The sociology of rock*, London 1978; S. Frith, *Music for pleasure. Essays in the sociology of pop*, New York 1988; M. Forêt, *Sociological aspects of popular music in Czechoslovakia in the eighties*, “Popular Music and Society” 1990, no. 14, pp. 49–55; B. Lee Cooper, *Popular songs, military conflicts and public perceptions of the United States at war*, “Social Education” 1992, no. 56, pp. 160–168; M. Cloonan, *State of the nation. “Englishness”, pop and politics in the mind – 1990s.*, “Popular Music and Society” 1997, no. 21, pp. 47–70; K. Blaukopf, *Young music and industrial society. An essay on new patterns of behaviour*, “Cultures” 1973, no. 1, pp. 211–229; G.H. Lewis, *The role of music in popular social movements. A theory and case study of the island state of Hawaii, USA*, “International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music” 1985, no. 16, pp. 153–162; D. Rouner, *Rock music use as a socializing function*, “International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music” 1990, no. 14, pp. 97–107; R. Larkin, *The soul message*, [in:] *The sounds of social change. Studies in popular culture*, R.S. Denisoff, A. Peterson (eds.), Chicago 1972, pp. 92–104; R. Denselow, *When the music’s over: the story of political pop*, Boston 1989; L. Grenier, *From ‘diversity’ to ‘difference’. The case of socio-cultural studies of music*, “New Formations” 1989, no. 9, pp. 125–142; S. Frith, *World music, politics and social change. Papers from the International Association for the Study of Popular Music*, New York 1989; J. Gow, *Political themes in popular music videos. MTV’s “Top 200, ever”*, “Popular Music and Society” 1994, no. 18, pp. 77–89; J. Klein, *It Can’t Happen Here. Social and Political Commentary in the Works of Frank Zappa*, [in:] *Media a polityka*, A.M. Zarychta, Ł. Donaj, M. Kosiarsz, A. Barański (eds.), Łódź 2007, pp. 557–564.

<sup>11</sup> See e.g. R. Di Yanni, *In the American Grain. Charles Ives and the Transcendentalists*, “Journal of American Culture” 1981, vol. 4, pp. 139–151.



a text, an image, a situational context of emission and reception, and a mood accompanying the emission. Music communicates in a symbolic manner. When compared to a sequence of words or images, it appears to be a highly abstract means of communication. Music also contains and transfers emotions, and has a natural capacity for creating moods. Music, which excels in creating and inspiring emotions, appears to be a proper tool for the politics of memory, which is the process of creating a collective emotional attitude towards facts and events from the past that are intended to form a basis for collective beliefs and behavior. Music is a tale of the flow of emotions. It engages the listeners by means of attuning their emotional states to the emotions conveyed in the emission. Both music and the politics of memory operate on the effective level, which seems to be the most promising ground for the combining of the two. The functionality of music in the politics of memory results from:

- a) its emotional value and the ability to create moods
- b) its capacity for communicating symbolically

**Annot. a)**

If we interpret the politics of memory as a process of intentional shaping and controlling emotional attitude towards what is remembered and what is to be remembered, the usefulness of music in this process should not be questionable. It is known that music evokes emotional contents and it is one of the most important factors contributing to atmosphere. Moods, in a different way than emotions, have not mobilizing value, they are only conducive to the mobilization of various types of activities. Nevertheless, moods, not in the same degree as emotions, influence attitudes towards authorities (thus, towards historical facts and traditions that are won by authorities) and affect opinions, and consequently – political behavior. Affecting people by means of music in order to evoke desirable moods and emotions resulting from the collective sense of importance of the selected stages of history or single historical facts should be preceded by proper recognition of the current state of ideas referring to the past together with the emotions they generally arouse. Obliteration of the content, often firmly established in collective memory, and placing programmatic content in the foreground of collective memory necessitates the denial of the emotions relating to the view marginalized by the emotions connected with the programmatic content. Musical material, provided that it is properly selected and used, arouses the desirable collective emotions and moods. They somehow overlap the programmatic content, which increases its suggestibility and capacity. The content included in a musical form (at

this point you should pay your attention to the emotional content) is automatically transferred to the programmatic content and built into it. The repeated and systematic character of this process changes the emotional attitude towards programmatic content effectively and according to the expectation of the steering system. The desirable collective emotions pave the way for general attitudes, views and behavior, at which the politics of memory aims at a given case. This way we can use musical, melodic – rhythmic structures with a specific emotional capacity (e.g. romantic music with its strong effect), which is held by the very musical arrangement in order to intensify and consolidate the content of the statement beyond music, endowing it with such essential elements of reception as emotions and mood.

**Annot. b)**

Music, to an equal degree with word and picture constitutes the material for symbols which refer to the past, supporting the politics of memory. Symbols are constructed by means of sound and visual material, they are deliberately placed in public space (so-called symbolic domain) assuring permanent controlled mnemonic practice, coding the submitted content in memory. If we recognize that symbols channel the effective attitude towards the contents they represent and convey, we can also acknowledge that this attitude is regulated by the components of which the symbols are built: word, picture and musical processes. In the course of managing collective feelings, which both in the politics of memory and any other actions meant to shape social consciousness seems to be rudimentary, emotional influence and also the influence of music as a medium creating atmosphere considerably support the emotional influence of other types of media: word and picture.

In what way does music exist as a symbol and communicate as a symbol? Music and verbal-music material performed cyclically during specific situations, which are important from the point of view of the community, adopts the significance of these situations and their ideological sense becoming their symbolic denotation. Music forms, existing as signs of specific communities, as their symbols, by means of which they identify themselves and are identified outside the community, express not only emotional, but also cognitive sense. Particular musical compositions often become symbols of certain groups and structures, as well as situations which are characteristic of these communities and help to define and demonstrate their distinctiveness and ideology – determine the political order for functioning of these communities. Thus, music not only stimulates the influence of symbols that

do not come from music and myths relating to the past. The music itself – in a particular musical form, as a particular musical composition – can become a symbol denoting the structure where the musical composition was created, the community which promoted it to the rank of a symbol, an event during which it played an important political and symbolical role – music permanently connects these communities with the content it designates. However, to work this way, a musical composition has to become a symbol first, it has to acquire its status and significance. A symbol is a symbol and it can function only when it conveys the content which is understandable at least in the environment where it came into being. It has been already mentioned that musical works sometimes become symbols due to the fact that they emerged in the situations which were important from the point of view of the community. Moreover, the more often a musical work appears in this or semantically identical situation, the more likely it is to get promoted to the rank of a symbol. In that case, the key to understand the symbolic content of the given musical composition is, *inter alia*, information about the situation in which it was played/sung. Is there anything else that could be the key? How can we interpret the message contained in music?

These questions lead us to the issue of the semantic capacity of music. Music research with respect to its semantic<sup>12</sup> content show that music is not a system of signification by nature, but in certain circumstances it can acquire the features of such a system. Meaning in music is derived from sound arrangements, which are not meaningful themselves, but a listener can attribute some meaning to them – music has an ability to take on and then convey the contents having qualities of a message or an imperative. Does it mean that a sound arrangement which music constitutes can be received as a commonly understandable message? Yes, but only if situational or/and verbal and also visual prompt is assigned – e.g. by way of repeated emission – to the sound arrangements. If a musical work occurs in an unusual, exceptional and important situation, and all the more it occurs repeatedly in a particular situation or semantically identical situations, its sense, pictures and characters which co-occur with it, as well as everything said in this situation or later with reference to it, becomes permanently and commonly associated with this musical piece. In other words, when music is associated with a particular situation

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<sup>12</sup> On the topic of the semantic layer in music see e.g.: S. Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key*, Cambridge 1942; W. Coker, *Music and Meaning*, New York–London 1972; K. Gućzalski, *Znaczenie muzyki, znaczenia w muzyce. Próba ogólnej teorii na tle estetyki* Susanne Langer, Kraków 1999; E. Kofin, *Semiologiczny aspekt muzyki*, Wrocław 1991; J. Faryno, *Tak muzyka znaczyć nie chce bo:*, “Teksty” 1977, pp. 5–6.

or a fact together with its contexts, it adopts their meaning. In rituals, which are usually repeated, music conveys the message understood by the participants of a ritual. They perfectly associate musical processes with the verbal layer attributed to them (if it exists); with the essential – from their point of view – situation, where they occurred at least once; and the message conveyed by other symbols assisting exactly this and not other sequence of sounds. It is not necessary to sing words of a patriotic song or hymn every time to understand their message. The melody itself conveys the meaning of these works, and moreover, it represents and clearly expresses specific values and ethos. Motets, cantatas, madrigals function in this way (provided that a listener knows to which situations and facts they refer), some operas (or, more often a particular aria), revolutionary, insurgent and religious songs, which rose to the rank of patriotic songs and protest songs – all these works represent and preserve specific facts in memory. These facts have historical significance, and thus they arouse feelings and emotions connected with them, and maintain them. This is their participation in constructing historical vision, which consequently implies contemporary attitudes and choices.

Essentially, the politics of memory aims at inducing a feeling of group solidarity and mobilizing the collective to take actions in order to preserve it. Music is a perfect tool for integration and mobilization. Musical practices, particularly those which are taken up within the framework of ritual activities aimed at the preservation of the existing political order, are acts of identity and demonstration of the attachment to a particular formation and collectively professed outlook adopted by the formation. They could be considered to be a declaration – specific as far as its form is concerned – of attachment to a particular social structure, and also common simultaneous expression of views, including political views. Similarly to symbols and myths, which refer to permanent values, they join social components as one of the symptoms of tradition. Tradition (according to J. Szacki) gives evidence of power and stability of the structure in which it exists; it is its uniting force, generates sense of persistence and resistance to destructive factors, gives an individual feature, affords additional value and motivates the structure to develop. Music represents all these functions as an element of both rituals and tradition.

Particular music genres (especially mass and religious chants, some symphonies, in particular romantic ones, marches, hymns, protest songs) activate collective entities to maintain unity in an attempt to preserve the existing social and political order or to make a desirable change. Symbols, rituals and myths also encourage to adopt specific attitudes and behaviour, aiming – just as music – at collective emotions. The politics of memory is very often part of the overall action scheme of the

ruling elite, although it may as well be a reaction of a particular group, which has no autonomy or is not allowed to maintain their own tradition (or both). The politics of memory may be a vital part of the strategy of the ruling elite, as it may significantly strengthen its power. In such cases, music performs the function of the affirmation and legitimization of power. Cults growing out from political myths and rituals using characteristic symbols engaging communities during official celebrations are demonstrations of power and the practice which legitimizes the power. In such circumstances, music assists myths and symbols associated with power, representing and demonstrating the political order. Music sometimes takes the form of a myth and a symbol which glorifies the state and its power. Thus, it builds a positive attitude towards the ruling elite and the order it creates.

Music has a great potential to support the processes of coding programmatic messages in collective memory, both when it occurs as a symbol and as a symbol which conveys cognitive and emotional ideas. Even if music does not holding the rank of a symbol, it is a source of particular emotions and moods. This ability is potential because it depends on a few conditions. The more accurately music is selected from the point of view of the aim it is to fulfil, the more effective instrument of the politics of memory it is. The efficient influence of music both in the politics of memory and all other operations aimed at shaping consciousness and collective behaviour requires taking into account:

- 1) A type of music with reference to the listeners it is to have an effect on.

Marxists held the view that music coming from traditional sources has the greatest influence owing to the familiar melodies. At present, the selection criterion is cultural to the highest degree. In the consumer society, the politics of memory is served by the musical material which is preferred by the society. Classical music appears to be losing its influence, although all state anniversary commemorations are graced by the works of composers from the national school. In Poland and in the Polish communities abroad, there is a tradition of performing the music created by Frederic Chopin, Stanisław Moniuszko, Karol Szymanowski, Grażyna Bacewicz and Ignacy Paderewski. Among contemporary composers, it is Krzysztof Penderecki, whose works prevail as musical tributes. In the UK and the US, during the formal part of various celebrations, the compositions by Benjamin Britten are fairly often performed. Classical music is not addressed to mass audience, and thus it does not have as much influence as popular music. In all European countries, the US and even in the Russian Federation, state celebrations are accompanied by music played on electrical instruments, as most people prefer this kind of music.

Patriotic productions are noticeably smaller in number than popular music pieces, which is evident on different levels in societies in various countries; for example, in Russia, revolutionary and patriotic songs, including military marches, are still highly esteemed, while in Poland they seem to matter only for the members of the older generations. What is more, while in Russia, all state celebrations are honored with those musical genres, which evokes a lively reaction,<sup>13</sup> in Poland and in Western Europe there are calls for a promotional campaign to encourage citizens to sing popular patriotic songs on festive occasions. Certainly, this is a matter for further research. In Poland, the politics of memory actively supported by Jan Ōldakowski – the Director of The Warsaw Uprising Museum, preserves martyrological myth and tries to establish anti-Germanic and anti – Soviet resentments by means of rock songs (the record Warsaw Uprising by Lao Che – a rock band), electronic music (Klaus Schulze and Lisa Gerrard's concert, celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the outbreak of the World War II), less often jazz music (Tomasz Stańko, The Suite for Heroes, the above-mentioned anniversary). In France, there is a tradition, which dates back to several years ago, that state celebrations held on a large scale are honoured by the music performed by Jean Michel Jarre.

2) A type of music with reference to the content which it is to preserve (the attachment to national and state myths as a rule is supported by the music of native origin).

Music sustains selected national and state myths conveying the message which refers to them. It could be implemented through the addition of the verbal layer or through sound effects – dynamics, timbre, as well as emphasized rhythmic structure. A heroic myth is consolidated by works whose added content refers to national heroes and victories or whose form, instrumentation, dynamics and rhythm constitute complementary element for the message that spreads the heroic myth. The same mechanism functions when music is applied to preserve other myths, including the myth of the historical nation who has extraordinary predestination, as well as the martyrological myth – both myths bring back value (quite often through the category of uniqueness and mission) to the history of the nation

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<sup>13</sup> In the last twenty years, the Russian Federation patriotic compositions, which are fairly traditional in terms of genre and style, have been supplemented with the so called patriotic sung poetry performed by singer-songwriters, known as 'bards'. Among the most famous artists are: the Lube band, Oleg Gazmanow, Igor Talkow, Irina Kramer, Aleksandr Szapiro, Aleksandr Zwincow and W. Charczikow, the winner of several editions of Russian patriotic song festival in the years between 1997 and 2000.

and the state, the culture and religion, and emphasize the martyrology of the nation/nations. The myth about a powerful state is strengthened by all music works which refer to the territorial size of the state, its importance among other states, the force of its army and state authorities. The effectiveness of music in the politics of memory, taking into consideration its ability to strengthen national and state mythologies, should be examined by comparison of sound analysis of particular music compositions, of which there is no doubt that they were or are used in the politics of memory of specific states, with the analysis of national and state myths existing in these countries. The establishment of the correlation between the selected music works and myths gives the basis for the evaluation of their mutual influence.

### 3) Broadcast frequency

The more often a particular type of music is played/sung on a regular basis, the more fixed and legible the music symbol is and the more effective its influence is.

The above deliberations lead us to the following conclusions:

collective memory is occupied not only by facts, but also by their accompanying emotions which channel evaluation. The emotions come from the same facts and also (remembered) situations, in which these facts were experienced or the knowledge of them was passed on. The politics of memory aimed at the creation and preservation of a particular vision of the future, from which – as it is supposed – current collective opinions on the political order and authority are to result, has not only educational and propaganda aspects, but, most importantly, is effective. The success of the particular politics of memory depends on the skilful management of collective feelings and emotions. Music could be a highly useful tool of the politics of memory with regard to its emotional features and atmosphere-creating qualities. The emotional character of music results in the ability to create the community's sense of identity, to encourage collective actions, to channel attitudes and evaluation and also to develop inclinations to behave in a particular way – which is desirable from the point of view of the politics of memory. Music selected appropriately to its purpose and the perceptive skills of the listeners to whom it is addressed, assists symbols and myths which have the key significance for the community. It acts as a symbol itself, defining the community in the context of its history. Preserving national and state myths, music creates the sense of identity of the members of the society in the context of structures to which they belong. Moreover, it strengthens the authority and political order established in these structures.

*Stanisław Konopacki*

## **TURKEY AND THE EUROPEAN UNION – A NEW PHASE OF RELATIONS**

### **ABSTRACT**

Turkey can join the EU once it has fulfilled the conditions and thus complies with European principles and laws. According to Turkish authorities, Ankara is ready and can adopt the full *acquis communautaire* by 2014. The aim of the article is to argue that seen in this light, the Nabucco pipeline project which is expected to bring Caspian gas to Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and Austria via Turkey is of essential importance. By building this pipeline Turkey might become the fourth energy supply route for natural gas to Western Europe. Moreover, Turkey's accession to the Energy Community Treaty as an equal partner with full rights would be an extremely important opportunity for Ankara to strengthen its position and commitment on its way to the membership in the EU.

**Keywords:** Turkey, EU, enlargement, energy security, Nabucco

**T**URKEY CAN JOIN the EU once it has fulfilled the conditions and thus complies with European principles and laws. According to Turkish authorities, Ankara is ready and can adopt the full *acquis communautaire* by 2014. The aim of the article is to argue that seen in this light, the Nabucco pipeline project which is expected to bring Caspian gas to Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and Austria via Turkey is of essential importance. By building this pipeline Turkey might become the fourth energy supply route for natural gas to Western Europe. That means that there is a mutual dependence in energy policies which might help to create a favourable conditions for mutual relations and eventual membership of Turkey into the EU.



This idea is in line with the statement of European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso who in January 2009 pointed it out that energy security “is one of the cases where we can show to the European Union public opinion how important Turkey is for the EU.”<sup>1</sup>

## EUROPE AND TURKEY AFTER 2005

After *annus horribilis* in 2005 the chances of Turkey’s accession to the EU seem to be rather slim. The anti-Turkish mood is rooted in a broader crisis in Europe, which results from three factors. Firstly, according to Giuliano Amato, the former Italian prime minister and vice chairman of Europe’s constitutional convention, the EU is lacking political leadership. The president of the European Commission Jose Manuel Barroso supports further enlargement, but he cannot steer the EU without strong support from Berlin and Paris. Here, the current national leaders leave Europe listless and without direction.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, the present malaise in the EU results from a slow economic growth in the core eurozone countries like Germany, Italy and France. Amato suggest that if the French referendum in May 2005 had taken place while the economy was growing at 2,5 percent, the EU constitution would have passed. It failed because a society facing economic insecurity is not able to support any change. And thirdly, political leaders in France and Germany are afraid that the 2004 and 2007 enlargements weakened the EU’s institutional solidarity. They do not want „widening” without further „deepening”. The Constitutional Treaty seemed to be a remedy for that, but was rejected in the referenda in France and the Netherlands. Its revised version, the Treaty of Lisbon has not change the situation.

At the end of 2007 Turkey managed to open in the accession negotiations with EU two further chapters referring to trans-European networks (TEN) and consumer and health protection. At the same time eight out of 35 chapters have been on hold since 2006 due to Turkey’s refusal to open its ports and airports to ships and planes from Cyprus.<sup>3</sup> According to the Eurobarometer, Turkish support for EU membership is continuously declining. As a reaction to the numerous setbacks

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<sup>1</sup> E. Vucheva, *Turkey May Rethink Nabucco If EU Talks Stall*, “EU Observer” 19.01.2011, <http://euobserver.com/15/27431>, accessed 15.02.2011.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. Grant, *The real crisis for Europe*, „Newsweek” 10.10.2005.

<sup>3</sup> [www.euractiv.com/en/](http://www.euractiv.com/en/), accessed 20.12.2007.

in negotiations with the EU, only 53 percent of Turks believe the country would benefit from joining the bloc, compared to 62 percent in recent years. Negotiations were even more difficult under the Turkey-sceptic French presidency in the second term of 2008.

On the other hand, there have been some important developments in Turkey in recent years. According to the former Turkish foreign minister and chief negotiator Ali Babacan, 2008 was to be the „year of the EU in Turkey”.<sup>4</sup> It seems to be a response to the growing criticism over the interruptions to the country’s progress on its way to the EU membership. Having in mind the negative impact of the 2007 elections on EU directed reforms, the minister declared that Turkey is to set out clear objectives for its EU accession strategy. The elections were a test passed by Turkey during which the country acquired a new president, parliament and government, i.e. a whole infrastructure which is ready to continue reforms. Turkey is ready to open a further eight chapters „once the Cyprus issue is no longer on the table”.<sup>5</sup>

The Turkey’s objectives in this sense are in line with the decision, adopted by Council of European Union on February 2008, revising the principles, priorities and conditions in the Accession Partnership with Turkey.<sup>6</sup> The document is to serve as a foundation for political reforms and a yardstick of future progress. It also identifies short-term priorities, which are to be complete within one to two years, and medium-term priorities, which are to be realised within three to four years. These priorities for Turkey are linked to its capacity to meet the political criteria envisaged for EU accession by the European Council at Copenhagen in 1993 and to the conditions of the negotiating framework adopted by the Council on 3 October 2005. The short-term priorities refer to the issues of: democracy and the rule of law; human rights, civil and political rights, economic and social rights, minority rights, cultural rights and protection of minorities; regional issues and international obligations. Whereas the medium-term priorities relate to economic criteria and the ability to assume the obligations of membership.

It should be emphasised that the short-term priorities first of all relate to democracy, rule of law and rights. We argue that from this point of view we should observe the present developments in Turkey, which shed the light on what is going on in this country.

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<sup>4</sup> [www.euractiv.com/en/](http://www.euractiv.com/en/), accessed 6.02.2008.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>6</sup> Council Decision 5815/08.

## RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN TURKEY

### Minority rights and freedom of expression

In February 2008 Turkey's parliament adopted a law returning property confiscated by the state to Christian and Jewish minority foundations. Enlargement Commissioner Olli Rehn accepted the decision and stressed that „it was important to ensure fundamental rights and freedoms for all Turkish citizens.”<sup>7</sup> He also added that implementation of this law would be the test of Turkey's progress in ensuring rights and freedoms. In turn, Prime Minister Recep Tayip Erdogan pointed out that the new foundation law shows determination of Turkey „on the road to the EU full membership and his country expects to gain versatile benefits”, especially as the EU for a long time has been pressing Turkey to introduce the actions allowing the foundations to reclaim assets overtaken by the state more than 30 years ago, including churches, orphanages, school buildings. The law would also allow Muslim foundations to obtain financial aid from foreign countries.

In April 2008, few day before Jose Manuel Barroso's visit to Ankara, the Turkish government introduced a bill which softens an controversial article 301<sup>8</sup> in the Turkish penal code outlawing criticism of Turkish identity. According to Turkish media, commenting on the so-called „Turkishness” article, the new bill assumes that the permission of the President would be necessary to launch prosecutions concerning cases where Turkish identity or the country's institutions have been insulted. The amendment would also decrease the maximum punishment from three to two years and replace the expression „denigrating Turkish identity” with „denigrating the Turkish nation”. The existing Article 301 was a basis of a number of cases against authors and journalists in recent years, including the Nobel Price Winner Orhan Pamuk and the Turkish-Armenian journalist Hrant Dink, who was murdered last year because his convictions. European officials repeatedly highlighted freedom of expression as „the first and foremost priority” for Turkey on its path to reform. They called on the Turkish government to amend or abolish the article if the country wants to prove it is serious to join the EU. Although the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) has promised to reform Article 301 several times in recent years, it has so far never taken any substantial action.

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<sup>7</sup> [www.euractiv.com/en](http://www.euractiv.com/en), 22.02.2008.

<sup>8</sup> *Turkey moves on freedom of speech*, [www.euractiv.com/en](http://www.euractiv.com/en), 8.04.2008.

That is why the present step might be seen as a part of a broader government policy to reaffirm its EU obligations, including a strategy to tackle corruption and harmonise regulations on unions and strikes. However, according to an official from the Turkish Secretariat General for EU affairs Article 301 is not the only one in the Turkish penal code which restrict the freedom of speech. It means that other changes in the country's law should be realised as soon as possible, although the opposition far-right Nationalist Party (MHP) declared that it would oppose any changes concerning the provisions of Article 301.

### **Judiciary coup d'état**

The recent developments has put Turkey into a political turmoil. In March 2008, the chief prosecutor Abdurrahman Yalcinkaya launched a case with the constitutional court that could end with an exclusion of the AKP and 71 of its top members, including Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, from politics. The party was accused of undermining Turkey's principle of secularism, especially by ending the ban on women wearing headscarves in universities.<sup>9</sup> There are some Turks who defend the prosecutor's indictment reminding that Turkey has also closed down several pro-Kurdish parties. Actually, it was a completely different case as those parties had clear links with the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), which is treated in Turkey, The European Union and the United States as a terrorist organisation. As for the AKP, there is nothing to do with terrorism, violence and even a hate speech.<sup>10</sup>

As Mustafa Akyol declares, the AKP is under threat because of its political views and the state establishment holds different views and wants to eliminate those who disagree. The chief prosecutor as a basis of his action has collected quotes from AKP leaders, especially Tayyip Erdogan, as a proof of their guilt. Prime Minister declared that „a democratic country should grant religious freedom, which includes the right of the citizens to express their beliefs, but of course with respect to the laws. The headscarf ban is not liberal”. Moreover, according to him „banning the headscarf is a method practised by the French. We Turks rather appreciate the Anglo-Saxon interpretation of secularism and think it is ridiculous to have such

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<sup>9</sup> S. Cagaptay, *Ankara's Quiet Revolution*, "Newseek" 14.04.2008.

<sup>10</sup> M. Akyol, *The 'crimes' of Tayyip Erdogan*, "Turkish Daily News" 22.03.2008.

bans in the 21st century.”<sup>11</sup> He also mentioned an example of his daughter who was not accepted by Bogazici University because she was a graduate of the imam-hatip (religious) high school. The AKP leader desires his country is a place in which veiled and unveiled girls are allowed to university. He states that „99 percent of Turkey is Muslim. Thus this is a Muslim country... But being an Islamic country is different from being an Islamic state.”<sup>12</sup>

It seems that the key issue here is a nature of Turkish secularism. In the opinion of the Turkish establishment, secularism involves that citizens may practice religion only in their private lives. As a result, any social movement inspired by religion, or any religious symbol in public, is considered to be a violation. This, according to M. Akyol, requires the suppression of religion by authoritarian policy. Such a secularism has no parallels in the free world. Prime Minister Erdogan wants to liberalize this illiberal system. One of his predecessors Adnan Menderes paid the price by being executed by the military in 1961. One might have an impression that these times, the chief prosecutor wants to eliminate Prime Minister and his party only politically.

People in Turkey were not happy about Western comments concerning the recent developments in the country. They argue that interpretations in Europe underestimate the real threat of creeping Islamisation. However, the indictment is based rather on past statements of the AKP's politicians, not on their actions. It should be stressed that AKP realised many reforms within the process of modernisation of the country during its seven years in office. According to Katinka Barysch of Centre for European Reform in London, it is popular enough to rule without a coalition partner, which does not happen very often in the Turkish politics. If it was closed down, it would reappear in a different guise and probably win another election. So far, the government is thinking about introducing an amendment into the constitution that would make it harder to ban political parties. Also AKP politicians refer to the Council of Europe which clearly states that only parties that support violence might be outlawed.

Also, the party may adopt other strategies which would prevent a „judicial coup” against the government. However, such steps would not diminish the concerns of those who suspect that the AKP is using democracy as an instrument of pursuing the hidden agenda of islamisation.<sup>13</sup> There is an opinion that the government

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<sup>11</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>13</sup> M. Rubin, *Turkey's Turning Point*, “National Review Online” 14.04.2008.

should adopt rather a new constitution, which is more modern. The current one was written by the military in 1982 after the last coup. In 2007 AKP asked the legal experts to prepare a new draft constitution that strengthens individual rights and the role of the parliament. However, the draft has disappeared and the party's promises for a nationwide constitutional debate have remained unfulfilled. Instead, they started doing constitutional *à la carte* – notably by ending the headscarf ban.<sup>14</sup>

The whole story indicates a deep and widening chasm in Turkish society. Sustained efforts by Turks – of all stripe and their friends abroad are needed to help prevent Turkey from tearing itself apart. That would be bad for everybody and especially for the chances of Turkey to join the EU. Moreover, these developments put at risk Turkey's compliance with the Copenhagen criteria which demand from a European Union candidate to achieve stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy and the rule of law. Also, the debates in 2008 triggered some doubts whether Turkey has achieved a minimally stable *modus vivendi* among different lifestyles.

A legal battle dominated the most of 2008, with the negative impact on the business of government and Turkey's accession talks with the European Union. It added a huge element of uncertainty to the outlook for Turkey. The economy was slowing down and the country became vulnerable to the impact of the global credit squeeze because of its need for foreign capital to finance its account deficit. According to Guven Sak, who heads the Tepav think-tank in Ankara, the juxtaposition of these "three crises" has made this a difficult moment for Turkey.

Vincent Boland and John Thornhill argue that while the nation has changed – through migration, industrialisation, the spread of education, democracy and globalisation – the state has remained essentially the same: authoritarian, hostile to plurality and devoted to Atatürk's secular vision for the revolutionary republic he founded. The clash between the AKP and the secularists embodies this tension<sup>15</sup>. Osman Ulagay, the author of a new book on the clash between secularism and conservatism in Turkey, says the party represents something new and unexpected. He argues that "the AKP is more socially conservative and traditional and closer to religious values [than other political parties]."<sup>16</sup> But it is also more open to

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<sup>14</sup> K. Barysch, *Turkey...*

<sup>15</sup> V. Boland, J. Thornhill, *Secular strains: Turkish political Islam comes under new fire*, "Financial Times" 22.04.2008.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted after V. Boland, J. Thornhill, *ibidem*.

democratic values, to the market economy, to the EU. Secularism in Turkey – or rather the French concept of *laïcité* – is a ground not just for the separation of state and religion but also the strict control of religious activities by the state. According to Ural Akbulut, without this control, the alternative to Turkey's modern secular democracy would be "a radical Islamic dictatorship". This explains "why secularists are so afraid even of mild Islam". Yet, secularism has come to be seen by many people in the emerging cities of central Anatolia – Kayseri, Konya, Gaziantep, and others in the AKP's heartland – solely as discrimination against women who wear the headscarf. These women are prevented from attending state universities, becoming civil servants or teaching if they insist on wearing the scarf. This restriction has become the most contested issue between the AKP and the secularists when the party won re-election.<sup>17</sup>

Also, there is a growing sense that Turkey's economic boom is over. Standard & Poor's, the credit rating agency, reduced its outlook for the country to negative "owing to the increasingly fraught political and global environment that the country faces in the near term". The decision came as a shock to a government that had thought a rating upgrade was in prospect after a five-year reform record that had seen the economy expand at 7 per cent a year. The slowing economy has highlighted the need for further and deeper structural reforms.

### **Reaction of the EU**

This recent developments caused the natural reaction of the EU. In March 2008 Olli Rehn, the EU's enlargement commissioner said that the action of court was unjustified and such issues like performance of the ruling party should be discussed in parliament. He and Javier Solana, the chief of the EU's foreign policy declared that the accession negotiations would be affected if the Turkish constitutional court banned the AKP.<sup>18</sup> According to EU Enlargement Commissioner, Turkey is passing through a more critical phase than at any time since the beginning of its accession negotiations.<sup>19</sup> He predicted Turkey could emerge with its democratic institutions strengthened, provided that all sides showed willingness to compromise and the necessary reforms were pushed through. He added that the EU should stand by its

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<sup>17</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>18</sup> K. Barysch, *Turkey: the constitutional frontline*, "OpenDemocracy" 14.04.2008.

<sup>19</sup> *EU must stand by Turkey in critical phase*, "World Bulletin" 21.04.2008.

commitments on Turkish accession, while Turkey had to play its part by sticking to its reform course. Asked about the consequences of action by Turkey's attorney general to have the ruling AKP banned on constitutional grounds, Rehn said this would harm the reform process.<sup>20</sup> Regarding slow progress on the accession process, which began in 2005, six of 35 chapters in the process had been opened.

Meanwhile, the Slovenian Presidency called off an accession conference with Ankara over the country's failure to meet initial benchmarks in one of two chapters, which were expected to be opened during the meeting. According to a Turkish diplomat, the country received backing for fulfilling the conditions in the area of company law but failed to do so in the field of intellectual property law. Turkey hoped to open two new chapters during the French Presidency, namely the free movement of capital, education and culture.

In April 2008, the European Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee approved a progress report on Turkey which welcomed the country's recent legislative efforts, in particular referring to the amendment of Article 301 of the Penal Code sent by the government to the Parliament. The report, drawn up by Dutch MEP Ria Oomen-Ruijten, urged the government of Prime Minister Erdogan and the Parliament to carry out this reform "without delay" and made clear that further and faster efforts are needed. The MEPs also expressed their concern about the implications of the AK Party closure case, calling upon the Turkish Constitutional Court to "respect principles of the rule of law, European standards and the Venice Commission guidelines on the prohibition of political parties."<sup>21</sup>

Now there is a vital role for the European Union, which needs to strengthen its efforts to state unequivocally that Turkey, if it completes its reforms, will be accepted into the union. The credible prospects of EU membership is the best way to achieve a democratic and reformed Turkey which is in European interest.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, there is also a big role for Turkey to find an issue or agenda which is to be of vital interest for Europe. It seemed that question of energy might be such an issue. It was especially important as further chapters, including energy, were supposed to be opened under the French EU presidency.

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<sup>20</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>21</sup> *EU plays 'good cop, bad cop' with Turkey*, [www.euractiv.com/en](http://www.euractiv.com/en), accessed 22.04.2008.

<sup>22</sup> *Turkey's risk, Europe's role*, "OpenDemocracy" 2.04.2008.



## ROLE OF TURKEY IN EUROPEAN ENERGY SECURITY

### Energy issue in the EU

The problem of “having energy carrier pipelines independent of Russia” is one of the fundamental questions of Europe’s energy policy.<sup>23</sup> The European Union is in need to find new suppliers and routes of oil and gas. The EU’s gas demand is forecast to rise by a quarter by 2050, and what is more, the share of gas imported from outside the Union is expected to rise from around half today to as much as 80 percent by 2030.<sup>24</sup> Now, a quarter of the EU’s gas comes from Russia. Until January 2006, when Gazprom temporarily cut off supplies going through Ukraine, the EU never worried about its dependence on Russian gas. When the pressure dropped in gas pipelines in Hungary, Austria and other states, the EU started to think how to secure its future energy security. The EU is becoming of more aware that it has low chances of obtaining energy self-sufficiency.<sup>25</sup>

However, there is a problem with the Russian supplies of gas to Europe. Firstly, there is a concern about persistent underinvestment within Russia. Any growth in Russia’s gas output is swallowed by a fast-growing domestic market. Moreover, Russia has ambitious plans to sell more energy to China, Japan and the USA. In the nearest future Russia is to remain the EU’s single biggest gas supplier. So far, Europe has only been able to import gas from Central Asia and the Caspian through Russian territory. Secondly, the Russian state-controlled Gazprom has monopoly over all gas pipelines, which turns gas imports from other countries into Russian gas at the border. This structure provides the Kremlin with political power and Gazprom with tremendous profits. Additionally, for Russia the transport monopoly will become even more important when its own gas production falls short of domestic and European demand. It could the use Turkmen and other Central Asian gas to make up for shortfalls, but not if these states have alternative outlets.

Thirdly, according to Ewa Paszyc Gazprom accelerated its expansion onto the European gas market in 2006 and this policy is aimed “on the one hand at strength-

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<sup>23</sup> E. Dilbazi, *Energy Security and Alternative Sources in the Caspian Sea Region*, “International Issues & Slovak Foreign Policy Affairs” 2010, no. 1, p. 92, [www.ceeol.com](http://www.ceeol.com).

<sup>24</sup> *European energy and transport. Trends to 2030–2050*, European Commission, May 2006.

<sup>25</sup> A. Tekin, P.A. Williams, *Europe’s External Energy Policy and Turkey’s Accession Process*, “Center for European Studies Working Paper Series” 2009, no. 170, p. 3.

ening its market position in those states that traditionally buy Russian gas and on the other at gaining access to new markets in Western Europe, in particular the gas-producing countries and states where Gazprom has not been a major supplier so far.”<sup>26</sup>

In its traditional markets, Gazprom took steps to extend already-existing gas deals, offering guarantees of long-term supplies for “the right to directly sell gas in some of these markets, and to distribute and trade gas in most of them”. According to the author, in the new markets, Gazprom has established itself as a direct or indirect gas supplier, and an owner of companies authorised to operate on European markets or a shareholder of intermediary companies. The Gazprom’s activities are clearly aimed at bringing about its domination of the European market, a tactic interpreted by some as an attempt to acquire a ‘controlling market share’ before another phase of market liberalisation is complete. Paszyc argues that the monopoly’s expansion into the European gas sector, including transport, distribution and trade, has consequences however for the EU, as it makes it increasingly difficult for the European Commission to enforce the EU laws on this market.<sup>27</sup>

The European Union has received another warning of Russia’s efforts to strengthen its monopoly on the continent’s gas supplies. It happened during President Vladimir Putin’s visit to Libya.<sup>28</sup> On this occasion Gazprom agreed to a wide-ranging joint venture with Libya’s national oil and gas company. Gazprom also revealed it was talking to Italy’s Eni about investing in a new Libya-Italy undersea pipeline and to Nigeria about a trans-Sahara route. The discussions follow talks with Algeria and Qatar and a determined drive to reinforce Russia’s grip on central Asian gas exports. Gazprom has so far proved better at announcing than building new pipelines. The controversial Northstream (Baltic Sea) and Southstream (Balkan) routes to the EU have yet to be constructed. Gazprom’s ambitions make sense even at a purely commercial level. With some 25 per cent of EU gas going through its pipes, it will naturally strive to boost market share, with or without partners. For the west, the Kremlin connection adds a disturbing political dimension – Gazprom is the embodiment of Mr Putin’s aim to make Russia an energy superpower. The EU recognises the danger, but is not able to present a united front to Russia. It is undermined by the repeated willingness of leading

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<sup>26</sup> E. Paszyc, *Gazprom in Europe: Faster expansion in 2006*, Centre for Eastern Studies, Warsaw, February 2007.

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>28</sup> *Breaking the grip of Gazprom*, “Financial Times” 21.04.2008.

states, including Germany, France and Italy, to strike bilateral deals. It is a testimony that Gazprom divides and rules.

In this situation the EU must encourage Gazprom and other Russian gas companies to invest more in new production. The more gas Russia has coming out of the ground, the better for consumers. Next, Brussels must accelerate internal energy market liberalisation so all states benefit from a common energy pool. As well as legal reforms, this needs investment in gas and electricity infrastructure.

However, the most important challenge for the future of European energy policy is diversification of sources of supply. It was the main theme of the European Commission energy package presented at the beginning of 2007.<sup>29</sup> That is why the Caspian and Central Asian area is central to the Commission's plans, especially as it contains 4–5 per cent of global oil and gas reserves.

### **Turkey and the European energy policy**

One of the priorities of the Turkey's foreign policy is to become a major Eurasian energy hub. Good links with supplier countries and energy consumers would not only increase the country's international position, but they would also bring business in the form of transit fees, new refineries and trading facilities. Turkey would benefit from that very much also in the form of diversification of its own energy supplies and possibility to re-export a surplus. Geographical localisation of Turkey makes it ideally to be an energy hub, and its recent policies have been directed at realization of that goal. Even before the collapse of the Soviet Union Turkey's control of the Bosphorus made it crucial to Soviet-Russian oil exports from the region of the Black Sea. In the post-Soviet period Turkey has emerged as an energy bridge between the Caspian and Europe and between the Middle East and Europe.<sup>30</sup>

It should be noticed that Turkey already plays the role of an energy hub through the Bosphorus strait and several pipelines linking it to Russia and the Caspian region.<sup>31</sup> Each year ten thousand tankers pass through the Bosphorus strait connecting the Black Sea with the Mediterranean and a tanker manoeuvres in this busy area becomes very difficult. Despite the fact that Turkey spent billions on

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<sup>29</sup> [www.ec.europa.eu/energy/energy\\_policy/documents\\_en.htm](http://www.ec.europa.eu/energy/energy_policy/documents_en.htm), accessed 20.01.2007.

<sup>30</sup> C. Seivetz, *Tangled Pipelines: Turkey's Role in Energy Export Plans*, "Turkish Studies" 2009, vol. 10, no. 1, p. 95.

<sup>31</sup> K. Barysch, *Turkey's Role in European Energy Security*, CER, December 2007.

high-tech navigation system and other safety measures, it is only question of time before one of them spills its toxic cargo into the water. This of course must bring a disaster for 13 million residents of Istanbul.<sup>32</sup>

The project that might have a great importance for the European energy needs and to Turkey's role as an energy hub is Nabucco.<sup>33</sup> This pipeline is to run from eastern Turkey through Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary into Austria. After reaching its full capacity, it will be able to transport 31 billion cubic meters of gas to Europe each year. Of course, a new pipeline will not fulfil all European demand for gas, but according to experts its mere existence as an alternative supply route would strengthen the EU's position in negotiations with Russia. In this way the EU might force Gazprom to sell gas on a more competitive basis. John Roberts, an energy expert, argues that "if Nabucco prompted Russia to drop its process by only €1 per thousand cubic metres, then it would provide a good return on its €5 billion investment."<sup>34</sup>

Nabucco would be not only good for European consumers, but also as a test for the European energy policy focused on diversification of sources. On the other hand it would be a crucial factor for Turkey's role as a Eurasian energy hub. And last but not least, it would be a big opportunity for Europe and Turkey of their co-operation and further integration. It should be noticed however, that the planned pipeline suffers from many problems and delays. The start of construction has been postponed until 2015.

According to Katinka Barysch, there is another important dilemma regarding the fact that building international pipelines is expensive. They usually involve a long-term agreement between the gas supplier and the consumer, to make sure that enough gas flows through the pipeline to pay off the initial investment. In a case of Nabucco there is uncertainty especially on the side of supply. Nabucco's gas would come from Azerbaijan, and possibly Turkmenistan and from Iran and Iraq in the future. In a face of such uncertainty, the body planning the pipeline comes from the transit countries rather than from the suppliers and buyers. An international consortium of companies would only invest the money for the construction of pipeline if they can be sure about supply. But here there are some doubts about future supplies of gas.

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<sup>32</sup> J. Daly, *EU missing opportunity to use Turkey as reliable energy corridor*, "Eurasia Daily Monitor," Jamestown Foundation, 26.03.2007.

<sup>33</sup> K. Barysch, *op.cit.*, p.4

<sup>34</sup> Quoted after K. Barysch, *op.cit.*

The main obstacle to realise the plan concerning Nabucco comes from Russia. Moscow has done everything to prevent Nabucco from being built. Three years ago, it seemed that Russia was successful in a series of steps taken in order to eliminate the Nabucco investors out of the game<sup>35</sup>. Recently Gazprom has launched a policy in order to weaken the position of the EU – Nabucco gas pipeline consortium. It is trying to enlist one of its members, German utility RWE, for the alternative South Stream pipeline. The Nabucco consortium includes the main European energy companies: OMV of Austria, MOL of Hungary, RWE of Germany, Bulgargaz of Bulgaria, Transgaz of Romania and Botas of Turkey. It should be mentioned that three consortium members – OMV, MOL and Bulgargaz have already signed up to Gazprom's South Stream pipeline. It raises a natural question concerning potential conflicts of interest and their commitment to Nabucco. Gazprom's vice-president Alexander Medvedev proposed that German energy utility RWE (Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk AG) should become part of South Stream. In this way Gazprom tries to get access to the final user in Germany. If Gazprom and RWE find common ground and impulse for cooperation, the German company would join South Stream.

According to German press if Gazprom is successful in ousting RWE from the Nabucco consortium, the Nabucco project will become dead. However, some experts argue that it will not be easy for Gazprom to convince RWE and to provide it with a proper financial compensation. Others emphasize that the political consequences of such a move would be disastrous and cannot be neglected. Yet, as Viktor Markov, from Zurich Capital Management, claims many companies are longing to join South Stream, because the project looks viable. In his opinion, Nabucco is not a rival to South Stream, as it is deprived of sufficient gas supplies. After the publication in "Handelsblatt" Gas Pipeline International GmbH has released the statement saying "the Nabucco project is currently the only ground breaking economic initiative for the greater diversity of gas sources and transportation routes and enhanced competition in Europe. No other project in the Southern Corridor can claim to compete on this basis nor is as advanced and well positioned as Nabucco."<sup>36</sup> Moreover, with an intergovernmental agreement Nabucco is the only project that has firm legal basis and has already started the ESIA<sup>37</sup> process. All national companies belonging to Nabucco are now operational.

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<sup>35</sup> Ibidem. s. 5.

<sup>36</sup> cited after [www.euractiv.com/en](http://www.euractiv.com/en), accessed 12.07.2010.

<sup>37</sup> ESIA – Environmental and Social Impact Assessment guidelines, 2010.

According to the statement, Nabucco is currently in a phase of negotiations with major banks such as EIB, EBRD and IFC and all its six shareholders are determined to complete and promote the project.

The pipeline will have to source the 30 billion cubic meters of gas mainly from three gas suppliers including Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Northern Iraq. However, the situation of these partners casts some doubts concerning a smooth delivery of gas from these sources. However, due to its political tensions Iraq does not seem to be a reliable partner any time soon.

Azerbaijan as a potential source of gas is slow in its development and is involved in a struggle with Gazprom over the price of Russian gas deliveries. As a result, it would need more of its gas for domestic consumption. It also plans to co-operate with Georgia, which after a similar problem with Gazprom, would need more non-Russian gas. Recently, Azerbaijan has managed to diversify its exports and to expand beyond Turkey and Georgia to Russia and Iran. According to BP statistical data from 2005,<sup>38</sup> the natural gas reserves in Azerbaijan are estimated at approximately 280 years worth of reserves, however after the discovery of the new Shah Deniz deposit this number could increase 5 to 10 times as much. Cooperation with Russia do not require any additional financial resources for infrastructure, which is very profitable for Baku, especially in the situation when a commercial contract does not set any upwards cap on exports. Furthermore, there is a hope because the prospects received a big boost in Spring when Azerbaijan and Turkey finally reached an agreement. In principle, it includes transit fees and gas prices, opening in this way the door to the negotiations for the sale of gas from the second stage of Azerbaijan's Shah Deniz II field<sup>39</sup>. Within the framework of the agreement signed in June 2010, Turkey will import more gas from Shah Deniz, up to 11 billion cubic meters annually. The document also provides the terms for the transit of Azerbaijani gas to European countries and addressed price adjustments for the gas for Turkey.<sup>40</sup> Some amount of the gas will be consumed in Turkey. The shipments would start by 2017. It should be mentioned that Turkey currently receives some 6 billion cubic meters of gas from Azerbaijan and pumps some of that amount to Greece.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> BP Statistical Review of World Energy (2005).

<sup>39</sup> A. Paul, *Turkmenistan and the Nabucco 'virtual' pipeline*, "Today's Zaman" 8.07.2010.

<sup>40</sup> Turkey, *Azerbaijan pen three strategic deals on Caspian gas*, "Today's Zaman" 8.06.2010.

<sup>41</sup> *Azerbaijan to ship more gas to Europe via Turkey*, "Today's Zaman" 7.06.2010.

An important step for future functioning of Nabucco pipeline was made in January 2011 when the President of the European Commission José Manuel Barroso and the President of Azerbaijan İlham Aliyev signed a Joint Declaration on gas delivery for Europe. Azerbaijan has committed to supply a large volumes of gas<sup>42</sup> over the long term to the European Union, while Europe provides access to its market for them. This document is an important development in the realization of the Southern Gas Corridor and the diversification of Europe's energy supplies.<sup>43</sup>

As far as Turkmenistan is concerned, it should be mentioned that this country will not be able to contribute much to Nabucco. The production slump in 2009 made Ashgabat to suspend over hundred and fifty production sites, which cannot be undone very soon. According to certain predictions, it will take until 2013 before the country can reach the production levels of 2008 again. Moreover, due to its recent inauguration of the gas export to China, Turkmenistan will be deeply engaged in cooperation with its new partner, especially as it has to provide of 30 billion cubic metres of gas annually over a time span of 30 years. Additionally, a close cooperation with China will be based on substantial credit lines, because Beijing offered loans worth four billion US dollars for the development of the South Yolantan gas infrastructure.<sup>44</sup>

There is also another obstacle towards the Turkmen export capacities, which results from the energy agreement with Russia. Recently both countries have revised the contract for the Turkmen supply of gas to Russia, which practically excludes additional exports to Nabucco. According to this document Turkmenistan must export of 80 to 90 billion cubic meters and must cater for domestic demand of an additional 20 billion cubic meters per year, which makes that the annual production has to reach the level around 100 billion cubic meters. It should be added that over the past few years Turkmenistan did not manage to restore its production levels of 1991 (76 billion cubic metres), not to mention to exceed these quantity. In other words, Turkmenistan does not possess any additional capacity for new buyers.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Azerbaijan is expected to bring ten billion cubic meters of gas each year to Europe. The Nabucco consortium is one of the bidders, alongside other projects such as ITGI and TAP, see: *Barroso tops Azeri gas deal with visa facilitation*, Euractiv, 14 January, 2011.

<sup>43</sup> *Commission and Azerbaijan sign strategic gas deal*, European Commission, Brussels 13 January 2011, [www.europa.eu](http://www.europa.eu)

<sup>44</sup> [www.euractiv.com/en](http://www.euractiv.com/en), accessed 5.02.2010.

<sup>45</sup> Ibidem.



According to the experts gathered during the Nabucco conference in Georgia in January 2010, the project rests on a feet of clay. There are vital and unsettled questions regarding funding of the pipe-line and legal status of the Caspian Sea. However, the will to reduce dependence on Russia gas-supply seems to take priority over business realities. Another problem with a successful realisation of the project results from the fact that the exclusion of Russia from the Southern Corridor initiative will massively increase the risks attached to the project. The Turkey's Prime minister is very aware of this fact by saying that "the Caucasus Cooperation Pact is important. The United States is our ally. But Russia is our strategic neighbor. We buy two-thirds of the energy we need from Russia. That country is Turkey's number one partner in trade ... No one must expect us to ignore all that. Our allies must adopt an understanding approach."<sup>46</sup>

However, the European Union allies from the big members states are not so enthusiastic about the project.<sup>47</sup> The German chancellor Angela Merkel was not very supportive of Nabucco and initially vetoed the EU's €200 million grant to the pipeline. Later on, in 2010 she has become more positive about Nabucco, but only after the EU confirmed its support for the German-Russian pipe Nord Stream, which for a long time has been opposed by Poland and other new member-states. Similarly Nicolas Sarkozy has not been an advocate of the southern corridor. The Turks – humiliated by a French parliamentary resolution about the Armenian 'genocide' and French open opposition to the Turkish EU accession – had rejected Gaz de France's offer to join the Nabucco consortium. Furthermore, at present Sarkozy seems to be engaged in launching cooperation of France's big energy companies with Gazprom. Already, Gaz de France has joined the Nord Stream project in March 2010 and Electricité de France is negotiating its participation in South Stream pipeline. In turn, the Italian president Silvio Berlusconi, who personally admires Vladimir Putin, prefers bilateral relations with Russia. The main partner in Gazprom's South Stream pipeline is Italy's ENI company. Among the big member-states only the UK remains as the strongest supporter of Nabucco, because it knows that presumably it will need more pipeline gas in the future and it must care about the geopolitical benefits of a southern corridor.

Even the EU as a whole is not so determined about the prospects of Nabucco. In March 2010 the European Union Energy Commissioner Guenther Oettinger

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<sup>46</sup> Interview with Erdogan, *Hürriyet*, 6.11.2008, accessed at ISI Emerging Markets Database.

<sup>47</sup> K. Barysch, *Should the Nabucco pipeline project be shelved?*, "Centre for European Reform Policy Brief" May 2010, p. 3.



said that the completion of the Nabucco gas pipeline may be delayed by four years to 2018.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, he said that another project Russia's South Stream also should be built. South Stream, which is to go across the bed of the Black Sea to bypass Ukraine is complementing a third and most advanced project, the subsea Baltic Sea gas pipeline whose construction has started in April 2010.

Despite all these problems Nabucco is a priority for the EU and extremely important for improving Europe's security of supply. It has the potential to open up the new gas supplies in the Caspian Sea region and in the Middle East. It's sponsors should take Final Investment Decision and its construction should start by the end of 2011. At present the sponsors are very actively working with the gas producers in the Caspian and Middle East regions to ensure that there will be enough gas to underpin the investment. Moreover, it must be emphasized that the gas is there and selling it to Europe is of strategic importance to Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Turkey. Europe in turn is highly interested in buying that gas and further diversifying its gas supply sources. Nabucco provides the solution needed by Europe, Turkey and the regions rich in gas.

It also should be stressed that stronger European Union – Turkey energy relations can improve the atmosphere between Ankara and Brussels. In this context, a visible progress on Nabucco is of vital importance. Its success may provide the ground for further co-operation in areas, such as foreign and security policy. In turn, it would be a powerful signal to those who have become skeptical about the prospect of Turkish accession to the EU.

One thing must be also taken into account, that treating Turkey's capacity to serve as a transit country for gas within existing frameworks of cooperation may not be enough to enhance European energy security. The proposed energy networks like the Turkey-Greece-Italy Interconnector or the Nabucco Pipeline, which have been prioritized by the Commission, necessitate the higher standardization and integration of regulatory measures typical for political union. Thus, "more serious efforts by the EU on supplier diversification and the securing of those supplies may require less ambivalence on Turkey's accession."<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Oettinger says Nabucco may be delayed, [www.euractiv.com/en](http://www.euractiv.com/en), accessed 29.03.2010.

<sup>49</sup> A. Tekin, P.A. Williams, *Europe's External Energy Policy...*, p. 16.

## CONCLUSION

The EU and Turkey have a common interests involving security, economy and political dialogue. It is one of the reasons why the EU decided to open accession negotiations with Turkey. According to Olli Rehn, especially in the area of energy strategy the both sides can gain from the deeper cooperation.<sup>50</sup> Turkey can help the EU to secure its energy supply, and on the other hand integration into the EU's internal energy market will enable Turkey to build the domestic energy market and infrastructure necessary for rapid economic growth.

At present, reliable energy supplies are a key issue for Europe. That is why Turkey has an essential role to play in the process of diversification of energy supply to Europe. During accession negotiations Turkey showed its readiness to align its energy market with regulations of the EU's internal market. The full liberalisation of rapidly growing market will create a strong domestic market in Turkey and will bring further investment opportunities for business. As a result, the growing Turkish economy can be a motor for a regional economic growth and development of energy sector.

In this context it is important for Turkey to join the European Energy Community. Although, formally this is a process that has nothing to do with the EU accession and the one does not prejudice the other, these two developments have a common ground. Namely, they share the understanding that further cooperation is needed between the EU and Turkey in many areas.<sup>51</sup> In the field of energy policy a cooperation should include several elements. Firstly, cooperation on the common geo-strategic challenges present in a shared neighbourhood of the Black Sea, the Caspian Central Asia, the Mediterranean and the Middle East. Secondly, a wide agreement to exchange best practice in energy market reform and regulation. Turkey's accession to the Energy Community Treaty as an equal partner with full rights would be an extremely important opportunity for Ankara to strengthen its position and commitment on its way to the membership in the EU.

Energy is a field where early success is possible. The developing nature of the EU's energy policy provides Turkey with an opportunity to make sure that its energy policy is in line with Europe's energy security.

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<sup>50</sup> O. Rehn, *Turkey and the EU: Together for a European Energy Policy*, speech given during the Conference in Istanbul on 5 th June 2007.

<sup>51</sup> A. Piebalgs, *EU and Turkey: Together for a European Energy Policy*, Istanbul 5 June 2007.

*Justyna Misiągiewicz*

## **THE SECURITY OF TURKEY IN THE LATE WESTPHALIAN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM\***

### **ABSTRACT**

The new late Westphalian international system is strongly connected with the process of globalization. It changed and challenged the traditional role of the state. It is impossible to be independent or self-sufficient in such a system. There are many new non-state players in the international relations. Terrorist organizations or transnational companies can act across state borders. We have also many other phenomena, like drugs and arms trafficking, illegal migration, the need of energy security, weapons of mass destruction or the global financial crisis. That is why states have to act together to deal with such problems. The system of international interdependence forces to change the traditional meaning of state's sovereignty and security. The participation in some specific international organizations, like the European Union, changes the role of the state. We can analyse the process of erosion of state's sovereignty or the transition of the part of the state's sovereignty to some transnational decision making structures. The question is, how much sovereignty we can give up to keep our identity? This question is a key issue in the process of Turkey's integration with the EU.

The new international situation made Turkey a much more active and pragmatic player. In late Westphalian system Turkey is an important part of the regional security in Eurasia not only in military sense but also in economic, cultural or political dimensions. Turkey enjoys a special location between Europe and Asia

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\* The paper financed by the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin within the framework of the grant of Vice-President for Science – Ministry of Science and Higher Education own research.

along one of the world's biggest trade routes. It is a geopolitically significant country—European and Asian at the same time. Such a position made Turkey a state with a very specific international role in establishing a dialog between civilizations. It can be also a key element of the energy security of the European Union as a corridor for the resources from the Caucasus and Central Asia regions to the European markets. Turkey is also a very important element in the transatlantic security system. It may play a significant role in the Western counterterrorism strategy in the Middle East and Central Asia. Turkey could make a valuable contribution to the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). Turkey needs a peaceful neighbourhood and security borders to continue its internal reforms which are important to adapt to the new late Westphalian international system.

In this analysis, it is necessary to explain the main thesis: what is the Westphalian international system, the late Westphalian international system, what the place of Turkey is in the late Westphalian international system and how it influences the Turkish security.

**Keywords:** international relations, late Westphalian system, Turkey's security.

## INTRODUCTION

**THE PROCESS OF** globalization has transformed the role of the state in international relations. The meaning of state independence is changing in a new late Westphalian international system. There are non-state actors which are sometimes much more powerful than nation states. Terrorism, environmental pollution, the lack of energy security or the global financial crisis are the phenomena which cross borders. That is why states have to cooperate with each other to deal with such problems. It is a challenge for the international community to redefine the concept of sovereignty, power and nation state in the new international environment.

Turkey is a specific state, which is situated in a very turbulent and challenging environment. It provides active and flexible foreign policy in the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. It is a very important geopolitical pivot state in Eurasia. Turkey is also forced to cope with many threats connected with the late Westphalian international system and processes of globalization which cross its borders. Destabilized Turkey would be very dangerous not only for adjacent states, but for the whole international system. Thereby it is interesting how Turkey is adapting to the new late Westphalian uncertain international system.

## **WESTPHALIAN VERSUS LATE WESTPHALIAN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**

The signing of the Westphalian Treaty in Münster and Osnabrück on 24 October 1648 after the Thirty Years' War initiated the modern international system. Since then, we can talk about the international society of sovereign states.<sup>1</sup> These developments forced to create new forms and means to stabilize the international system. International relations referred to interactions and cooperation between states. Thereby, only a sovereign state was the subject of the Westphalian system. Centralized states were based on such values as: security, international order, stability, territory and sovereignty. In short it is the Reason of The State. Every state could justify any action strengthening its power and national security. The sovereignty and the territory were the most important aspects of the international relations. The sovereignty of the state was understood as: self – governance, exclusive rights inside the state, and independence in the international relations. It was the main idea of the Westphalian international system. The territory could be controlled only by the sovereign state. International law and the development of diplomacy as a result of agreements between states, were the main regulators of relations between sovereign actors.

The centralized state and its territory was the only subject of the protection by the security policy. In that environment, the security of the state was a zero sum game.<sup>2</sup> The security of one state marked the insecurity of the other one. The balance of power as a system of building the coalition of states against the hegemony of one state, was an effective security system in the Westphalian international order. Military power was a key element of the state security. War was a legal instrument in international relations. The Westphalian international system was a very important step in the development of international relations. It established the legal basis of the contemporary state and fundamental values of international relations.

Nowadays the process of globalization has changed the parameters of the international system. We can analyse new conditions and dimensions of the contemporary international order. The new features of international relations which are connected with the process of globalization coexist with the “old” ones from the

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<sup>1</sup> *Stosunki międzynarodowe – geneza, struktura, funkcjonowanie*, E. Haliżak, R. Kuźniar (eds.), Warszawa 1994, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Kryteria bezpieczeństwa międzynarodowego państwa*, B. Górka-Winter (ed.), Warszawa 2003, p. 162.

Westphalian system. We have no homogeneity in the international environment. The new international system is much more complicated and hybrid like.

“Compression of space – time continuum” is one of the origins of the international community change and the emergence of the new hybrid late Westphalian international system.<sup>3</sup> The effects connected with the process of the globalization have no place, distances and borders.

First of all, we have an effect of the de-territorialisation of some social processes.<sup>4</sup> It is connected with the flow of finance, capital, information, or other trans-border problems, like terrorism, environmental pollution, climate changes, cyber space or migration. De-territorialisation process strengthens the hybrid shape of the international system. The traditional Westphalian interactions with geographical distance still exist next to connections which are de-territorialized. Nowadays, it is still the requirement of territory, because of the growing number of people or ethnic conflicts which are often connected with the need of territory.

Secondly, we have the phenomenon of trans-national social space.<sup>5</sup> This means intensive interactions and connections between social groups without territorial limits and without state control. International external environment penetrates the interior of the state. According to James. N. Rosenau – a part of the social life is moving to the post-sovereign space.<sup>6</sup> The other part is still in the sovereign state with border limits. Thereby, the world becomes a small village. The development in technology, transportation, satellite TV or internet reduces the distance between places.

The late Westphalian international system is hybrid like. We have non-state actors – transnational actors (sovereignty-free actors).<sup>7</sup> They exist in the opposition to territorial and centralized states. They are well organized, autonomic social groups which are acting above the state borders. They can act across borders and create transnational social space. This process can be called the bifurcation of the international relations structure – next to centralized state system we have different kinds of sovereignty-free actors.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *Późnowestfalski ład międzynarodowy*, M. Pietras, K. Marzęda (eds.), Lublin 2008, p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 62.

<sup>6</sup> J.N. Rosenau, *The dynamics of globalization: toward an operational formulation*, “Security Dialog” 1996, vol. 22, no. 1, p. 251.

<sup>7</sup> *Późnowestfalski ład międzynarodowy...*, p. 65.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 65.

The process of globalization gives the opportunity to social movements to participate in the international space. On the other hand, the process of globalization inspires the opposition at the local level. According to Richard Falk, there are two kinds of globalization: the globalization from the bottom (stimulates diversity, heterogenous in international environment) and the globalization from the top (circulation of the capital, unification, free market).<sup>9</sup> In this context we can mention the Samuel P. Huntington's clash of the civilizations' paradigm.<sup>10</sup> In the processes of globalization and unification, people are looking for their civilization and religious roots. The need of local cultural identity is a very characteristic phenomenon in the contemporary international relations. Václav Havel noted, that, "we live in one global civilization, which is only a thin cover of the diversity of cultures, religions and traditions."<sup>11</sup>

Another feature of the contemporary international system is functioning of different tendencies, processes and opposite actions. According to James N. Rosenau, there is a notion: "fraggementation" – fragmentation and integration which are functioning simultaneously.<sup>12</sup> In this sense, there are two groups of factors, which influence the dynamics of change of the contemporary international relations. On the one side, we have those which push on the processes of globalization, centralization and integration of the international environment. On the other side, we have those which stimulate decentralization, fragmentation and the development of the local level processes.

According to Roland Robertson, there is another notion: "glocalization," which means mutual penetration of global and local space. What is particular – becomes part of the global processes, and inversely, what is universal – becomes local and specific for the single place in the world. This is the process of "localized globalization."<sup>13</sup>

Another feature of the late Westphalian international system is the obliteration of the hitherto existing differences between inside and outside of the state. It happens because of the penetrability of the state borders. For example, the transnational

<sup>9</sup> R. Falk, *Predatory globalization a critique*, Molden 1999, pp. 127–135.

<sup>10</sup> S.S. Huntington, *Zderzenie Cywilizacji i Nowy Kształt Ładu Światowego*, Warszawa 1998, s. 180.

<sup>11</sup> V. Havel, *Civilization's Thin Veneer*, "Harvard Magazine" July–August 1995, p. 32.

<sup>12</sup> J.N. Rosenau, *The Study of World Politics. Globalization and governance*, New York 2006, s. 105.

<sup>13</sup> *Global Modernities*, M. Featherstone, S. Lash, R. Robertson (eds.), London 1995, pp. 25–41.

corporations or terrorist organizations can penetrate the system of the state and try to control the social processes avoiding the state administration.

The interdependency in the energy field is a very important dimension of the contemporary relations between states and transnational corporations. Upstream and downstream investments have no borders or limits. Thereby, there is a necessity to improve the dialog between producers, consumers and transit states to ensure the energy security.

Next important feature of the late Westphalian international system is the new quality of a military conflict. During the Westphalian international system it was easier to fight, because the enemy was identified. There were wars between sovereign states. States fought for the territory. War was an effective instrument of the foreign policy implementation. Today in the late Westphalian system, war becomes free from centralized control or regulation of the sovereign state. It was named the new war, the post-modernist conflict, asymmetric war or the low intensity conflict. The main feature of this war is complexity, obliterating differences between state violence, organized crime activity and breaking the human rights on the mass scale.<sup>14</sup> In such conflicts there are a lot of different participants, like mercenaries, volunteers, paramilitary groups, criminal structures, regular armies, etc. So it is difficult to check, what is internal and what is external, what is local and what is global. The important element of this war is the privatization of the violence. Often, the transnational corporations are the suppliers of arms for the participants of the conflict.<sup>15</sup> We can analyse the increasing importance of the non-military components of power (soft power), like technology or financial sources.<sup>16</sup>

There are two levels of the contemporary international system: centralized state system (Westphalian) and multicentralized poliarchic (late Westphalian). The first one is much more mature, crystallized and well organized, the second one is uncertain, disorganized, impulsive and complicated.

During the Westphalian international system, it was easy to answer the question: what is the security and who is the subject of the security policy. The security meant the lack of danger, and the state was the only producer and the subject of it. Today, security is something more. Now we should spill security issues over into other sectors, which are fundamentally different from military ones.<sup>17</sup> Security is a mul-

<sup>14</sup> *Późnowestfalski ład międzynarodowy...*, p. 67.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 67.

<sup>16</sup> *Kryteria bezpieczeństwa międzynarodowego państwa...*, p. 165.

<sup>17</sup> B. Buzan, O. Wæver, J. de Wilde, *Security: a new framework for analysis*, Boulder 1998, p. 195.



tidimensional idea which needs a political, economic or societal and cultural dialog between and within states, civilizations and other actors on the international scene.

## **TURKEY IN THE LATE WESTPHALIAN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**

Contemporary international system makes states much more active than ever before. Turkey is a specific actor situated in a very sensitive place in the world. It has experienced all the changes which happened after the Cold War. Nowadays, Turkey faces a troubled environment, domestically and internationally connected with the late Westphalian reality.

During the Cold War, Turkey was a key part of the Western defence system. Ankara acted as a bulwark against the expansion of the Soviet influence into the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East.<sup>18</sup> The foreign policy of Turkey was created by parameters which were predictable. We knew from where and how the threat was to come.<sup>19</sup> Despite the fact that nuclear and bipolar international system was dangerous because the risk of the global catastrophe, it became a guarantor of the security and stability of the Turkish state. Turkey assured its security as a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1952.<sup>20</sup>

The end of the Cold War radically changed Turkey's view on its security. The new game started, the rules of which were not known yet. The new system suddenly signified the emergence of new problems for Turkey.<sup>21</sup> The abandonment of communist regime and attempts to democratize political life within Russia and other newly independent states of the former Soviet Union improved the possibility of global cooperation transcending the enemies of the Cold War. There was also a lack of clearly defined mechanisms for preventing regional conflicts, instability within the new states, and tensions among them. It created a serious risk of international military clashes and a widespread civil war in the heart of Eurasia, where Turkey

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<sup>18</sup> F.S. Larrabee, I.O. Lesser, *Turkish Foreign Policy in an Age of Uncertainty*, Santa Monica 2003, p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> *Turkey in the 21st Century: Changing Role In World Politics?*, M. Tahiroğlu, T.Y. Ismael (eds.), Gazimağusa 2000, p. 16.

<sup>20</sup> D.A. Rustow, *Turkey: America's Forgotten Ally*, New York–London 1989, p. 84.

<sup>21</sup> *Turkey in the 21st Century: Changing Role In World Politics?*..., p. 16.

is situated<sup>22</sup>. The most important aim of the Turkish foreign policy in the new international system was to play a role of the bridge between Europe and Asia not only in cultural or economic sense but also in security. With its geopolitical importance, Turkey could make a valuable contribution to the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)<sup>23</sup>.

After the Cold War the international environment of Turkey changed. New states appeared on the wreckage of the Soviet Union in the Caucasus and Central Asia. In those newly independent states, the majority of the population was Muslim, and Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan were referred to as "Turkic republics."<sup>24</sup> It is a region of great geopolitical and geo-economic importance. It connects the east and west of Eurasia. It is also rich in oil and natural gas resources. This new situation had a great influence on Turkey's post-Cold War foreign and security policy.

The role of NATO has also changed. It was the most important link between Turkey and the Western system.<sup>25</sup> Among the Turkish elites, there was a huge debate about the future role of this state in NATO structures. They were afraid of the marginalization of the strategic importance of Turkey in the emerging new late Westphalian environment. However, Turkey's military power is still an important source of its security producer role and makes this state valuable for this organization. Turkey is the second largest military force in NATO<sup>26</sup>. This state has also long experience of unconventional guerrilla warfare and low-intensity conflicts. Turkey supported multilateralism and internationally sanctioned military intervention in conflicts where it was not directly involved.<sup>27</sup> Ankara began to pay a particular attention to regional cooperative security and peace support operations, including diverse missions ranging from peacekeeping to peace enforcement. It actively participated in peace support operations in Somalia, the Balkans and Afghanistan.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, p. 17.

<sup>23</sup> *The Europeanization of Turkey's Security Policy: Prospects and Pitfalls*, A.L. Karaosmanoğlu, S. Tashan (eds.), Ankara 2004, p. 22.

<sup>24</sup> I. Bal, *Turkey's Relations with the West and the Turkic Republics: The Rise and Fall of the 'Turkish Model'*, Hampshire 2000, p. 43.

<sup>25</sup> W. Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy 1774–2000*, London–Portland 2000, p. 191.

<sup>26</sup> *The Europeanization of Turkey's Security Policy...*, p. 87.

<sup>27</sup> *Turkey in World Politics: An Emerging Multiregional Power*, B. Rubin, K. Kirisci (eds.), Boulder 2001, p. 6.

<sup>28</sup> *The Europeanization of Turkey's Security Policy: Prospects and Pitfalls...*, p. 15.

Nowadays, Turkey faces new threats, like weapons of mass destruction (WMD) deployed on or near its borders. It is already within the range of ballistic missiles that could be launched from Iran, Iraq, or Syria and this exposure is likely to grow in the future as more countries in the region acquire ballistic missile technology and the capability to deploy weapons of mass destruction. Nuclear-armed Iran or destabilized Iraq may dramatically affect the Turkish security and may have broader consequences for military balances elsewhere on Turkey's borders. The renewed confrontation between Israel and Palestinians, counterterrorist operations in Afghanistan and possibly elsewhere place all these issues in sharper relief.<sup>29</sup>

The importance of non-military instruments in the late Westphalian international system is still increasing. However, up to now, military power has been a valid feature of the state power. Turkey has great manpower, but it has no weapons of mass destruction, or nuclear power. The technological development and the quality of the equipment in the Turkish army are also not impressive. So, Turkey is not self-sufficient in the military field jet.

Ethnical terrorism is another transnational issue having a significant effect on the Turkish security in the late Westphalian international reality. The Kurdish issue has been most politically troublesome and challenging. It has influenced domestic and foreign policies of Turkey in a very effective way since the 1990s. The Kurdish nationalism in Turkey is not a simple expression of discontent, but a movement that demands changing the boundaries of the Turkish entity to make room for an independent Kurdish state. Former president of Turkey Süleyman Demirel said: "opening the Kurdish issue will lead up to disintegration of the state, so it is strongly connected with the state security."<sup>30</sup>

There are about 12 million Kurds in Turkey. They live mostly in the south-east Anatolia. The Kurdish issue is strongly connected with the economic underdevelopment of this region of Turkey. Poverty and strong need for independence are the main reasons of the rise of ethnical terrorism. The Kurdistan Workers Party (Parti Karkerani Kurdistan – PKK) is recognized as a terrorist organization not only in Turkey but also in other European states and in the US. The PKK conducts terrorist attacks against Turkey from its bases in the Middle Eastern states (especially from Northern Iraq). The war between the Turkish government and the PKK has

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<sup>29</sup> F.S. Larrabee, I.O. Lesser, *Turkish Foreign Policy...*, p. 4.

<sup>30</sup> R. Olson, *The Kurdish Nationalist Movement In the 1990s: Its Impact on Turkey and Middle East*, Lexington 1996, p. 88.

left more than 30,000 people dead.<sup>31</sup> That is why the Turkish government has to take this problem into consideration. Turkey may play a significant longer-term role in the Western counterterrorism strategy in the Middle East and Central Asia.<sup>32</sup>

The Kurdish issue is one of the most important problems connected with the process of Turkey's integration with the European Union. Turkey is often accused of breaking the human rights towards the Kurdish minority. There is also a concern in Europe that Turkey with the unsolved Kurdish problem, will bring instability to the whole European Union. In 2002 the Turkish Parliament passed a law which liberalized the policy towards the Kurdish minority according to the EU standards. The European Commission will be screening all improvements in the implementation of this law. It is also important for Turkey to improve economic conditions of Kurds living in the south-east Anatolia region. Anyway, the Kurdish issue is one of the problems in the contemporary international relations which cannot be effectively solved by one state.

Other problems connected with the late Westphalian international system are: drugs and arms trafficking, or illegal migration.<sup>33</sup> These phenomena can easily cross the state borders especially in such dangerous environment, where Turkey is situated.

Globalization showed more explicitly the difference between the North and the South hemispheres of our globe. There is a problem of intensive influx of legal and illegal migration which started to flow from politically unstable, economically underdeveloped states, to the rich and opulent West.<sup>34</sup> Nowadays, the European continent is an attractive place for foreigners from the Far East, Central Asia and the Middle East. Migration movements aimed towards Europe have become a major source of concern within the EU. The growing uncontrollable migration and human trade have imported many legal, social and civilization problems into the EU states.<sup>35</sup> For years, EU institutions and member states have been engaged in a heavy struggle to solve those problems. Turkey is one of the most important

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<sup>31</sup> E.F. Keyman, Z. Onis, *Turkish Politics in a Changing World. Global Dynamics and Domestic Transformations*, Istanbul 2007, p. 291.

<sup>32</sup> F.S. Larrabee, I.O. Lesser, *Turkish Foreign Policy...*, p. 8.

<sup>33</sup> S. Bilgin, *Turkey's changing security discourses: The challenge of globalization*, "European Journal of Political Research" 2005, no. 44, p. 190.

<sup>34</sup> S. Laciner, M. Ozcan, I. Bal, *European Union with Turkey. The Possible Impact of Turkey's Membership on the European Union*, Ankara 2005, p. 131.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 87.

transit states for illegal migrants who use Albania, Hungary and the Czech Republic to reach Western Europe. A great part of migration via Turkey to Western Europe uses illegal means and many human smugglers and traffickers are active on the routes to the EU. "The Balkan route" is used most frequently by criminal organizations.<sup>36</sup> Turkey is of great importance for the EU's policy of combating illegal migration, drugs and arms trafficking.

Geoeconomy is another important aspect of the new late Westphalian international system.<sup>37</sup> The main feature of the economic power of the state is the GDP value. According to the CIA World Fact Book, the Turkish GDP (purchasing power parity) was 863,3 billion USD in 2009 – it was the 18<sup>th</sup> position in the world and the 7<sup>th</sup> position in Europe.<sup>38</sup> Thereby, we can say that Turkey is developed enough to play an important role in Central Asia, the Caucasus or the Middle East. It has very strong and developing economy especially taking into consideration the present world crisis. But technologically it is still dependent on Western achievements.

Economic liberalization which is connected with the process of globalization, strongly influences the Turkish state and society. There are many more players who can control the state decision making process: for example economic and business organizations, such as the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association – TÜSİAD (Türk Sanayicileri ve İşadamları Derneği).<sup>39</sup> The process of internalization is changing the political, social and economic face of the state.<sup>40</sup>

The multidimensional character of the Turkish foreign policy appears in its membership in many international organizations which are a very important element of the late Westphalian international system. Turkey is a member of the United Nations (UN), the Council of Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the World Trade Organization (WTO), the Organization of the Islamic Conference

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<sup>36</sup> Ibidem, p. 119.

<sup>37</sup> *Państwo we współczesnych stosunkach międzynarodowych*, red. E. Halizak, I. Popiuk-Rysińska, Warszawa 1995, pp. 96–97.

<sup>38</sup> *CIA World Fact Book*, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tu.html>, accessed 10.10.2010.

<sup>39</sup> Z. Onis, U. Turem, *Business, Globalization and democracy: A comparative analysis of Turkish business associations*, "Turkish Studies" 2001, no. 2, pp. 94–120.

<sup>40</sup> S. Bilgin, *Turkey's changing security discourses: The challenge of globalization...*, p. 175.

(OIC)<sup>41</sup>, the Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), the Developing 8 (D-8). It is also a candidate to the European Union membership.<sup>42</sup>

One of the most important priorities of the Turkish foreign policy is the integration with the EU. It is closely connected with the problem of the state sovereignty. In the late Westphalian international system the meaning of the state sovereignty is changing.<sup>43</sup> It is not easy for a state to stay outside the contemporary international structures. There are common aims which cannot be realized without cooperation among states.<sup>44</sup> The participation in specific international structures, like the EU, is a result of the free will of the state, so it is a symptom of executing the state's sovereignty. The process of the self-restraining of sovereignty without any force from the outside and with the principle of mutuality, is motivated by the national interest and decided by the democratic government.<sup>45</sup> Turkey is a sovereign state, so it can decide how to manage the internal and external problems.<sup>46</sup> According to Robert Shuman: "we do not give up our motherland, but we clearly understand, that above it there is a common value, much more important than a particular state's interest."<sup>47</sup>

Energy security is a growing concern for the state's foreign policy in the late Westphalian international system. Most countries are interdependent in this field. With energy prices rising, major consuming states are struggling to formulate effective long-term energy policies.<sup>48</sup> Nowadays, there is an increasing dependence on energy resources in the European Union. This is a very dangerous phenomenon because of the risk of becoming dependent on only one supplier. That is why it is necessary to diversify the supply of energy resources. Energy security has become a very important issue for the EU especially since 2006, when Russia briefly suspended natural gas exports to Ukraine. This move has had a knock-on effect on the rest of Europe because substantial amounts of Russian gas are transported to

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<sup>41</sup> Prof. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu is a Secretary General of the OIC.

<sup>42</sup> *Synopsis of the Turkish Foreign Policy, Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/MFA/ForeignPolicy/Synopsis/SYNOPSIS.htm>, accessed 22.06.2008.

<sup>43</sup> *Historia, Polityka, Stosunki Międzynarodowe*, B. Mrozek (ed.), Warszawa 1994, p. 104.

<sup>44</sup> *Suverenność i integracja europejska*, W. Czapliński (ed.), Warszawa 1999, p. 70.

<sup>45</sup> S. Parzymies, *Traktat Amsterdamski a członkostwo Polski w Unii Europejskiej*, „Sprawy Międzynarodowe” 1997, no. 3, p. 8.

<sup>46</sup> *Państwo we współczesnych stosunkach międzynarodowych...*, p. 172.

<sup>47</sup> A. Marszałek, *Suverenność a integracja europejska w perspektywie historycznej*, Łódź 2000, p. 304.

<sup>48</sup> A. Tekin, S.A. Williams, *Turkey and EU energy security: the pipeline connection*, „East European Quarterly” 2009, t. 4, no. 42, p. 419.

Europe via Ukraine and because of the fact that the EU depends on the Russian gas in 26% of its total demand.<sup>49</sup>

Nowadays, energy security is becoming a key issue for the EU. The economies of the member states of the EU need energy resources and seek to improve the relations with oil – and gas-rich states in the Middle East, the Caucasus and Central Asia. Turkey is a very important player in this context because of its geographical position between Europe and Asia. Turkey is also a very absorbent market for energy resources. Turkey's security interests lie in successfully balancing its role as an energy transit country between producers and consumers. Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan stated, that "one of the main factors of Turkey's energy strategy is making use of its geography and geostrategic location by creating a corridor between countries with rich energy resources and energy consuming countries."<sup>50</sup> Hence, Turkey is an important economic partner for oil – and gas-rich states as well as for consumer states. Turkey's growing energy needs have given Turkey a strong interest in developing ties with energy-producing states in the Middle East and the Caspian region and with the transnational corporations which can invest their capital in building the necessary pipeline infrastructure. Turkey's strong support for the development of the Baku – Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) pipeline has become a critical element in its strategy in the Caspian region.<sup>51</sup> The construction of this pipeline started in 2002, the cost of this venture was about 4 billion USD.<sup>52</sup> The official opening of the BTC in Azerbaijan took place in May 2005 and in Georgia in October 2005. Officially, the pipeline has been operating since 13 July 2006.<sup>53</sup> The BTC came into being because of the cooperation of many international companies such as: BP (Great Britain); SOCAR (Azerbaijan); TPAO (Turkey); Statoil (Norway); Unocal (US); Itochu (Japan); INPEX (Japan) or ConocoPhillips (US). It also received support from the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD).<sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup> G. Winrow, *Possible consequences of a New geopolitical game in Eurasia on Turkey as an emerging energy transport hub*, "Turkish Policy Quarterly" 2006, vol. 5, no. 2, p. 50.

<sup>50</sup> B. Shaffer, *Turkey's Energy Policies in a Tight Global Energy Market*, "Insight Turkey" 2006, vol. 8, no. 2, p. 97.

<sup>51</sup> F.S. Larrabee, I.O. Lesser, *Turkish Foreign Policy...*, p. 9.

<sup>52</sup> D. Fink, *Assessing Turkey's Future as an Energy Transit Country*, "Research Notes" 2006, no. 11, p. 1.

<sup>53</sup> "Turkish Daily News" 14.06.2006.

<sup>54</sup> *Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) Pipeline Project*, accessed <http://www.bicusa.org/en/Project.3.aspx>, 12.08.09.



The proposed 3,300 – kilometre Nabucco pipeline, as the project of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, will not only tighten the bond between Turkey and the European Union but it will also bring financial gains. The Nabucco pipeline will go from Azerbaijan, Egypt, Iraq and Turkmenistan through Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary to Austria. The project received the support from the US and the EU<sup>55</sup>. There are many transnational companies which are also interested in building the pipeline, for example: BOTAŞ (Turkey), Bulgargaz (Bulgaria), Transgas (Romania), MOL (Hungary), OMV (Austria) and RWE (Germany)<sup>56</sup>.

This project is very important for the Turkish energy security<sup>57</sup>. 2,000 kilometres of the pipeline will run through Turkish territory. Turkey expects to receive 60% of tax revenues or about 400 million to 450 million euro annually. Nabucco will transport 31 billion cubic meters of the Caspian or Middle Eastern gas to the West via Turkey. Its construction was expected to start in 2010 and be operational in 2014<sup>58</sup>. “Nabucco is a demonstration project of Turkey’s intent to join the European Union. By delivering on this project, Turkey would clearly emphasize its importance to the EU”<sup>59</sup> said Brendan Devlin, assistant to Jozias van Aartsen, the EU’s Nabucco negotiator. “The Nabucco pipeline is a clear economic and political necessity” said the EU’s energy commissioner, Andris Piebalgs<sup>60</sup>.

Turkey is a challenge and a chance for the European energy security. That has been Turkey’s bargaining power in the process of the accession negotiations with the EU since 2005. We can anticipate, that in the future, Turkey as a member of the EU will ensure energy deliveries which will make Europe much more active and reliable geo-economical global player.

In this analysis it is important to mention the geopolitical position of Turkey. According to Zbigniew Brzezinski “active geostrategic players are the states that have the capacity and the national will to exercise power or influence beyond their borders in order to alter the existing geopolitical state of affairs”<sup>61</sup>. On the other hand, “geopolitical pivots are the states whose importance is derived not from their power and motivation but rather from their sensitive location and from the con-

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<sup>55</sup> “Best OSW” 2009, no. 25, p. 2.

<sup>56</sup> N. Pamir, *Energy Issues*, “Foreign Policy” 2008, t. 34, no. 3–4, p. 105.

<sup>57</sup> “Hürriyet” 12.06.2009.

<sup>58</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>59</sup> “Bloomberg News” 22.04.2008.

<sup>60</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>61</sup> Z. Brzezinski, *The Grand Chessboard. American primacy and its geostrategic imperatives*, New York 1998, p. 40.



sequences of their potentially vulnerable condition for the behaviour of geostrategic players.”<sup>62</sup> In this sense, Z. Brzeziński names Turkey a geopolitical active pivot state.<sup>63</sup> He also classifies Turkey as an important geostrategic player in the Caspian and Central Asia regions.<sup>64</sup> Turkey is situated in a strategically very important place in the world (image 1). It has access to four seas and historically valuable straits. Also, Turkey is a natural bridge between two continents. So in this context, the territory is still a valid Westphalian feature of the contemporary international environment.

According to Joseph S. Nye, we can distinguish “soft” and “hard” power in international relations.<sup>65</sup> Turkey is too weak in the military sense to play the role of hard power. It can be a soft power in the late Westphalian international system. Turkey is a very attractive partner for its neighbours from the Caucasus and Central Asia in a cultural, economic and political sense. It can be a model for undeveloped, newly independent Muslim states. Turkish democratic and economic reforms or its moderate Islam can be an opposition to instability and fundamentalism. Here Turkey meets Russia, which creates its own sphere of influence in the Caucasus and Central Asia as a remainder of the Westphalian international system.

Turkey, due to its historical and geopolitical circumstances, is largely affected by the paradoxes of globalization which are the key element of the late Westphalian international system. Turkey finds itself in a complex position in the western community of nations in a political and ideological sense.<sup>66</sup> On the other hand, it is set apart from the West by many factors such as geographical location, socio-political evolution and the level of economic development. It is also both a Muslim and secular state with democratic tradition.<sup>67</sup>

Turkey needs peaceful neighbours and secure borders to continue internal reforms which are important to adapt to the new late Westphalian international system. New challenges and dangers have changed the status of Turkey from a “flank state” to a “front state.”<sup>68</sup> Nowadays, Turkey under the Justice and Develop-

<sup>62</sup> Ibidem, p. 41.

<sup>63</sup> Ibidem, p. 41.

<sup>64</sup> Ibidem, p. 47.

<sup>65</sup> Zob.: J.S. Nye, *The Decline of America's Soft Power*, “Foreign Affairs” 2004, vol. 83, no. 3; A. Gałganek, *Zmiana w globalnym systemie międzynarodowym. Supercykle i wojna hegemoniczna*, Poznań 1992, p. 13.

<sup>66</sup> S. Bilgin, *Turkey's changing security discourses: The challenge of globalization...*, p. 11.

<sup>67</sup> Ibidem, p. 11.

<sup>68</sup> “Sabah” 30.04.1993.

ment Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi – the AKP) government, has become much more active in the surrounding regions.<sup>69</sup> According to Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Europe should consult Turkey on Central Asia and the Caucasus because this state is very important for the Euro-Atlantic security. Hence, Turkey is redrawing its diplomatic strategy in the region with a clear goal: to be the indispensable nation for Western interests in Central Asia.<sup>70</sup> One of the significant creators of the Turkish foreign policy in XXI century is the present Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ahmet Davutoğlu. According to his vision, Turkey's role in the neighbouring regions and in international relations is to be a "strategic depth."<sup>71</sup> In this concept it is emphasized that Turkey has historic and cultural foundations to play such a role. The zero problem with neighbouring countries policy and good neighbourhood policy, which is similar to the EU's Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) are the basic elements of Davutoğlu's vision.<sup>72</sup> Within the context of this new strategy, the region of Central Asia and the Caucasus is a potential sphere of influence, in which Turkey seeks an active role. Turkey also pays serious attention to keeping good neighbourhood relations with Iran and Russia to prevent them from pursuing the policies that could harm the peace and stability in the region.<sup>73</sup>

Today Turkey shows the world its new identity as a "central country," moving away from Turgut Özal's "bridge country" rhetoric.<sup>74</sup> Turkey as a member of the EU will rebut the S.P. Huntington paradigm about the clash of civilizations and start the new paradigm about the dialog between civilizations.

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Nowadays we are at a very interesting stage of history: between the Westphalian and the post-Westphalian international system in the late Westphalian international environment. The Westphalian and the post-Westphalian parameters of the international system coexist. So, the contemporary late Westphalian reality is the hybrid which consists of different ways of organizing and functioning international

<sup>69</sup> See: A. Rabasa, F.S. Larrabee, *The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey*, Santa Monica 2008.

<sup>70</sup> *Turkey stakes a Central Asian claim*, [http://www.atimep.com/atimes/Central\\_Asia/IE12Ag01.html](http://www.atimep.com/atimes/Central_Asia/IE12Ag01.html), accessed 15.03.2010.

<sup>71</sup> B. Aras, *Davutoğlu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy*, "SETA Policy Brief" 2009, no. 32, p. 4.

<sup>72</sup> B. Aras, *Turkish Policy toward Central Asia*, "SETA Policy Brief" 2008, no. 12, p. 3.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 3.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 4.

relations.<sup>75</sup> It is very difficult for a single state to adapt to the contemporary dynamics and uncertain international system. Turkey is a specific player, which is situated in a very turbulent environment. The new late Westphalian system was a serious challenge for this state. After the Cold War, Turkey lost its strategic importance as a buffer state against the Soviet expansion. But new opportunities have opened for the country. Turkey's foreign policy has become far more active and pragmatic. The country's location between the two continents determined its special role in international relations. Turkey can be a key element of the European Union's energy security policy as a corridor for transferring resources from Central Asia to Europe. This location undoubtedly influences the process of Turkey's integration with the EU. Using Turkey, Europe can enlist new economic and political partners in the region. Turkey is also forced to cope with many threats connected with the late Westphalian international system and processes of globalization which easily cross its borders, like ethnical terrorism, illegal migration or economic crisis. Thereby, it has to cooperate with its neighbours according to the Kemal Pasha Atatürk principle: "peace at home, peace abroad."

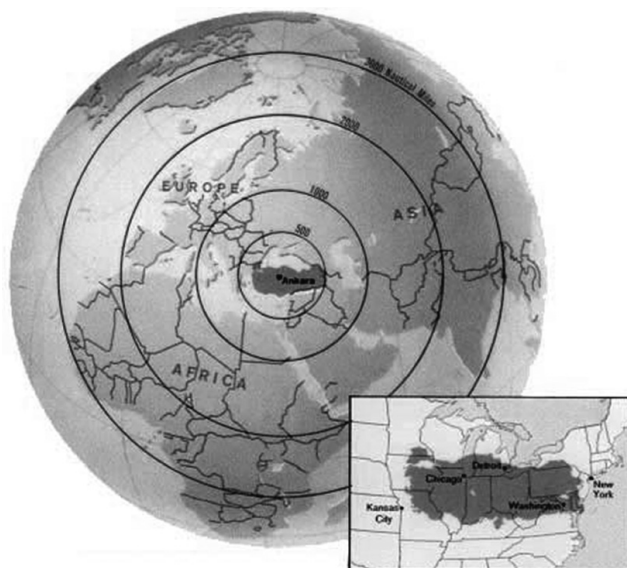


Image 1. Geostrategic position of Turkey.

Source: <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/Turkey.pdf>, accessed 10.07.2010.

<sup>75</sup> *Późnowestfalski ład międzynarodowy...*, p. 73.



# POLITICAL SYSTEMS

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*Bartłomiej Michalak*

## **THE USEFULNESS OF THE INDEX METHOD FOR THE ANALYSIS OF THE RELEVANCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES\***

### **ABSTRACT**

The aim of this article is to present a critical overview of research methods (so called indexes) used for measuring different parameters of party systems. The starting point for further discussion is the semantic relevance theory developed by G. Sartori. In the next part of the article I will deal with the question whether this qualitative method can be quantified in any way. With this regard, I will analyse such indexes as: the effective number of parties index, the power indexes and the government relevance indexes. The article shows that despite many scholars' fears, political science has a large set of tools for making precise measurements of empirical data, which may be used for comparison. A theoretical concept of relevance, together with its "qualitative" test, combined with properly selected and configured quantitative techniques, guarantee the effective measurement of relevance also at the ordinal, or even the interval level. Thus, it is legitimate to refer to this approach as an "index method."

**Keywords:** political relevance, effective number of parties, power indexes, indexes of government relevance, index method.

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\* The article was written owing to the scholarship granted for scientific-research activity as part of the project "Przedsiębiorcza Uczelnia" ("Entrepreneurial University") financed by the European Union within the framework of the European Social Fund.

**POLITICAL RELEVANCE** AS a political science category was introduced in 1976 by an Italian researcher Giovanni Sartori when he discussed the usefulness and effectiveness of the classification of political parties based on the quantitative criterion.<sup>1</sup> Since that time political relevance has become one of the most important issues in the theory of parties and party systems. To put it briefly, it might be said that relevance is a quality specific to some political parties, thanks to which they occupy a special position within a complex and multi-level structure of inter-party relations called a party system. This special position consists in having the possibility of shaping these relations and, consequently, guiding the development of the whole system. A relevant party is the one, the existence and political activity of which is important not only for itself, but also, and particularly, for the other participants of the inter-party competition.<sup>2</sup> In other words, its presence affects the functioning of the party system as a whole. Thus, it determines its structure, which has the direct significance for the correct classification of a given party system and registering its reconfigurations.

Even superficial observations of the political reality lead us to the conclusion that political parties, even those having relevance, differ in weight and the degree of their influence on the political system. Hence, we should not treat them equally.<sup>3</sup> Two issues arise here. First, we need to identify which parties are relevant; second, how relevant they are. Using Sartori's words, *How many?* (how many relevant parties are there? – BM's note) is related to the question *how strong?* [...], how strong must a party be to become relevant and to what extent does the lack of strength make a party irrelevant?<sup>4</sup> Thus, we are facing a problem of measuring relevance, which has only partly been solved by Sartori. The system of "counting" political parties he proposed, sometimes referred to as the "relevance test" in the literature on the subject, makes it possible to distinguish the key parties in the political system from those which constitute the background of the political competition.<sup>5</sup> In this way we obtain important information about the parties

<sup>1</sup> See: G. Sartori, *Parties and Party Systems. A Framework for Analysis*, Wivenhoe Park 2005, pp. 105–110.

<sup>2</sup> B. Michalak, *Czy partie polityczne można liczyć, czyli o problemie relewancji politycznej*, "Dialogi Polityczne" 2008, no. 1, pp. 232–233.

<sup>3</sup> G. Sartori, op.cit., p. 281.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem, p. 107.

<sup>5</sup> To put it shortly, according with the "counting rules," the relevant parties are those which, irrespective of their size, will be able to influence at least one potential ruling coalition (the first rule regarding the existence of a given party's coalition potential). Moreover, a relevant party is the one which, although it is not regarded as a potential coalition partner, is able to influence the models of



which exceeded the barrier of representation. However, this knowledge will be mostly “quantitative,” as the criteria for the evaluation of relevance proposed by Sartori are based more on the variable of a party’s “size,” and less on the ideological differences between parties. The test treats all parties which are relevant to the system in the same way and it does not hierarchize them. Although it may help us to differentiate parties on the basis of the fact whether they are relevant or not, we cannot do it on the basis of the strength of their relevance. Thus, Sartori’s proposal makes it possible for us to measure the level of relevance at the semantic level, but not at the ordinal one.<sup>6</sup> Sartori counts relevant parties without differentiating their weight, depending on whether we deal with a party which is highly relevant to the system or whether its relevance is of marginal importance, which may cause difficulties in assessing it. Ultimately, some small centre parties (in the science of political parties referred to as “pivot” parties) are much more important, with regard to the formation of a coalition or other political goals, than large extreme parties, which have high potential of political blackmail.<sup>7</sup> It seems that Sartori understood it himself as he introduced additional differentiation criteria for parties with coalition potential.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, the level of a party’s relevance depends on whether it is currently part of the government or whether it only has the potential for governing. Only in the former case does this party have government relevance.

Comparative political science has developed a lot of specialist measurement tools based on quantitative techniques – so-called indexes. They are particularly useful in comparative research, in which they help to make objective comparisons and make it possible to precisely establish similarities and differences between analysed objects. All this may be presented in the form of measurable quantities, which enable us to identify the size of differentiation and to grasp the moment of a political change. Thus, it seems that the quantitative approach would be particu-

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interaction, the direction of competition, the nature of alliances, etc. existing among the other relevant parties. (the second principle concerning the use of political blackmail). See: G. Sartori, op.cit., p. 108; for more details see: R. Herbut, *Systemy partyjne w Europie Zachodniej – ciągłość i zmiana. Studium porównawcze*, Wrocław 1996, pp. 167–179; A. Antoszewski, R. Herbut, *Demokracje zachodnioeuropejskie. Analiza porównawcza*, Wrocław 1997, pp. 137–41; B. Michalak, *Czy...*, pp. 232–241; B. Michalak, *Partie protestu w Europie Zachodniej. Analiza relewancji politycznej*, Toruń 2008: 68–80.

<sup>6</sup> A. Antoszewski, R. Herbut, op.cit., p. 139; B. Michalak, *Czy...*, p. 239.

<sup>7</sup> R. Taagepera, *Predicting Party Sizes. The Logic of Simple Electoral Systems*, Oxford 2007, p. 63.

<sup>8</sup> See: G. Sartori, op.cit., pp. 267–268.

larly useful for measuring the relevance of political parties, especially as regards its strength.<sup>9</sup>

However, our analysis so far, although it could not be very thorough, clearly shows that political relevance is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon. Hence, we must be aware that any attempt at finding a specific relevance index is doomed to failure. After all, the author of this category himself formulated two principles of the semantic measurement of relevance depending on whether the party under analysis supports or opposes the political system in which it functions. That is why, instead of looking for a universal algorithm of relevance, it would be more justified to propose a certain way of operationalizing this phenomenon with the use of well-known and well-tried tools and methods of measuring party systems. If we properly select and correlate them, construct adequate measurement scales and interpret correctly the information obtained on this basis, we will be able to propose a complex method of the identification and measurement of political relevance. In the next part of this article we shall analyse whether the current indexes and the collections of measures which may be built on the basis of them can be used for this purpose.

The most obvious measure of the political relevance of a given party seems to be its size, defined either as the number (percentage) of votes gained in the last election, or as the number of seats it has in the legislature.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the bigger size, the higher the relevance. This concept is based on the wrong assumption that influence on authority increases proportionally to the increase in the number of seats in parliament. In multi-party systems, however, in which coalition governments are the norm, the winning subject rarely has the sufficient number of seats to exercise authority independently. Moreover, the official winner of the election may even be outvoted and be forced to move to the opposition. Even parties which do not participate directly in ruling the country, thanks to the fact that they sit in parliament, gain a number of instruments and tools for controlling the ruling parties and, consequently, they can more or less directly affect the direction of state policy. It is also difficult to anticipate whether the opposition's votes will become necessary (political blackmail potential), whether because of the increased majority threshold for some parliament's decisions, a change in the political configuration, or the necessity of developing a nationwide consensus in a given issue, etc. There are two implications of this situation, which must be taken into consideration

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<sup>9</sup> A. Antoszewski, R. Herbut, *op.cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>10</sup> R. Herbut, *op.cit.*, p. 168.

when evaluating the usefulness of different measurement techniques. First, the political relevance of a given party does not only result from its size (although it is obviously of the key importance in this respect), but from the distribution of strength among all parties in parliament and in the whole system. Second, the lack of direct involvement in exercising power does not mean having no influence on authority.

The first directive, which demands that the size of other parties be taken into account when measuring the size of a given party, which in practice means relativizing its size to the size of competitors, can be implemented with the application of a measure, which has often been used in empirical political science for making different comparisons (especially for comparing the shape and change of format of a party system and the degree of its fragmentation over years). It is the index of the effective number of parties (usually marked with symbol  $N_z$ ), based on the earlier index of fractionalization proposed by Douglas Rae. This index was devised by a Finnish political scientist Markku Laakso, who developed it later together with Reien Taagepera.<sup>11</sup> In this case, however, not all parties existing in the system are taken into consideration, but only those which are “effective,” i.e. the existence of which has notable influence upon the shape of the political system. The effective number of parties determined by the index means the hypothetical number of parties of equal size, which have the same fractionalization effect as the one which is actually generated by parties of unequal size. If all parties have the same size, the value of the index must equal to the number of all parties.<sup>12</sup> For example, in a 100-seat parliament composed of three parties with the distribution of seats 51–47–2, the effective number of parties  $N_z=2.08$ , which means that this political system consists of two big parties and a small one. If the distribution of seats is 35–33–32, there will be three such parties (precisely  $N_z=2.9958$ ), exactly the same as in the case of dealing with four parties of more diverse size, e.g. 48–23–21–8.

<sup>11</sup> The index value is computed in such a way that the summation of squared fractions of the votes of all parties (or the seats, depending on whether the index represents the number of parties at the electoral or the legislative level) is a divisor for the dividend equal 1. The mathematical formula is:  $N_z = \frac{1}{\sum (s_i)^2}$ , where  $N$  denotes the effective number of parties and  $s_i$  denotes the party's fraction of the seats. For more details about the index and its characteristics see: M. Laakso, R. Taagepera, *Effective Number of Parties*, “Comparative Political Studies” 1979, vol. 12, no. 1; R. Taagepera, *Predicting...*, pp. 48–49; A. Antoszewski, R. Herbut, op.cit., pp. 176–8.

<sup>12</sup> M. Laakso, R. Taagepera, op.cit., pp. 4–5.

The effective number of parties can identify the number of significant parties in the system only if it is based on easy to establish, minimal qualitative data. According to Taagepera, in most cases it is also as precise as a single index based on the size of parliamentary factions can be, without detailed knowledge of the characteristics of a given country and the number of relevant parties as defined by Sartori.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, this index does not tell us everything.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, its construction may lead to incorrect results. Many flaws of  $N_z$  stem from the fact that it often overestimates the number of relevant parties, giving too much weight to the parties which are completely irrelevant as regards their potential participation in the government. The index measures each party, taking into account its proportional share in the whole parliament, but it does not really attach enough importance to the distribution of seats of the other parties and to the resulting coalition constellations.<sup>15</sup> For example, the index assumes the approximate value of 3 both in the case of the relative balance among parties (the distribution of seats 33–34–33), a slight advantage of one of them (45–29–21–5), the dominance of two relevant parties over twenty marginal ones (48–32–1–1–1–1–1–1–1–1–1–1–1–1–1–1–1–1–1–1), and the absolute hegemony of one party (55–7–7–7–7–7–7–3). However, as the size of the fraction of the biggest party increases (and the size of others gradually decreases), its relevance potential (coalition or blackmail) also grows. This potential is balanced by the fact that (at least from the arithmetic point of view) at least one alternative majority coalition is still possible. If we use the third example from this paragraph we will notice that both the party with 48 seats and the one which has 32 seats need smaller partners for obtaining the parliamentary majority (provided that the two parties do not come to an agreement). In practice, however, it is easier for the former to gain three partners out of 20 than for the latter to win over 19 partners. Thus, it is highly likely that the first party will become the hegemon. The index of the effective number of parties becomes even more imprecise when the size of one party is bigger than a half, and at the same time we deal with the very big, general fractionalization of the party system (see: the last of the above examples of the distribution of seats).

<sup>13</sup> This was already recognized by Sartori himself, who tested Rae's fractionalization index (with a few reservations), which is based on the same data and provides the same set of information as  $N_z$ , but expresses it in a different form. See: op.cit., pp. 271–291.

<sup>14</sup> R. Taagepera, *Supplementing the effective number of parties*, "Electoral Studies" 1999, vol. 18, no. 4, p. 498.

<sup>15</sup> R. Kline, *How we count counts: The empirical effects of using coalitional potential to measure the effective number of parties*, "Electoral Studies" 2009, vol. 28, no. 2, p. 263.

In such case  $N_z = 3.0$  is simply a mistake.<sup>16</sup> Dunleav and Bouček indicated that the index of the effective number of parties does not guarantee stable and permanent relations between changes of the size of the biggest party and index values.  $N_z$  index fluctuates when the fractionalization is low. It often has a surprisingly high value when the biggest party has a strong position. Using it as a variable which will be independent from qualitative analyses may lead to reality distortions, which is particularly likely for the countries having plurality voting systems.<sup>17</sup>

Another problem connected with this index is the fact that it does not differentiate the size of a party in relation to the weight of its competitors. If a given party has ten seats, its “contribution” to the index will be the same with another party having 90 seats and with nine other parties having ten seats each.<sup>18</sup> In both cases  $N_z$  value will obviously be the same (1.22 in the former case and 10.0 in the latter one), but the relativization which was mentioned in the first directive occurs at the level of the aggregated value of the index rather than of individual parties. It stems from the fact that the index of the effective number of parties is a measure of the party system for the shape of which the number of relevant parties is an important, but not the only determinant of its characteristics. Moreover, each party’s strength and influence on authority is often different than the distribution of seats among parliamentary factions. In case of a three-party parliament with the distribution of seats 49–49–2, the index has value of 2.08, which implies that there are two big parties and the third one of marginal meaning.<sup>19</sup> None of these parties, however, has enough deputies to rule on its own. Nobody has a majority and each party needs the cooperation of one of the others to govern. In this way the real weight of each party in our example is exactly the same as they all need each other to form a majority coalition, and at the same time it may “tip the scales” in favour of an alternative coalition and may change the balance of power among parties, which, against the indications of  $N_z$ , assumes the two-and-a-half-party character in this case. In the language of the public choice theory we may say that each of these parties has a position of a “critical” player. Thus, their political relevance is not determined by their size (not exclusively), but the degree to which they are indispensable in the process of forming a given majority coalition. In this sense, all

<sup>16</sup> R. Taagepera, *Supplementing...*, pp. 498–489.

<sup>17</sup> P. Dunleavy, F. Bouček, *Constructing the Number of Parties*, “Party Politics” 2003, vol. 9, no. 3, p. 307.

<sup>18</sup> R. Kline, *op.cit.*, p. 263.

<sup>19</sup> We may notice that in this case value  $N_z$  is almost identical (the difference concern tenths or hundredths) as in the example of three parties with the distribution of seats 51–47–2. However, in that case the first party dominates over its competitors thanks to having a majority.

parties, even the smallest ones, may be as relevant as the large ones.<sup>20</sup> Although the index of the effective number of parties has become one of the most widely used measures of the number of parties, partly because of its simplicity,<sup>21</sup> it is not always precise. Rein Taagepera admits that  $N_z$  cannot provide accurate information about the number of parties which are relevant to the system in case they largely differ in size. It stems from the fact that this index measures centre tendencies and works perfectly when all parties are of similar size. Especially in case its value is between 2 and 4, it does not provide reliable information about the dominance of one party when it has an absolute majority of seats. This lack of precision could be easily eliminated by introducing the supplementation in the form of a reverse index of the biggest faction ( $N_\infty$ ). If the value of this index falls below 2.0, it means that there is hegemony of one party, which gains over 50% of votes. And *vice versa*, the value above 2.0 indicates that none of the parliamentary parties possesses such strength.<sup>22</sup>

In any event, the index of the effective number of parties cannot provide clear and precise information about the format of a party system, which was expected to be its biggest advantage. Not only is it unable to fully and, more importantly, correctly answer the question “How many relevant parties are there?”, but it also fails to address the issue of their strength (“How strong is each of them?”). Does it mean that the attempt to use indexes for examining political relevance have to end in failure? Not necessarily, as we may also use *power indexes*, which have not been often applied in empirical science, but are well known in the game theory. They measure the relative power of voters in collegial bodies under a specified rule of settlement (it is usually an absolute majority). The Banzhaf power index is an example. It is derived by counting, for each member, the number of winning coalitions they can participate in, but which are not winning if they do not participate. Such voters are referred to as “critical.” Each party’s strength is calculated by finding for how many winning coalitions a given party is a critical player, which means that if it left, the coalition would lose the parliamentary majority needed to rule. The value obtained is then standardized by being divided by the total number of winning coalitions, with the index ranging from 0 (lack of influence on any

<sup>20</sup> For more details see: B. Michalak, *Partie...*, pp. 94–95.

<sup>21</sup> Such view was expressed by Arend Lijphart. See: A. Lijphart, *Electoral Systems and Party Systems. A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies 1945–1990*, Oxford 1994, p. 70.

<sup>22</sup> R. Taagepera, *Predicting...*, p. 62. The formula:  $N_\infty = 1 / s_i$ , where  $s_i$  denotes the size of the biggest parliamentary faction. For more details about the index and its characteristics see: R. Taagepera, *Supplementing...*; R. Taagepera, *Predicting...*, p. 48.

coalition) to 1 (having an independent majority). The Banzhaf index has five different characteristics which are useful for measuring political relevance. Firstly, it does not require collecting any other data than those required by  $N_z$ . Secondly, its application helps to precisely calculate each party's ability to sever a given coalition, i.e. to establish the degree of its relevance to a given alliance. The higher this ability is, the bigger changes in the system of inter-party relations will take place if a party actually uses this possibility. This characteristics may be of extreme importance in the case of measuring the potential for political blackmail, which may be used to threaten coalition partners, thanks to which the power of the blackmailing party increases. Thirdly, it meets most mathematical postulates required from this kind of indexes, including the ones which are key to the issue in the area of our interest, and it fully and satisfactorily implements the second directive. Fourthly, because of complex and painstaking calculations, especially when there is a large number of subjects, precise values may be obtained only by using special computer programmes, which are relatively easily available for this index. Fifthly,  $B_z$  value may be successfully used as a parameter for constructing a new index of the effective number of relevant parties ( $N_{B_z}$ ), based on  $N_z$ , which will differ in a way of "weighing" parties, but will be recorded in the same form.<sup>23</sup> Given the fact that the Banzhaf index provides precise information about the likelihood of influence on the system depending on the weight of the other parties in parliament, its link with the criteria for relevance determined by Sartori's test becomes evident.<sup>24</sup>

Patrick Daumont and Jean-Francois Caulier<sup>25</sup> proposed an index of the effective number of relevant parties, which is free of the distorting qualities of the Laakso-Taagepera index and is the most useful tool for measuring the number of relevant parties in a system from the point of view of Sartori's concept. Its mathematical notation is almost identical to that of  $N_z$ , the only difference being that in the denominator, instead of the sum of a given party's squared proportion of seats or votes, there is the sum of all parties' squared individual values  $B_z$  of seats.  $N_{B_z}$ , just like  $N_z$ , takes into consideration the size of a party, which is the most important effect of electoral competition, after all. What is of the key importance, however, is the fact that this index goes one step further as it also takes into account simplified, but useful, aspects of coalition-forming potential. Moreover, it does so

<sup>23</sup> B. Michalak, *Partie...*, pp. 96–98; R. Kline, op.cit., p. 264.

<sup>24</sup> P. Dumont, J.-F. Caulier, *The Effective Number of Relevant Parties. How voting power improves Laakso-Taagepera's index*, <http://mpr.ub.uni-muenchen.de/17846/>; 2005; accessed on August 23, 2010, pp. 15–16.

<sup>25</sup> See: *ibidem*.



without the need for gathering more data. Therefore, if we want to find out the effective number of parties from the point of view of their coalition “profitability,” which is important for the stability of rule,  $N_{Bz}$  may appear to be the right choice.<sup>26</sup> If we use one of the power indexes presented above, we will be able to assess the strength of a given party in relation to the other players on the political scene. Despite unquestionable advantages of this approach, it is only “mathematical” evaluation of its potential, which does not have to lead to the formation of a real coalition. Coalition arrangements are determined by specific political circumstances and the ideological distance between party groupings. Hence, apart from the cases in which the configuration of all parties’ power (or the lack of it) simply forces a certain arrangement (e.g. in case a party has an absolute majority of votes or there is no other arithmetic or political alternative to a coalition of certain parties in parliament), competitive alliances are always possible. Power indexes measure relevance *a priori*, which in the political reality does not always translate into real influence. That is why, according to Sartori, the qualitative approach – with all its advantages, which make it possible to construct a complete and orderly measurement scale – is unable to replace the relevance appraisal based on the semantic criterion. For example, it is difficult to establish a precise and universal threshold of “dominance,” which enables the identification of all systems with a dominant party. In particular, the difference between the system in which the dominant party has 40% of votes or seats and the one with the biggest party having 30% of them does not reveal significant implications for the characteristics of the whole system. The semantic approach, with all its limitations, appears to be a lot more useful in theoretical and predictive terms than mathematical techniques.<sup>27</sup>

On the other hand, the application of mathematical indexes, being the basis of the “mechanic approach” as defined by Taagepera, is the best solution in case we have no other knowledge of the party system we are interested in. What is more, this approach makes it possible for us to analyse a large number of cases at a time, without having to go through a lot of detailed data and the resulting threat of getting stuck in a multitude of solutions. On this basis, Taagepera refutes Sartori’s criticism, claiming that his method of calculating relevant parties is less “operationally useful” (in the meaning of intersubjective communicability) than the application of the effective number of parties.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> R. Kline, *op.cit.*, p. 263.

<sup>27</sup> G. Sartori, *op.cit.*, p. 282.

<sup>28</sup> R. Taagepera, *Predicting...*, p. 63.



If the arguments of the Finnish political scientist are not enough to undermine the objections formulated by Sartori, the index of the past coalition potential comes in handy. This index, denoted as ( $I_{pk}$ ), is calculated as a ratio of the coalition cabinets a given party participated in to the total sum of coalition governments formed in the period under examination.<sup>29</sup> The closer to 1.0 the measure is, the higher applied potential this party has and *vice versa*.<sup>30</sup> Thus, while power indexes measure coalition potential *a priori*,  $I_{pk}$  measures it *a posteriori*, reducing the limitations mentioned above. Of course, we only obtain historical information whether and how each party's mathematical potential translated into their actual ability to form a coalition with other subjects. Hence, this is mainly statistical knowledge, and it is risky to use it as the basis for making deductions about the future. However, it is an inevitable limitation and, as a matter of fact, each causal-effect statement made by means of inductive reasoning is also risky.

The analysis of the relevance of political parties in relation to their size could become even more detailed thanks to the application of many additional indexes. In this context Alan Siaroff's<sup>31</sup> extensive empirical research of European party systems after 1945 is worth mentioning. The research involved 372 elections in 44 countries. Apart from such obvious variables as: the number of votes cast, the effective number of parties (both at the electoral and the legislative level), the degree of fractionalization, disproportionateness and others, the author also used the two-party index (a fraction of votes/seats obtained by two biggest parties) and a measure based on the ratio of the biggest party in parliament's seats to the number of the second party's seats (index 1:2) and the ratio of the second to the third one (2:3), thanks to which he was able to establish precisely and then compare the distance between the parties of the biggest size. Having compared these indicators, he built a complete classification of party systems, encompassing all countries under research.<sup>32</sup>

The relevance measurement would be incomplete, however, if it was made only at the parliamentary level. In fact, each political party's principal objective is to form (on its own or as part of a coalition) the government. A party's participation

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<sup>29</sup> What is interesting, Sartori also came up with an idea of this kind of index for relevant parties in the government arena and tested it later. See: G. Sartori, *op.cit.*, pp. 268–289.

<sup>30</sup> A. Antoszewski, *Partie chadeckie w Europie Zachodniej w latach 1945–1998*, [in:] *Chrześcijańska demokracja we współczesnym świecie*, K. Krzywicka, E. Olszewski (eds.), Lublin 1999, p. 67.

<sup>31</sup> See: A. Siaroff, *Comparative European Party Systems. An Analysis of Parliamentary Elections since 1945*, New York–London 2000.

<sup>32</sup> See: *ibidem*, pp. 27–33, 69–80.

in the government may also vary in character, depending on how many ministerial portfolios – and the most important post of Prime Minister, in particular – its members received, how long this party has been part of the government, and whether it played the role of the “initiator” while the government was being formed or it only “complemented” it. However, all these important parameters may be measured much more easily and without mathematical paradoxes by using the indexes of government relevance. The first of them is the index of government participation, thanks to which we find out what influence a specific party had on the formation of cabinets in a given period. It is calculated on the basis of two dependent variables: the number of governments established with the participation of the party under research divided by the sum of all cabinets formed during that time.<sup>33</sup> The value of such indicator ranges from 0 – the party has never taken part in any government – to 1, when each cabinet was formed with its participation. Analogically to  $Ip_i$ , the index of government responsibility ( $I_o$ ) – which measures the extent to which a given party controlled the post of Prime Minister in the period under research – may be constructed. The application of this index – apart from obtaining additional information – allows us to overcome the limitations of the previous measure, which does not take into account the fact that the strength (thus relevance, as well) of parties composing government coalitions varies and treats each cabinet in the same way no matter whether a party played the initiating or complementary role in it. There is no doubt that the party which has always headed the government is, by principle, more relevant than the one who has always been in the role of a weaker coalition partner. In order to conduct an even more thorough analysis, we may also apply the chronometric relevance index ( $I_c$ ). It is calculated by dividing the number of months (or years) in which a given party participated in the government by the total number of months (years) in the period under research. On the basis of the information obtained by means of all three indexes we may carry out the multidimensional evaluation of the relevance of all parties in the government arena by using the so-called combined or multidimensional index, built through mixing (usually in equal proportions) the other indexes of government relevance and reducing them to one common indicator. Such operation is particularly useful for comparing the relevance of many political par-

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<sup>33</sup> It may be illustrated by the following formula, where  $Ip_i$  denotes the index of government relevance for party  $i$ ,  $P_i$  is the number of cabinets in which it participated,  $G$  is the total number of cabinets formed in a given period:  $Ip_i = \frac{P_i}{G}$ .

ties from different countries throughout years as it reduces the number of comparable data, which makes it much easier to analyse them later.<sup>34</sup>

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Although only the most important indexes have been discussed in the article and their analysis could not be very detailed, their characteristics show that, despite fears or criticism from some scholars, political science has a wide set of research tools for conducting precise measurements of empirical data, which are useful for making comparisons. Many of them may be well applied to comparative studies carried out especially in the field of party and electoral systems. What I wanted to put special emphasis on in this article is the problem of the application of some of these tools for analysing the phenomenon of political relevance. I tried to show that, in defiance of the scepticism expressed by the author of this concept, the operationalization and then the measurement of this phenomenon is absolutely possible, even without the need for developing new tools. It appears that mathematically well-founded indexes, which are well-known in political science, may help to answer the question *how many* relevant parties there are in a given system and *how much* relevant they are. Although in the course of this analysis it turned out that one of the most popular indexes, i.e. the index of the effective number of parties, cannot be used for this purpose – both because of the imperfections of measurement and because of its construction, which makes it impossible to compare relevance between individual parties – the application of power indexes fully eliminates this problem. Moreover, thanks to correlating them with relevance indexes *a posteriori*, it becomes possible to quantify Sartori's relevance criteria. What plays a crucial part here is the mathematical inventiveness of Taagepera, who in an admirably simple way tries to find an algorithm which will identify the relations between the concepts developed by Sartori on the one hand, and between them and the index of the effective number of countries on the other.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> For more details see: A. Antoszewski, R. Herbut, *Socjaldemokracja w Europie Zachodniej. Studium porównawcze*, Wrocław 1995, pp. 137–40, 147–148, 151; R. Herbut, op.cit., pp. 201–203; A. Antoszewski, op.cit., p. 63.

<sup>35</sup> Thus, according to this scholar, the relation between the total number of relevant parties ( $R$ ) and the number of relevant parties in the government arena ( $G$ ), with a few exceptions, is expressed by the formula:  $R = G + 1.5$ . In turn, the formula for the relation between  $G$  and the effective number of parties ( $N$ ) is:  $G = N - 1$ . Hence, as a result  $R = N_z - 0.5$ . Of course, as the author emphasizes himself, these are only approximate values. See: R. Taagepera, *Predicting...*, p. 64.

As can be seen, we have specialist tools which enable us to measure relevance. However, does it justify the thesis that there exists a comprehensive method of examining this phenomenon. If a method is defined as a tool of theoretically justified conceptual and practical efforts encompassing all the activities performed in the course of a research procedure, then, in my opinion, in this case it is a method, which, on account of the kind of a measurement technique used, may be called the “index” method. The theoretical concept of relevance together with its qualitative “test,” combined with appropriately selected and configured quantitative techniques, guarantees not only the effective measurement of this phenomenon, but also the possibility of using it as a basis for building a unified scale at the ordinal, or even interval level. Owing to this, it becomes easier to compare both the number of relevant parties in specific party systems, but also the degree of its intensity for given parties. Some research examples<sup>36</sup> show that such approach may also appear to be fruitful.

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<sup>36</sup> A. Antoszewski, R. Herbut, *Socjaldemokracja...*; R. Herbut, op.cit., pp. 201–216; A. Antoszewski, op.cit.; B. Michalak, *Partie...*

*Elżbieta Kuzelewska*

## **THE NETHERLANDS IN THE FACE OF THE PROBLEM OF DIRECT DEMOCRACY – THE CASE OF THE CONSTITUTION FOR EUROPE**

### **ABSTRACT**

The dutch political system clearly favors representative democracy over direct democracy. Popular vote in 2005 on the ratification of the Constitution for Europe was the first (and the last) a nationwide referendum in the Netherlands. The decision to adopt the Constitutional Treaty by referendum was dictated by various factors, but mainly resulted from the belief that voters agree with the politicians about the need for a Constitution for Europe. Meanwhile the Dutch rejected the treaty in referendum. The purpose of this article is to show the reasons for the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty of the European Union, as well as to make an attempt to answer whether the outcome of the referendum was the result of voters' attitudes towards Europe, or rather the attitudes towards political parties and government.

**Keywords:** referendum, Constitution for Europe, the Netherlands, European Union

### **INTRODUCTION**

**T**HE PROCESS OF the establishment of the European Union is described as *in statu nascendi*, because it is not finished yet. In May 2000, during his speech delivered at the Humboldt University, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany Joschka Fischer emphasized again that the European Federation should be established on the basis of a constitutional treaty. Fischer was not the first politician to talk about the future of the European Union and the need for

deeper European integration. The leaders of the European Union faced the challenge of reforming it. The fact that the Union at the time was composed of 25 member states required making an attempt to reconcile different national and European interests. The preparation work on the Constitution for Europe was done by the Convention on the Future of Europe. The presidium of the Convention was composed of Chairman Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, two Vice-Chairmen – Giuliano Amato and Jean-Luc Dehaene and nine members elected from among members of the Convention.<sup>1</sup> The Netherlands was represented in the Convention by former Minister of Foreign Affairs van Mierlo as the representative of the government, and Frans Timmermans and René van der Linden.

As a result of the European Convention's work, the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe was adopted in 2004. For the first time in the history of European integration, the Union treaty was to be adopted by the votes of citizens in a referendum (including the Netherlands) in as many as ten countries.<sup>2</sup> It was the first time that a national referendum had been held in the Netherlands. Dutch political elites have always acted in favour of European integration and perceived it as something more than just a zero-sum game.<sup>3</sup> Politicians were certain that voters have the same viewpoint, but the Dutch rejected the Constitution for Europe. The aim of this article is to present the reasons for which Dutch people have rejected the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe as well as to answer the question whether the result of the referendum is determined by voters' attitude towards Europe or their stances towards political parties and the government. The article also discusses the necessity and sense of asking the citizens of a country to express their opinion about often very complex and intricate issues.

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<sup>1</sup> P. Pennings, Ch. Arnold, *Is Constitutional Politics like Politics 'At Home'? The Case of the EU Constitution*, "Political Studies" 2008, vol. 56, no. 4, p. 790.

<sup>2</sup> T. Köning, *Measuring and Analysing Positions on European Constitution-building*, *European "Union Politics"* 2005, vol. 6, no. 3, p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> This approach was a result of the history and geography of the country. The Netherlands, located in the Rhine-Meuse Delta, having seaports on the North Sea, has conducted international trade since as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Trade exchange was synonymous to international business at the time, and open economy meant high dependence on global economy and trade. The Dutch have always benefited from international cooperation. Therefore, European integration has never been considered as a zero-sum game, L.M.F. Besselink, *The Dutch Constitution, the European Constitution and the Referendum in the Netherlands*, [in:] *The European Constitution and National Constitutions: Ratification and Beyond*, A. Albi, J. Ziller (eds.), The Hague 2007, p. 117.

## A REFERENDUM – A NECESSITY OR POLITICIANS’ WHIM

It is commonly believed that a referendum reinforces the interest of citizens in political affairs, and the referendum concerning broadly defined problems of European integration results in nationwide debate on European issues, participated not only by politicians, but the citizens of a country above all. Thus, a referendum may be considered to play a significant role in politicizing the issues concerning the European Union and makes them the subject of international research, thanks to which they are introduced to the whole societies, being not just the matter of political elites.<sup>4</sup>

The referendum concerning the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe was the first nationwide referendum in the history of the Netherlands and the first one which concerned the issues of the European Union. Up to that time, European issues had not been of the key importance to political parties’ programmes, nor had they significantly translated into the results of Dutch elections. Only seven out of 27 EU member states have not held a referendum devoted to the issue of European integration.

**Table 1. Referendums concerning European integration held in the EU member states**

EU member state	Referendums concerning the EU member states
Austria	1 (1994 <sup>b</sup> )
Belgium	–
Bulgaria	–
Cyprus	–
Czech Republic	1 (2003 <sup>b</sup> )
Denmark	6 (1972 <sup>b</sup> , 1986 <sup>a</sup> , 1992 <sup>a</sup> , 1993 <sup>a</sup> , 1998 <sup>a</sup> , 2000 <sup>a</sup> )
Estonia	1 (2003 <sup>b</sup> )
Finland	1 (1994 <sup>b</sup> )
France	3 (1972, 1992, 2005)
Germany	–
Greece	–
Hungary	1 (2003 <sup>b</sup> )

<sup>4</sup> C.E. de Vries, *The Impact of EU Referendums on National Electoral Politics: The Dutch Case*, “West European Politics January” 2009, vol. 32, no. 1, p. 143.

EU member state	Referendums concerning the EU member states
Ireland	8 (1972 <sup>b</sup> , 1987 <sup>a</sup> , 1992 <sup>a</sup> , 1998 <sup>a</sup> , 2001 <sup>a</sup> , 2002 <sup>a</sup> , 2008 <sup>a</sup> , 2009 <sup>a</sup> )
Italy	1 (1989)
Latvia	1 (2003 <sup>b</sup> )
Lithuania	1 (2003 <sup>b</sup> )
Luxembourg	1 (2005)
Malta	1 (2003 <sup>b</sup> )
Netherlands	1 (2005)
Poland	1 (2003 <sup>b</sup> )
Portugal	-
Slovakia	1 (2003 <sup>b</sup> )
Slovenia	1 (2003 <sup>b</sup> )
Spain	1 (2005)
Sweden	2 (1994 <sup>b</sup> , 2003)
United Kingdom	1 (1975)

<sup>a</sup> referendum required by the constitution; <sup>b</sup> accession referendums

Source: based on C.E. de Vries, *The Impact of EU Referendums on National Electoral Politics: The Dutch Case*, "West European Politics," vol. 32, no. 1 (January 2009), p. 145.

When asked about the need for using a referendum concerning European issues, the advocates of this form of direct democracy indicate that it emphasizes the problem of the EU and makes ordinary citizens interested in European integration. They also emphasize the externalization of a conflict among political parties. The issue of European integration posed in a referendum will sooner or later awaken dormant divisions in a society, in political parties or among political elites, which will result in the political debate on the problems affecting the European Union, accompanied by national issues.

In the Dutch political system, a referendum is neither a constitutional, nor a legal requirement for the ratification of international treaties. The Constitution of the Netherlands does not mention a referendum, which may be interpreted that it does not have a legal status, although a referendum is not forbidden by law. It is not true that the institution of a referendum is completely unknown in the Dutch political system solutions.<sup>5</sup> The debate on a referendum in the Netherlands took place as

<sup>5</sup> A few referendums were held in the Dutch overseas territories, especially in the Netherlands Antilles, in order to determine their future status.



early as at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For almost eighty years most politicians treated this solution with reserve. As a result, up to the 1990s only a few referendums had been held. Low turnout in the local elections in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century brought significant changes in this respect. In the early 1990s, a referendum was used a few times at a local level as a tool for solving crises in relations between voters and regional authorities.<sup>6</sup> More and more politicians were beginning to change their attitude towards this form of direct democracy. It was believed that a referendum would not only make it possible for voters to express their opinions directly, but it would also lead to their bigger involvement in politics as it would attract those voters who do not usually participate in the elections to representative bodies.<sup>7</sup>

It is relatively easy to explain why nationwide referendums have not been held in the Netherlands before. For many centuries the Dutch society has been a mixture of different religious and political minorities. From the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the 1960s, the Netherlands had a polarized and very strong citizen society, in which political elites of different faiths met in order to work out a political compromise not imposed by any of the groups. In this way the representative form of democracy grew in importance. In this form no single issues could influence the decision-making process as it would carry the risk of the collapse of the system.<sup>8</sup> The need for cooperation among many groups resulted in the priority and superiority of the principle of representation over direct democracy.

The Dutch government was not convinced that a referendum concerning the ratification of the Constitutional Treaty was needed. Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende harboured justified fears that an average Dutch person did not understand the contents of the document. The initiative to hold a referendum was launched by the parliament, and more specifically a few political parties: the Green Party, the Socialist Party and Democrats 66.<sup>9</sup> The initiators of the referendum admitted that it would help to increase the level of social support for the ratification

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<sup>6</sup> For more details about the Dutch local referendums see: P. Neijens, P. van Praag, *The Dynamics of Opinion Formation in Local Popular Referendum: Why the Dutch Always Say No*, "International Journal of Public Opinion Research" 2006, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 445–462.

<sup>7</sup> P. Neijens, P. van Praag, W. Bosveld, J. Slot, *Turnout in Referendums: the Dutch Experience. An Analysis of Voter and Referendum Characteristics that Influence Turnout in Referendums*, [in:] *The Dynamics of Referendum Campaigns. An International Perspective*, C.H. de Vreese (ed.), Basingstoke 2007, p. 142.

<sup>8</sup> L.M.F. Besselink, op.cit., p. 117.

<sup>9</sup> P. Hylarides, *Voters in the Netherlands Defy the European Constitution*, "Contemporary Review" 1.08.2005, p. 89.

of the Constitutional Treaty by the parliament, to encourage political participation especially in the European issues, and to stimulate public debate in the Netherlands on the subject of European integration.<sup>10</sup>

Given high turnout in the referendum (62.8%) – much higher than in the elections to the European Parliament (58% in 1979, 30% in 1999 and 39% in 2004<sup>11</sup>) – it is justifiable to say that Dutch people actually needed this form of voting in order to express their view, which had been hidden before behind a curtain of politically correct statements of politicians.

In the Netherlands, a referendum is not binding for the parliament. The voters' decision may be rejected, especially in case of low turnout. In the referendum of 2005, the government approved the results because of high turnout (62.8%), although it was not obliged by law to do it. The will of the voters was respected for political reasons.

**Table 2. The results of the referendum concerning the ratification of the EU Constitutional Treaty in the Netherlands**

	Number of voters	In %
Against	4.705.685	61,5
For	2.940.730.	38,5
Total	7.646.415	100

Source: based on C.E. de Vries, *The Impact of EU Referenda on National Electoral Politics: The Dutch Case*, "West European Politics", vol. 32, no. 1 (January 2009), p. 149.

The results of the Dutch referendum have done more harm than expected. Two thirds of the country's citizens cast their votes and 60% of them rejected the treaty. Top right-wing and left-wing politicians were amazed by the results of the voting. Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende stated that although the government's referendum campaign was not over, the date of June 1, 2005 was marked with success thanks to high turnout (62.8%) and lively discussion about Europe among Dutch people. Despite the negative result of the voting, the fact that so many citizens of

<sup>10</sup> B. Crum, *The EU Constitutional Treaty in the Netherlands. Could a Better Embedding Have Made a Difference?*, WRR Scientific Council for Government Policy, Webpublications 25, The Hague, June 2007, p. 18.

<sup>11</sup> For more details see: A.R.T. Schuck, C.H. de Vreese, *Reversed Mobilization in Referendum Campaigns: How Positive News Framing Can Mobilize the Skeptics*, "The International Journal of Press/Politics" 2009, vol. 14, no. 1, p. 44.

the Netherlands became interested in European issues must be viewed as quite an accomplishment.<sup>12</sup>

The result of the referendum of 2005 was disastrous for both the ruling coalition and the biggest opposition party. The citizens of one of the signatory countries to the European Union openly signaled that they do not give permission to any further attempts at the deepening of the process of European integration.<sup>13</sup> The results of the voting revealed the world of difference between the expectations of the electorate and the proposals of politicians.<sup>14</sup> Political elites sustained a spectacular loss trying to convince people to their own vision of the functioning of the European Union. Apparently, ordinary people did not keep up with the visionary projects of politicians and did not keep pace of changes in the process of European integration. They were probably not ready (unlike the establishment) for such rapid transformations. As before they had had no possibility of expressing their view on the issue of integration, which was different than the government's stance, the Dutch used the referendum to articulate their frustration and disapproval of further changes.<sup>15</sup>

The Dutch rejection of the Constitutional Treaty (followed by the French rejection three days later<sup>16</sup>) led to the political crisis in the European Union. Paradoxically, the EU's constitutional process was expected to bring the Union closer to its citizens. However, it collapsed thanks to the voters. The negative results of the referendum give rise to the key question: are ordinary people – masses – competent enough to vote in such complex and difficult problems as the future of the European Union? Decisions made in referendums by definition are beyond the scope of state authority. There are often doubts whether we should encourage the use of institutional tools enabling citizens to express their opinions, which could contrast with the official views of the members of parliament they have chosen, especially as an alarming percentage of the electorate shows lack of knowledge in the issue of European integration.

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<sup>12</sup> C.E. de Vries, op.cit., pp. 142–143.

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem, 150.

<sup>14</sup> E. Kuzelewska, *Impact of Referendums on the Process of European Integration*, "Baltic Journal of Law and Politics" 2009, vol. 2, no. 2, p. 196.

<sup>15</sup> M.R. Steenbergen, E.E. Edwards, C.E. de Vries, *Who's Cueing Whom? Mass-Elite Linkages and the Future of European Integration*, "European Union Politics" 2007, vol. 8, no. 13, p. 14.

<sup>16</sup> For more details about the French referendum concerning the ratification of the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe see: A. Mergier, J.Ch. Cambadélis, V. Tiberj, H. Le Bras, B. Cautrès, G. Le Gall, A. Bargounioux, J. Pisani-Ferry, D. Strauss-Kahn, *Le jour où la France a dit "non". Comprendre le referendum du 29 mai 2005*, Paris 2005.

**Table 3. Social knowledge about European and national politics**

	Correct answer (in%)
Social knowledge in the field of national politics <sup>a</sup>	
The country's capital	90
Prime Minister/government	87
Legislative power	42
Members of national parliament	42
Social knowledge in the field of the EU politics <sup>a</sup>	
The capital of the Union's institutions	71
The President of the European Commission	42
Legislative power in the EU	19
Members of the European Commission	7
Social knowledge about the European Constitution <sup>n</sup>	
Have you heard of the European Constitution?	67
The establishment of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy	52
The introduction of the European Union tax	39
The establishment of the President of the European Council	38

<sup>a</sup> Eurobarometer 39.0 (1993) – respondents from 12 member states and Norway, <sup>b</sup> Special Eurobarometer 214 (2004) – respondents from 25 member states.

Source: S. Binzer Hobolt, *Taking Cues on Europe? Voter competence and part endorsements in referendums on European integration*, „European Journal of Political Research” 2007, vol. 46 p. 153.

The data presented in table 3 indicate that shortly after the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe was signed in Rome in 2004, as many as one third of the EU's citizens declared they had never heard of this document. Less than half of the respondents gave correct answers to the additional questions connected with the contents of the European Constitution. Moreover, in a public opinion poll conducted after the referendum one third of the Dutch indicated that the lack of information was the main reason for rejecting the treaty. Having analysed the data presented in table 3, we may come up with the following conclusions. Generally speaking, voters have insufficient knowledge of political issues and they reveal significant ignorance in the field of European integration. Europeans are not able to give correct answers to basic questions concerning the Union's political system,

its legislative authorities and executive bodies. This common lack of knowledge is used as an excuse for avoiding a referendum. The former Foreign Minister of Belgium Erik Derycke said: "I am glad we don't have a referendum. How on earth can one explain such a complicated thing as euro by asking voters in a referendum to say 'yes' or 'no'?"<sup>17</sup> How much detailed information do voters need to make the right choice in a referendum? Are they required to have detailed knowledge of intricate treaties? Do they need to know the names of all members of the European Commission in order to make the right decision in the EU referendums? In accordance with a saying that voters are no fools it is justifiable to ask another question. If citizens do not possess enough knowledge of the issue to be voted, on what basis do they cast their votes in a referendum?<sup>18</sup> What is the point in conducting a referendum among people who often do not possess adequate knowledge in a given field. It is true that a referendum is contemporarily the most complete form of direct democracy, but do we need to turn to the vote of the people? The nation is often unfamiliar with all the intricacies of the issue to be voted. Thus, it would be a great loss if a great European project, which has been developed by politicians for many years, was to be destroyed by uneducated people. It is often base impulses, mere fears or unjustified stereotypes that prevail during voting and determine the fate of a document.

## THE STANCE OF DUTCH POLITICAL PARTIES

It should be emphasized that the referendum of June 1, 2005 was the first nationwide referendum in the history of the Netherlands, although the debate on the common use of this tool has a long history. Since 1991 small left-wing parties demanded that the ratification of the Treaty of Maastricht, the Treaty of Amsterdam and the introduction of the euro should be decided through a referendum. Those initiatives met the opposition from the main right-wing parties – the Christian

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<sup>17</sup> S. Binzer Hobolt, *Taking Cues on Europe? Voter competence and part endorsements in referendums on European integration*, "European Journal of Political Research" 2007, vol. 46, p. 154.

<sup>18</sup> Sara Binzer Hobolt accurately points out that a referendum gives voters a different choice than the one offered by parliamentary, local or presidential elections. There are no names of political parties or candidates on ballot papers and the voters have to make a choice between alternatives, which they are often unfamiliar with. S. Binzer Hobolt, *How Parties Affect Vote Choice in European Integration Referendum*, "Party Politics" 2006, vol. 12, no. 5, p. 624.

Democratic Party and the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy.<sup>19</sup> Dutch political parties, especially the Labour Party (PvdA), the Christian Democratic Party (CDA) and the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD), have always been quite sceptical towards this form of direct democracy. The former leader of VVD fiercely attacked a referendum as an institution which undermines democracy. A smaller centre party D66 has traditionally been in favour of the mechanisms of direct democracy in the Dutch political system. This enthusiasm towards a referendum triggered strong public support for this institution. In 2003, 76% of the Dutch agreed that one of the most important decisions in the history of the Netherlands should be made by referendum.<sup>20</sup>

Despite the fact that the parties which supported the adoption of the European Constitution occupied 85% of parliamentary seats, the ruling coalition and political elites had serious difficulties in running an effective referendum campaign. It may have resulted from the conviction that a referendum was the parliament's rather than the government's initiative, so the government felt it was not its duty to carry out an intensive information campaign. The pro-European camp consisted of the main political parties: the ruling coalition (the Christian Democratic Party CDA, the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy VVD and Democrats 66), the leading opposition party – the labour Party (PvdA) and Green Left. The government allotted 3.5 million euro for the campaign to convince the Dutch to ratify the treaty.<sup>21</sup>

Arguments put forward by the parties which are in favour of the ratification of the European Constitution mainly focused on abstract ideas, such as peace, democracy and the development of Europe. Dutch people actually considered them to be irrelevant. Interestingly, the followers' camp tried to avoid debate on social, economic and security issues as it was afraid that social protests against economic reforms, the frustration resulting from the increased level of unemployment and from the introduction of the euro, as well as the growing xenophobic feelings would significantly reduce the government's popularity.<sup>22</sup> Observers agree that the ruling

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<sup>19</sup> V. Mamadouh, *Establishing a Constitution for Europe during European Union enlargement? Visions of 'Europe' in the referenda campaigns in France and the Netherlands*, "Journal of Cultural Geography" 2009, vol. 26, no. 3, p. 318.

<sup>20</sup> M. Qvortrup, *The Three referendums on the European Constitution Treaty in 2005*, "The Political Quarterly" 2006, vol. 77, no. 1, p. 90.

<sup>21</sup> B. Crum, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>22</sup> N. Font, *The Domestic Politics of the EU in the Constitutional Treaty Referendums*, "Perspectives on European Politics and Society" 2008, vol. 9, no. 3, p. 308.

coalition should have focused on broader issues and on providing arguments for the adoption of the European Constitution instead of concentrating on undefined, abstract benefits. Moreover, some members of the government produced nightmare scenarios in case the treaty was not adopted. The former Minister of Economic Affairs Laurens Jan Brinkhorst warned that “no” to the Constitutional Treaty would be dangerous for the Dutch economy. The Minister of Foreign affairs Ben Bot said frankly that the rejection of the treaty would lead to the collapse of the domestic economy. The Liberals in turn warned that “no” to the Constitutional Treaty would be disastrous and would threaten the future of Europe.<sup>23</sup>

The camp of the opponents of the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe consisted of smaller political parties: the Socialist Party, the Christian Union (CU), the Reformed Political Party (SGP), the Pim Fortuyn List and Geert Wilders’ Party for Freedom. The opponents used multiple arguments, but they did confirm that, despite the consultative character of the referendum, they would respect its result even if it was against their standpoint.<sup>24</sup> The opponents’ camp paid particular attention to the economic and social costs of the hasty process of the European construction. They emphasized an increase in membership economic costs related to the enlargement of the European Union by the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, as a result of which the Netherlands became the biggest net payer in the European Union and many people lost or had to change their jobs. The opponents’ camp, especially the Socialist Party, put emphasis on the issues connected with Brussels’ dominant interference with internal political affairs of sovereign countries. Particular attention was paid to Turkey’s accession to the European Union as a possible threat to national identity and a native tongue.<sup>25</sup> The Socialist Party conceived visions of the Netherlands becoming a province of the European super-state.<sup>26</sup> The Pim Fortuyn list and Geert Wilders’ Party for Freedom highlighted the issues of national sovereignty and maintained that the ratification of the European Constitution would lead to an increase in migrations, especially after Turkey’s accession to the Union.

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<sup>23</sup> M. Qvortrup, *op.cit.*, p. 92.

<sup>24</sup> B. Crum, *op.cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>25</sup> N. Font, *op.cit.*, p. 308.

<sup>26</sup> M. Qvortrup, *op.cit.*, p. 92.

**Table 4. Voting in the referendum in accordance with party preferences**

Political parties	For (in %)	Against (in %)
The Christian Democratic Party(CDA)	53	47
The Labour Party (PvdA)	37	63
Democrats D66 (liberalna)	51	49
The People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD)	49	51
The Socialist Party (extreme left-wing)	13	87
Green Left	54	46

Source: B. Crum, *The EU Constitutional Treaty in the Netherlands. Could a Better Embedding Have Made a Difference?*, WRR Scientific Council for Government Policy, Webpublications 25, The Hague, June 2007, p. 21.

In the light of the figures presented in table 4, voters' lack of loyalty to political elites becomes evident. The voters in the referendum did not follow the guidelines of political parties but expressed their own views. While the main political parties were in favour of the treaty, their electorate was deeply divided on this issue. The ruling parties failed to convince their former followers to vote in accordance with the party line in the referendum. The same problem affected the opposition parties – the Labour Party and Green Left – which had been campaigning for the ratification of the European Constitution. Their voters were also divided and not all of them followed party instructions. The Labour Party found itself in a particularly unfavourable situation as over 60% of its voters rejected the treaty in vote, despite the party's opposite standpoint. A lot of voters faced a difficult dilemma. They realized that the parties they used to vote for in elections took a stand that was much more favourable towards European integration than the one of their voters. This discrepancy between party groups and voters' views as regards the European Constitution probably deepened one month before the referendum.<sup>27</sup>

The supporters of smaller political parties – the Pim Fortuyn List, small Christian parties (CU and SGP) and extremely left-wing Socialist Party – turned out to be exceptionally loyal. The electorate of these parties voted in the referendum in accordance with the official party stand, rejecting the Constitutional Treaty.

<sup>27</sup> B. Crum, op.cit., p. 21.



## **MOTIVES BEHIND THE REJECTION OF THE TREATY ESTABLISHING A CONSTITUTION FOR EUROPE**

Soon after the results of the referendum had been announced, both politicians and commentators were eager to say that the main reason for the rejection of the treaty was the fact that the Dutch did not understand the reforms included in the document and the contents of the European Constitution. In the beginning, they said that the negative result of the referendum could be explained by the lack of understanding of European issues by the Dutch society rather than by the reflection of its lack of trust towards the EU structure.<sup>28</sup>

If we look at the answers given by respondents, the above argumentation may be legitimate, indeed. More than a half of the participants of the survey said that they had not been fully informed about the Constitutional Treaty and complained that the debate on this problem had begun too late. It must also be noted that out of four countries which held the referendum on the ratification of the European Constitution,<sup>29</sup> the Dutch were the least satisfied with the referendum campaign.

**Table 5. Respondents' replies to the questions about  
the referendum campaign**

	Answers in %
<b>Have you received all the necessary information about the EU Constitutional Treaty?</b>	
Yes	41
No	56
I don't know	3
<b>The debate on the Constitution for Europe started:</b>	
Too late	67
At the right time	13
Too early	7
I don't know	13

<sup>28</sup> C.E. Vries, op.cit., p. 150

<sup>29</sup> Apart from the Netherlands, the referendums were held in France, Spain and Luxembourg.

	Answers in %
<b>The moment of making a decision:</b>	
The announcement of the referendum	26
The early stage of the campaign	21
Final weeks of the campaign	20
The last week before the referendum	21
On the day of the referendum	11
I don't know	0

Source: based on B. Crum, *The EU Constitutional Process. A Failure of Political Representation?*, RECON Online Working Paper 2008/08: 16.

In fact, the problem is more complex. In the light of sociological research, Dutch people did not have enough information both about the European Union and the document under preparation, which had a working name “European Constitution”. Politicians were convinced that it was mainly due to the lack of necessary information that Dutch people had rejected the EU Constitutional Treaty.<sup>30</sup> It must be emphasized that the referendum was of a consultative character, which means that parliament decided that it should take place before the parliamentary debate on the Constitutional Treaty.

That wrong decisions had wide implications.<sup>31</sup> It must be noted that the first public opinion polls from the mid-January of 2005 brought worrying results. Just 30% of the Dutch were in favour of the adoption of the Constitutional Treaty, while over 80% of all voters admitted they had no idea of what the treaty is all about. What is more, two thirds of Dutch people were convinced that the European Constitution would replace the fundamental law of the Netherlands.<sup>32</sup>

Having thoroughly analysed the negative result of the referendum, the thesis that the main reason for the rejection of the treaty was the lack of information needs supplementing. On February 8, 2005, the Independent Referendum Commission was set up. It was composed of eminent scholars, politicians and communication strategists. The commission's objective was to propose a date of the referendum and allocate the budget of 1 million euro to public debate on the

<sup>30</sup> E. Kuźelewska, *Holendrzy narodem niechętnym integracji europejskiej? Mit czy rzeczywistość*, [in:] *Mity i stereotypy w polityce. Przeszłość i teraźniejszość*, A. Kasińska-Metryka, M. Gołoś (eds.), Toruń 2010, p. 236.

<sup>31</sup> L.F.M. Besselink, *Netherlands. Double Dutch: the Referendum on the European Constitution*, “European Public Law” 2006, vol. 12, no. 3, p. 349.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 90.

Constitution for Europe.<sup>33</sup> Members of the commission were obliged to prepare a summary of the Constitutional Treaty and then to deliver it to voters two weeks before the day of the referendum so that they could become familiar with the content of the document.<sup>34</sup> It is true that the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe was a boring reading, but it must be definitely stated that the Dutch were relatively well informed about it at the final stage of the referendum campaign. Each voter could get a free copy of the European Constitution in their district.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, citizens had wide knowledge of political parties' views on the issue of the treaty. Thus, it is justifiable to say that the real reasons for the rejection of the treaty were not necessarily connected with the issues of internal policy (like in France with the support for the government). The voters' decision was probably the result of their different perception of the European Union and its functioning.<sup>36</sup> It should also be indicated that Dutch "no" did not mean that the citizens of the Netherlands objected to the EU membership. The voices of criticism towards the European Treaty were linked with specific European issues, such as the widely debated introduction of the euro and, to a slightly smaller degree, the enlargement of the EU in 2004.<sup>37</sup>

**Table 6. Five main reasons for voting against the Constitutional Treaty (not taking into consideration Turkey's accession)**

Lack of information	32%
Loss of national sovereignty	19%
Opposition to the government/main political parties	14%
Too expensive Europe	13%
I am against European integration	8%

Source: V. Mamadouh, *Establishing a Constitution for Europe during European Union enlargement? Visions of 'Europe' in the referenda campaigns in France and the Netherlands*, "Journal of Cultural Geography" 2009, vol. 26, no. 3, p. 319.

<sup>33</sup> M. Poboży, *Holandia*, [in:] *Prawno-ustrojowy wymiar Traktatów Wspólnotowych*, K.A. Wojtaszczyk (ed.), Warszawa, 2007, pp. 214–215.

<sup>34</sup> P. Hylarides, op.cit., p. 89.

<sup>35</sup> L.F.M. Besselink, *The Netherlands. Double Dutch...*, p. 348.

<sup>36</sup> C.E. de Vries, op.cit., p. 150.

<sup>37</sup> B. Crum, op.cit., p. 22.

One of the reasons for rejecting the Constitutional Treaty was a fear that it would be a threat to the Dutch culture. Many voters saw the Constitution for Europe as a symbol of further and faster European integration, which was not socially accepted. By rejecting the pace and form of the development of the European Union, the Dutch voted against the European Constitution.<sup>38</sup>

The problems of Turkey's accession and the single European currency, which have become the reference point in the referendum debate, look particularly interesting. Neither of those issues were part of the Constitutional Treaty, but both of them evoked vivid interest and raised lots of controversies. The first impulse, resulting in anti-European feelings in the Netherlands, was triggered by Europe's decisions to adopt the euro and enlarge the European Union by ten new countries of Central and Eastern Europe in 2004. These events evoked mixed feelings among Dutch people, especially as accepting ten new members was not preceded by broad social consultation.<sup>39</sup> It was not a direct objection to those decisions, but the expression of a feeling and conviction that the most important resolutions are made in Brussels without the Netherlands. The Dutch were not afraid of reducing their sovereignty (as it is uniform and indivisible), but they feared that they may lose control over the most significant European decisions.<sup>40</sup> The concepts of sovereignty have never been strong in the Netherlands – neither in the constitutional history, nor in the political debate. Thus, it is legitimate to say that the Dutch were afraid of losing control rather than delegating their sovereignty. A metaphor of the European Union as an “unstoppable fast train” was often used in the political debate a few weeks before the referendum and exposed an “unfathomable nature” of the EU.<sup>41</sup>

What is also significant is the fact that the word “constitution” was used to refer to the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe. Both the followers and the opponents of the Treaty called this document a constitution. The supporters did not pay particular attention to the accuracy of terms and saw no threat in perceiving the treaty as some kind of a fundamental law. Their adversaries claimed that the treaty is a real constitution, so its adoption would lead to losing (or significantly harming) independence by the Netherlands.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe included symbols of the EU and introduced the institu-

<sup>38</sup> A.R.T. Schuck, C.H. de Vreese, *op.cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>39</sup> L. Cohen-Tangui, *The End of Europe?*, “Foreign Affairs” 2005, vol. 84, no. 6, p. 62.

<sup>40</sup> L.F.M. Besselink, *The Netherlands. Double Dutch...*, p. 346.

<sup>41</sup> L.M.F. Besselink, *The Dutch Constitution, the European Constitution...*, p. 119.

<sup>42</sup> M. Musiał-Karg, *Referenda w państwach europejskich*, Toruń 2008, p. 302.

tion of the President of the European Union. These solutions could contribute to a legitimate fear of the European superpower, which “devours” natural freedom of Europe’s nations.

The Dutch were also concerned about Turkey’s accession to the European Union. In 2004, the European Council made a decision to start official accession negotiations with Turkey in the autumn of 2005. The Dutch were afraid of an uncontrolled inflow of immigrants and cultural, civilization and geopolitical consequences of Turkey’s presence in the EU.<sup>43</sup> It should be emphasized here that in the public opinion poll held on the day of the referendum 22% of the voters who were against the Constitutional Treaty indicated that the issue of Turkish membership played a significant role in their choice.<sup>44</sup> Geert Wilders, the leader of the Party for Freedom, issued a declaration in which he demanded that the Netherlands be given special conditions, like the ones received by the United Kingdom and Denmark. He also wanted the position of the Netherlands in the enlarged Union to be renegotiated, adding that, although he preferred the Netherlands to be part of the EU, its membership is not absolute.<sup>45</sup>

Wilders equated Turkey’s membership with the ratification of the European Constitution as he maintained that another enlargement of the EU will result in the increase of costs and the benefits will be minor.<sup>46</sup> The Dutch were not happy with the fact that they pay the highest amount *per capita* to the Union budget. Anti-immigration feelings were becoming stronger and stronger.<sup>47</sup> One of the most important reasons for the rejection of the treaty was the opposition to another enlargement. The opponents emphasized that the contemporary European Union is not the organism which is big enough and it should focus on creating a stable whole rather than further territorial expansion.

The result of the referendum was also considerably influenced by the referendum campaign and the way it was conducted. The referendum campaign in the Netherlands was significantly different from the one carried out in France. In France, serious media got involved in the campaign by participating in numerous debates. In the Netherlands, in turn, the referendum appeared to be quite an unimportant

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<sup>43</sup> L. Cohen-Tanguy, *op.cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>44</sup> L.F.M. Besselink, *The Netherlands. Double Dutch...*, p. 346.

<sup>45</sup> P. Hylarides, *op.cit.*

<sup>46</sup> B. Crum, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>47</sup> C.H. de Vreese, H.G. Boomgaarden, *Projecting EU Referendums. Fear of Immigration and Support for European Integration*, “European Union Politics,” vol. 6 no. 1, p. 64.

event.<sup>48</sup> What is more, it was the top Dutch politicians who bore the responsibility for the lack of matter-of-fact debate. For the first time in many years politicians did not take part in local meetings of their parties.<sup>49</sup> This lack of involvement in the campaign might have been the result of their inexperience, both in conducting a referendum and in carrying out political debate with the participation of the society. The campaign conducted by the government was boring and lacked vigour, whereas the opponents ran a very aggressive campaign. The Minister for European Affairs Atzo Nicolaï, instead of leading a campaign in order to convince the Dutch to adopt the treaty, gave a free hand to his adversaries.

There was no sincere and matter-of-fact campaign about the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe in the Netherlands. The European Constitution itself did not arouse any objections. Doubts concerned the idea of using a referendum as a way of ratifying the Constitutional Treaty. This solution was questioned because never before had the Dutch nation decided on such important issues by means of a nationwide referendum. It was asked whether this problem should not be discussed and solved by professional politicians – specialists having much insight into the situation. It must also be emphasized that the referendum was only of a consultative character although most political parties declared they would respect its result provided the turnout was at least 20% of all eligible voters.<sup>50</sup>

The fact that Dutch people were disappointed with political elites did not have a lot of influence on the result of the referendum.<sup>51</sup> One might argue that the results of the 2002 parliamentary elections (in which the Pim Fortuyn List gained 17% of votes) reflect Dutch citizens' dissatisfaction with the government's policy. However, the referendum in the Netherlands (unlike in France) was not a test of the popularity of the government for a few simple reasons. Firstly, a decision to hold a referendum was made by another subject. Secondly, the Dutch had no previous experience in conducting referendums. Thirdly, Prime Minister Balkenende, unlike the President of France Jacques Chirac or the French Prime Minister Jean-Pierre Raf-

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<sup>48</sup> M. Qvortrup, *op.cit.*, p. 92.

<sup>49</sup> L.M.F. Besselink, *The Dutch Constitution, the European Constitution...*, p. 121.

<sup>50</sup> E. Kuźelewska, *Holendrzy narodem niechętnym...*, p. 228.

<sup>51</sup> Marc Lubbers takes a different view. He believes that in the referendum extreme political parties represented a higher percentage of voters than in the parliamentary elections of 2002 and 2007, which reflects the increasing disappointment with the main Dutch politicians. M. Lubbers, *Regarding the Dutch 'Nee' to the European Constitution: A Test of the Identity, Utilitarian and Political Approaches to Voting 'No'*, "European Union Politics" 2008, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 60–61.

farin, enjoyed much bigger social support, although it must also be noted that the Dutch ruling coalition was quite unpopular at the time.<sup>52</sup>

Dutch euroscepticism, which is reflected in the referendum results, partly stems from the nation's disapproval of the EU's policy and, to a smaller degree, from its disappointment with the actions of Balkenende's coalition government. In order to understand Dutch "nee," we should first look at the results of the elections to the European Parliament in 2004. They were held just after the elections to the Dutch parliament in 2002 and 2003, in which the ruling coalition gained less support.<sup>53</sup> It was a clear sign that the anti-European programme of the opposition was becoming accepted by the society. After the assassination of the leader of the nationalist-populist party – Pim Fortuyn – many parties competed to take over his electorate. The anti-government and partly anti-European rhetoric gave the Socialist Party 6% more seats in parliament.<sup>54</sup> Euroscepticism was not a new phenomenon in the Netherlands. Anti-European feelings were present especially among small protestant parties. In the referendum debate some politicians representing the main political parties also expressed their distrust of Europe. Anti-European arguments became rooted on the Dutch ground as early as a few years before the referendum, but they revealed their strength only during the debate on the adoption for the Constitution for Europe. The Pim Fortuyn List had capitalized on its critical attitude towards the European Union before and eurosceptic feelings clearly grew in power a month before the date of the referendum.<sup>55</sup>

What had a decisive influence on the result of the Dutch referendum was undoubtedly the outcome of the voting in France. Three days before the referendum in Netherlands, the French voted against the adoption of the European Constitution. The result of the French referendum was difficult to predict but the potential "oui" would give great boost to Dutch pro-European circles. On the other hand,

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<sup>52</sup> P. Svensson, *Voting Behaviour in the European Constitution Process*, [in:] *Direct Democracy in Europe. Developments and Prospects*, Z. Pallinger, B. Kaufmann, W. Marxer, T. Schiller (eds.), Wiesbaden 2007, p. 170.

<sup>53</sup> See election results in: C.H. de Vreese, A.R.T. Schuck, *Le "non" néerlandais: motivations du vote parallèles et apogée du nouvel euroscepticisme aux Pays-Bas*, [in:] *Chronique d'un "non" annoncé: La communication politique et l'Europe* (juin 2004 – mai 2005), P.J. Maarek (ed.), Paris 2007, pp. 195–196.

<sup>54</sup> B. Crum, *EU Referendum Tests the Dutch Political Establishment*, "European Union Politics" 2007, vol. 8, p. 1.

<sup>55</sup> N. Font, *op.cit.*, p. 306.

French “no” would have a disastrous effect and would put traditional Dutch loyalty towards Europe to the test.<sup>56</sup>

**Table 7. Five main reasons for voting for the adoption of the Constitutional Treaty**

Indispensable for the establishment of the European community	24%
Strengthening the sense of European identity	13%
Strengthening the position of the Netherlands in the European Union and in the world	13%
Key importance to the efficient functioning of European institutions	12%
First steps towards the political unification of Europe	10%

Source: V. Mamadouh, „Establishing a Constitution for Europe during European Union enlargement? Visions of ‘Europe’ in the referenda campaigns in France and the Netherlands,” *Journal of Cultural Geography*, vol. 26, no. 3 (October 2009): 320.

Expressing the support for further integration and for the vision of unified Europe, as well as the reinforcement of the position of the Netherlands in the international arena all considerably influenced those who voted for the adoption of the Constitutional Treaty. After the treaty was rejected, the Prime Minister of the Netherlands noted that he would try to convince the EU leaders to two basic issues: the Dutch should pay less to the Union’s budget and the process of European integration should be slowed down. Paradoxically, politicians – especially those who were in favour of the adoption of the treaty – were quite satisfied after the referendum as they realized it had stimulated wide debate on European integration and that is why it helped to increase people’s knowledge of the Constitution for Europe.<sup>57</sup>

The Dutch referendum concerned *de jure* deepening the process of European integration, but the arguments it raised were predominantly related to the EU’s enlargement and it was them that played a crucial role in determining the voters’ decision. The opponents’ camp expressed its lack of enthusiasm towards the Eastern enlargement in 2004, accession negotiations with Bulgaria and Romania and the perspective of Turkey’s accession in particular. So far it has been believed that citizens’ approval of the Union’s enlargement by other countries is a specific test of

<sup>56</sup> B. Crum, *EU Referendum Tests...*, p. 1.

<sup>57</sup> V. Mamadouh, *op.cit.*, p. 320.



deepening and generally supporting integration. For years any opinion concerning the EU has been perceived as the one within the “acceptable consensus.” Even if social support for the European initiatives launched by politicians was low, voters stayed politically correct and remained silent, usually accepting decisions of technocrats.<sup>58</sup> The situation changed when the issue of integration entered such policy areas as common currency or the accession of new member states. As voters received a chance of expressing their views, especially by means of a referendum, they were not silent any longer and revealed their opinions, often different than those of politicians.

The opponents from the Netherlands did not emphasize the issue of difficult relations between enlargement and deepening integration. Instead they focused on convincing the electorate that it is not possible to specify the institutional framework of the EU without discussing its geographical scope. They objected to the vision of Europe as a smooth process of deepening and broadening integration.<sup>59</sup> They argued that the evolution of the process of European integration badly affects the old member states. Some negative influences included loss of job places, an increase in unemployment and an uncontrolled inflow of immigrants from poorer countries.

Eurosceptics interpreted the rejection of the Constitution for Europe by the Dutch as the expression of their opposition to the European Union. Such interpretation seems to be unjustifiable. The Dutch did not say “no” to the Union in the referendum, but they objected to too sudden changes in the EU. Socialists interpreted the results of the referendum as a sign that the Dutch want a different Europe – more social and less bureaucratic. The rejection of the European Constitution is not tantamount to the resignation from the whole idea of the European Union or from its constitutional order. The referendum result must be viewed as a political fact. It is an extremely difficult task to give a straight answer (even from the perspective of time) to the question why people voted against the Constitution for Europe.

In public opinion polls the Dutch indicated lack of information as the main reason for rejecting the Constitutional Treaty in the referendum. Just a dozen or

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<sup>58</sup> J.A. Karp, S. Bowler, *Broadening and deepening or broadening versus deepening: The question of enlargement and Europe's 'hesitant Europeans'*, “European Journal of Political Research” 2006, vol. 45, no. 3, p. 370.

<sup>59</sup> V. Mamadouh, *op.cit.*, p. 321.

so per cent of respondents admitted that they had voted against the treaty in order to express their dissatisfaction with the policy of the government or specific political parties. The debate on the Constitutional Treaty was conducted almost exclusively by elites and the level of public knowledge about its content was very low. The experience of other European referendum campaigns shows that in such circumstances the results are not certain. Voters need time to shape their opinions. However, the problem lies in the fact that the debate on the constitution received very little publicity. The referendum in the Netherlands was held just after the voting result in France had been announced, which might have caused a domino effect. Being aware of the fact that the Constitution for Europe cannot be adopted if it is rejected by any single country, the Dutch vote cast after the French objection could be interpreted as the expression of dissatisfaction with the government's actions or scepticism towards other issues of European integration. Although the result of the referendum was not a surprise, the number of votes against the treaty (62%) was shocking in the country which had traditionally expressed its support for European institutions.

The choice of a referendum as a method of deciding on a very important European issue should be preceded with deep reflection and considering the possible effects of the referendum result. The Netherlands is an example of a country which failed to "democratize" a decision on the adoption of the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe. Issues of European integration are very complex and often have no reasonable alternatives, as well as they are very difficult to explain to ordinary citizens. In the Netherlands, all previous decisions connected with the process of deepening and broadening European integration had been made by politicians who had wide knowledge in the field and who were able to predict implications for unified Europe. Dutch people generally accepted changes in the European Union which concerned their country. The sudden use of the referendum in the country which had never used this instrument before simply did not work out.

The rejection of the Constitutional Treaty of the EU in the referendum is not the first case in which public opinion expresses its disapproval of the postulates endorsed by politicians. The same story happened in 1992, when the Danes objected to the adoption of the Treaty of Maastricht, and in 2001 and 2008, when the Irish rejected the Treaty of Nice and the Treaty of Lisbon. The fact that the Dutch and the French rejected the Constitution for Europe had much more serious implications. For the first time of the history of European integration the rejection of the Union's document in the referendum resulted in its fiasco. If we analyse this unsuccessful referendum, we may come up with certain conclusions and find some

clues for the future. If there are accusations that there is a deficit of democracy in the European Union, it should not be repaired by launching a referendum. At the earlier stages of adopting certain stages it would be advisable to conduct wide social consultations and consider the will of voters in the process of constructing common Europe.

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*Magdalena Musiał-Karg*

## **THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF ONLINE VOTING. THE CASE OF ESTONIA** (selected issues)

### **ABSTRACT**

Electronic voting has attracted much interest recently. One of the European, and perhaps even global leaders in the application of electronic voting procedures into elections is Estonia. The citizens of that small European country have had the possibility of voting online since 2005. The goal of this study is to provide a theoretically focused and empirically grounded analysis of the use of electronic voting (that is one of the instruments of e-democracy) in Estonia. This paper does not intend to cover all the details of the country's experience with e-voting. Its coverage is limited to providing data on the influence of electronic voting on the final turnout in certain elections in Estonia. This study investigates the consequences of Internet voting in local, national and European parliamentary elections in Estonia. In particular, the analysis aims to determine whether this new form of voting could increase turnout.

**Keywords:** e-democracy, e-voting, i-voting, turnout, Estonian elections

**I**N MODERN HISTORY, philosophy and politics, *democracy* holds significant position in the hierarchy of challenges and problems, and is regarded as one of the most important issues of contemporary culture and civilization. Michael Novak claims that from among all types of political systems, which lie at the root of human history, none so significantly revolutionized the usual human hopes as *democracy*.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> M. Novak, *Duch demokratycznego kapitalizmu*, Poznań 2001, p. 25.

We are familiar with various definitions and concepts behind *democracy* that sometimes differ diametrically. These are produced by all sorts of understandings concerning the notion of *people* or the manner of appointing authorities. The most common definition of *democracy* is the words of Abraham Lincoln, according to whom “democracy is the government of the people, by the people, for the people”. Modern literal and etymological understanding of the term *democracy* as *the government of people* remains to be the most popular and frequently applied.

Now we have no doubts that today’s *democracy* undergoes visible transformations, which may influence this form of exercising authority. It is expressed in Maria Nowina Konopka’s statement: “on account of the decrease of confidence in governments and parliaments, which has been observed in European countries since the beginning of 1980s and in Poland since the first half of 1990s, and along with the development of modern information and communication technologies, we may notice more and more frequent demands for a return to the direct form of governing<sup>2</sup>.”

One of the important changes that concerns contemporary democratic countries is the increasingly wide application of new technologies in the broadly defined political life. Firstly, ICT – information and communication technologies – are used in various fields of politics as a tool for informing the electorate about activities of politicians, political parties or national institutions. Secondly, ICT serve as a tool for communicating with the electorate (via email, chat, internet forums, blogs etc.). Besides, modern technologies are applied in election procedures and thus in some countries, electronic voting is possible – it is done through the so-called voting booths placed in polling stations, with the use of a computer connected to the Internet or through mobile communications.

The consequences of the application of electronic techniques in exercising democratic authority may seem revolutionary (primarily from the viewpoint of the pace in which particular processes in politics occur – informing, communicating or voting).. We may suspect that it will take many years for the revolution to spread, since governments and parliaments in the majority of countries remain sceptical and wary towards the application of new solutions e.g. in polling procedures, despite the fact politicians in many countries use ICT to inform and communicate with the electorate.

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<sup>2</sup> M. Nowina Konopka, *Spółeczeństwo informacyjne a teorie demokracji*, [in:] *Spółeczeństwo informacyjne. Istota. Rozwój. Wyzwania*, M. Witkowska, K. Cholała-Sosnowska (ed.), Warszawa 2006, p. 82.

It is worth noting here that the supporters of the solutions that are deeply rooted in the Athenian democracy justify their choice of tools mainly by the crisis of the representative democracy, new technical possibilities to introduce a greater number of direct democracy institutions, and the need to engage voters more. This is confirmed by researchers, politicians or commentators who suggest engaging increasingly larger groups of eligible voters, who do not take part in polling processes, into decisive processes

One may thus state that democracy “supported” by modern technologies evolves and begins to function in a new reality, acquiring new dimension. It is right to notice that the role of ICT was acknowledged as so important that some theoreticians of democracy – e.g. Barry N. Hague or Brian Loader – go as far as to speak of the change in the way of understanding a democratic system<sup>3</sup>. Benjamin R. Barber refers to this attitude in his book *Strong Democracy. Participatory Politics for a New Age*, who introduces the notion of *strong (powerful) democracy*, and attributes to it a series of virtues – e.g. activeness, engagement, duty<sup>4</sup>. Strong democracy based on participation, citizenship or public interest assumes that a citizen’s view is not the only a value, but they are also capable of making autonomous and responsible choices. Participation in decisive processes results from the will and beliefs of citizens<sup>5</sup>. Democracy enriched with electronic tools (electronic democracy, e-democracy) – e.g. electronic voting, may reinforce democracy; increase the level of participation among eligible voters, and thus the legitimization of decisions taken.

The goal of this study is to provide a theoretically focused and empirically grounded analysis of the use of electronic voting (that is one of the instruments of e-democracy) in Estonia. This paper does not intend to cover all the details of the country’s experience with e voting. Its coverage is limited to providing data on influence of electronic voting on the final turnout in certain elections in Estonia. This study investigates the consequences of the Internet voting in local, national and European parliamentary elections in Estonia. In particular, my analysis aims to determine whether this new form of voting could increase turnout.

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<sup>3</sup> *Digital Democracy: Discourse and Decision-making in the Information Age*, B.N. Hague, B. Loader (eds.), New York 1999.

<sup>4</sup> B.R. Barber, *Strong Democracy Participatory Politics for a New Age*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 2003, p. 133.

<sup>5</sup> D. Pietrzyk-Reeves, *Idea społeczeństwa obywatelskiego. Współczesna debata i jej źródła*, Wrocław 2004, p. 237.

## **ELECTRONIC VOTING AS A TOOL OF ELECTRONIC DEMOCRACY**

However, before any progress towards this goal can be made, some definitions of e-democracy and e-voting should be presented.

Without any doubt, the new technologies have become a considerable tool for politics in present-day democracies. The role of ICT has become so important that some theoreticians and researchers of democracy see the necessity of changing paradigms of understanding a democratic system and introducing a notion of *electronic democracy (e-democracy)*<sup>6</sup>. One should bear in mind that in social studies there is no agreement on how to understand the term electronic democracy, hence there are plenty of definitions of this notion. It is worth quoting some of the explanations, which seem to be the most accurate method of properly understanding this term.

According to the definition by Alexander Trechsel, Raphael Kies, Fernando Mendez and Philippe C. Schmitter, “e-democracy consists of all electronic means of communication that enable/empower citizens in their efforts to hold rulers/politicians accountable for their actions in the public realm. Depending on the aspect of democracy being promoted, e-democracy can employ different techniques: (1) for increasing the transparency of the political process; (2) for enhancing the direct involvement and participation of citizens; and, (3) improving the quality of opinion formation by opening new spaces of information and deliberation”<sup>7</sup>. Thus, the interpretation of this definition leads to the conclusion that e-democracy makes it possible for citizens to hold politicians responsible for their actions and facilitates communication between politicians and citizens.

In the document titled *Inquiry into Electronic Democracy. A Final Report* by the Australian Parliament of Victoria *electronic democracy* is defined as “The use of information communications technologies by individuals to extend their choices

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<sup>6</sup> B.N. Hague, B. Loader, *Digital Democracy: Discourse and Decision-making in the Information Age*, New York 1999.

<sup>7</sup> A. Trechsel, R. Kies, F. Mendez, P. C. Schmitter, *Evaluation of the use of new technologies in order to facilitate democracy in Europe. E-democratizing the parliaments and parties of Europe*, 2004, p. 10, [http://www.erepresentative.org/docs/6\\_Main\\_Report\\_eDemocracy-inEurope-2004.pdf](http://www.erepresentative.org/docs/6_Main_Report_eDemocracy-inEurope-2004.pdf), accessed 25.01.2011.

for thinking and acting as citizens, unrestricted by time and place, and culminating in a greater collective freedoms under the rule of law”<sup>8</sup>.

One often cited definition is from e-democracy researchers Hacker and Dijk, who state that *e-democracy* represents the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) and computer mediated communication (CMC) in all kinds of media (e.g. the Internet, interactive broadcasting and digital telephony) for purposes of enhancing political democracy or the participation of citizens in democratic communication<sup>9</sup>. And according to another definition, “e-democracy is the use of the Internet by government, political parties and advocacy groups to provide information, communicate, deliver services or boost participation to generate a more robust debate among citizens”<sup>10</sup>.

However, there are some common features of the abovementioned definitions of *e-democracy*. They include: the emphasis on the use of modern technologies, the participation of citizens in the political decision-making process and citizens’ involvement in the public sphere. This may result in the multiple use of e-government, such as: e-forums, e-consultations, e-town halls, e-referenda and e-elections.

An important element of the discussions on e-democracy focuses on the provision of alternative ways of voting. A very significant tool in this context is *electronic voting* (also known as *e-voting*) used both in indirect democracy (elections) and in direct democracy (referenda).

This relatively young form of voting is of interest to public and private institutions in many countries around the world (e.g. in Switzerland, the United Kingdom, Holland, Sweden, Estonia, the USA). Supporters of making e-voting part of democratic procedures claim that it may increase citizens’ awareness and thus their knowledge about political systems and political phenomena. Greater awareness of voters would result in higher sagacity in polling decisions – both at ballot boxes and at electronic equipment: voting machines or computers connected to the Internet. B.R. Barber suggests that an electronic forum should be created, as it would increase citizens’ level of education and at the same time guarantee them

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<sup>8</sup> *Inquiry into Electronic Democracy. Final Report*, Parliament of Victoria, Australia, Scrutiny of Acts and Regulations Committee, 2003, p. xlv; [http://www.parliament.vic.gov.au/SARC/E-Democracy/Final\\_Report/Final\\_Report.pdf](http://www.parliament.vic.gov.au/SARC/E-Democracy/Final_Report/Final_Report.pdf), accessed 25.11.2009.

<sup>9</sup> *Digital Democracy: Issues of Theory and Practice*, K.L. Hacker., J. Dijk, (eds.) London 2000, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> *E-DEMOCRACY AROUND THE WORLD. A Survey for the Bertelsmann Foundation by Phil Noble & Associates*, Summer 2001, p. 1, [http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/bst/de/media/xcms\\_bst\\_dms\\_18425\\_18426\\_2.pdf](http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/bst/de/media/xcms_bst_dms_18425_18426_2.pdf), accessed 1.03.2011.



equal access to information<sup>11</sup>. Despite many difficulties that arise from the application of modern technologies, electronic voting can be an efficient tool, which would enable greater participation in decisive processes. Making use of information and communication tools in the field of politics is one of the ways to adjust democracy to the needs of contemporary countries and to reinforce democratic societies.

As in the case of e-democracy, in the literature there are many definitions of *e-voting*. Before defining *electronic voting*, it should be noted that e-voting is commonly confused with *online voting*, while *electronic voting* the first one (with the prefix “e-”) is a notion of a broader meaning than *online voting*.

According to a universal definition given by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in Recommendation Rec(2004)11 *e-voting* is “an e-election or e-referendum that involves the use of electronic means in at least the casting of the vote”<sup>12</sup>. There is also a very similar and popular definition, according to which *electronic voting* is a term encompassing several different types of voting, embracing both electronic means of casting a vote and electronic means of counting votes<sup>13</sup>.

The phrase *electronic voting* is a term used to describe various voting methods based on electronic technology. There are three key categories of the discussed form of voting: machine counting, computer voting and on-line or Internet voting. Machine counting needs voters to punch a hole in their ballot card, which is then scanned and counted by the main computer. Voting via computer or direct-recording electronic voting machines “involve the use of either a keyboard, touch screen or some kind of pen or pointer and computer terminal and are immediately factored into the tally of votes”<sup>14</sup>. According to R. Michael Alvarez and Thad E. Hall, there are four kinds of Internet voting: kiosk Internet voting (voting is done at a specific location by using a computer; casting a ballot over the Internet is controlled by election officials), polling place Internet voting (is conducted at any polling station through the use of a computer that is controlled by election representatives),

<sup>11</sup> B.R. Barber, *Strong Democracy...*, pp. 272–273.

<sup>12</sup> *Legal, operational and technical standards for e-voting. Recommendation Rec(2004)11 adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on 30 September 2004 and explanatory memorandum*, Strasbourg 2005, p. 8.

<sup>13</sup> *What is e-voting?*, ACE project, <http://aceproject.org/ace-en/focus/e-voting/what-is-e-voting>, accessed 15.03.2011.

<sup>14</sup> N. Goodman, J.H. Pammett, J. DeBardeleben, J. Freeland. *A Comparative Assessment of Electronic Voting*, Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue, February 2010, p. 13, <http://www.canada-europe-dialogue.ca/events/2010-01-26-InternetVotingMaterials/AComparativeAssessmentofInternetVotingFINALFeb19-a.pdf>, accessed 12.03.2011.

precinct Internet voting (it is analogous to polling place voting except that it must occur at the voter's designated precinct polling place) and remote Internet voting (voting via Internet from a voter's home or potentially any other location with Internet access)<sup>15</sup>.

A very interesting definition by Thomas M. Buchsbaum should also be noted. He states that "the term e-voting is being used from casting the vote by electronic means to asking the internet community for an opinion on a political issue, as well as from tabulating the votes by electronic means to integrated electronic systems from voters' and candidates' registration to the publication of election results"<sup>16</sup>. He adds that other notions with the prefix "e-" or "i-", like e-elections, e-referendum or i-voting have been introduced in order to clarify the specific contents of e-voting. He distinguishes two main types of e-voting: e-voting supervised by the physical presence of representatives of governmental or independent electoral authorities and e-voting not physically supervised by representatives of governmental authorities (voting from one's own computer via the internet (i-voting), by touch-tone telephones, by mobile phones, or via Digital TV)<sup>17</sup>.

Also, Polish scientists and researchers (Leszek Porębski<sup>18</sup>, Maria Nowina Konopka<sup>19</sup>, Maria Marczevska-Rytko<sup>20</sup>, Andrzej Kaczmarczyk<sup>21</sup>, Przemysław Maj<sup>22</sup>, Daniel Mider<sup>23</sup>) are dealing with the subject of electronically assisted voting. According to Maria Nowina Konopka *electronic voting* virtually refers to technologies that are used within voting processes such as: digital broadcasting, telephony, the Internet<sup>24</sup>, and according to Andrzej Kaczmarczyk i Roman Cza-

<sup>15</sup> R.M. Alvarez, T.E. Hall, *Point, Click, and Vote. The Future of Internet Voting*, Washington 2004, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> Th. M. Buchsbaum, *E-Voting: International Developments and Lessons Learnt*, [in:] *Electronic Voting in Europe. Technology, Law, Politics and Society*, A. Prosser, R. Krimmer (eds.), Bregenz 2004, p. 32.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>18</sup> L. Porębski, *Elektroniczne oblicze polityki. Demokracja, państwo, instytucje polityczne w okresie rewolucji informacyjnej*, Kraków 2004.

<sup>19</sup> M. Nowina Konopka, *Rola Internetu w rozwoju demokracji w Polsce*, Kraków–Nowy Sącz 2008.

<sup>20</sup> M. Marczevska-Rytko, *Demokracja bezpośrednia w teorii i praktyce politycznej*, Lublin 2002.

<sup>21</sup> A. Kaczmarczyk, *Cyberdemocracy. Change of Democratic Paradigm In the 21st Century*, Toronto 2010.

<sup>22</sup> P. Maj, *Internet i demokracja. Ewolucja systemu politycznego*, Rzeszów 2009.

<sup>23</sup> D. Mider, *Partycypacja polityczna w Internecie. Studium politologiczne*, Warszawa 2008.

<sup>24</sup> M. Nowina-Konopka, *Rola internetu w...*, p. 189; M. Nowina Konopka, *Elektroniczna urna*, <http://www.rpo.gov.pl/pliki/12066058070.pdf>, accessed 27.06.2010.

jkowski – *e-voting* should be generally understood as “voting with the use of electronic means”<sup>25</sup>.

It should also be emphasized that information and communication technologies used in electronic voting can be applied to gather, handle and visualize results received from electoral commissions, in which votes are cast in a traditional manner – with ballot papers, during the process of receiving and counting votes, and in remote voting made online.

*I-voting* – one of the forms of electronic voting. On account of the place where the votes are cast *i-voting* can be divided into: *Internet Voting at the Polling Place* (IV@PP) where votes are cast at polling stations and then transferred online to respective authorities, and *Remote Internet Voting* (RIV) where votes are cast at any place through an Internet connection, and then transferred online to respective authorities<sup>26</sup>. With regard to forms of democracy (direct or representative), we list two types of electronic voting: *electronic elections* (*e-elections*) and *electronic referendum* (*e-referendum*).

In the contemporary conditions concerning the progress of civilization, the popularity of electronic voting is increasing – mainly because it is new and seemingly – attractive and convenient phenomenon for hundreds of millions of people around the world. Many voters prefer e-voting (especially online voting) to traditional methods<sup>27</sup>. This is due to the fact that voting with a computer connected to the Internet is far more convenient (particularly for those who cannot make their way to a polling station because of poor health condition or for those who are away from home during election) and faster, and it does not require a voter e.g. to leave his or her home.

The following section discusses the Estonian experiences associated with electronic voting in general, primarily concentrating on the turnout changes in certain elections. The main goal of this study is to answer the question whether e-voting has boosted turnout in the elections in Estonia, and if so, among which groups of

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<sup>25</sup> R. Czajkowski, A. Kaczmarczyk, *E-głosowanie – niezbędny element elektronicznej platformy do obsługi procedur demokracji w społeczeństwie informacyjnym*, [in:] *Tworzenie mechanizmów i struktur rozwoju elektronicznej gospodarki w Polsce*. Warszawa, 12 czerwca 2001 r. Materiały pokonferencyjne, Poznań 2001, p. 48.

<sup>26</sup> R.K. Gibson, *Internet Voting and the European Parliament elections: problems and prospects*, [in:] *The European Union and E-Voting. Addressing the European Parliament's Internet Voting Challenge*, A.H. Trechsel, F. Mendes (eds.), Routledge 2005, pp. 34.

<sup>27</sup> *The I's Have It*, [http://www.everyonecounts.com/index.php/why\\_everyone\\_counts/why\\_i-voting](http://www.everyonecounts.com/index.php/why_everyone_counts/why_i-voting), accessed 14.02.2010.

the electorate the e-voting attracted the most attention? The data presented are from the Estonian National Electoral Committee.

## ONLINE ELECTION IN ESTONIA

One of the European, and perhaps even global, leaders in the application of electronic voting procedures into elections is Estonia. The citizens of that small European country have had the possibility of voting online since 2005 and what is important – the Estonian government considers the effects of implementation of the new voting system as a success.

The debate over the implementation of electronic voting in Estonia started in 2001, and a year after Estonian parliament – *Riigikogu* – passed an appropriate bill – *Digital Signature Act 2002* – which enabled citizens to use electronic signatures in order to confirm their identity at online transactions as well as during elections. The act formed a legal base to carry out online voting<sup>28</sup>. The Electoral Commission began to implement the project of an e-voting system in the second half of 2003<sup>29</sup>.

The key element in the new manner of voting is ID-Cards – special identity cards for a new generation introduced by the *Identity Documents Act* in January 2000. Such identity cards have two kinds of functions: they are identification documents and confirm electronic identity.

The Estonian electronic voting system is based on *Remote Internet Voting*<sup>30</sup>. An Estonian voter who wants to vote in such a way needs: an identity card of the new generation, i.e. (*eID-card*) with valid certificates (renewed on a webpage), PIN numbers (issued together with eID cards) and a computer with eID card reader,

<sup>28</sup> N. Goodman, J.H. Pammett, J. DeBardleben, J. Freeland, *A Comparative Assessment of Electronic Voting*, Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue, February 2010, pp. 33, <http://www.carleton.ca/europecluster/events/2010-01-26-InternetVotingMaterials/AComparativeAssessmentofInternetVotingFINALFeb19-a.pdf>, accessed 15.10.2010.

<sup>29</sup> E. Maaten. *Towards remote e-voting: Estonian case*, Elections Department. Chancellery of the Riigikogu (Parliament), Tallinn 2004, Conference materials from The International Workshop on Electronic Voting in Europe, Bregenz/Austria, 7–9.07.2004, pp. 83, <http://www.e-voting.at/index.php?id=4&artikelID=62>, accessed 15.10.2010.

<sup>30</sup> Despite the fact that the Estonian National Electoral Committee uses the general name *e-voting* (not *i-vote* – *Internet* or *Online voting*) to describe the Estonian electronic voting system – in this part of the paper both phrases: *e-voting* and *i-voting* – are used synonymously while considering e-voting in Estonia.

an Internet connection and one of the following operating systems installed: Windows, MacOS, Linux<sup>31</sup>.

It was reserved at the implementation of e-voting system in Estonia that electronic voting must be as similar to the traditional voting as possible. What is more, the conformity of voting to law and rules of elections, and making e-voting as secure as traditional voting were necessary<sup>32</sup>. According to the Estonian electoral law,<sup>33</sup> e-voting is held from the 10th do the 4th day before the day traditional election starts. From the standpoint of technical issues, it is necessary to make an electronic voting system as simple as possible, and transparent enough to enable experts check its proper functioning.

Already in 2001, the project of e-voting was recognized as an important element of the government's strategy based on the application of technology in order to make the public sector more efficient, effective and client-friendly. The most important reasons for introducing additional ways of voting in Estonia are the following: to make an additional and convenient voting channel available and, consequently, to update voting procedures, and enable more efficient use of infrastructure (digital platforms and electronic IDs).

## **ESTONIAN E-VOTING IN PRACTICE**

As far as the application of the Internet and other ICT tools are concerned, Estonia is one of the most intensively developing European countries. It is the only country in Europe where Internet access is legislated by the social law. Already in 2000, the Riigikogu passed a proposal to guarantee every Estonian person access to the Internet in the same way as other constitutional laws<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>31</sup> Estonian National Electoral Committee, <http://www.vvk.ee/index.php?id=11178&tpl=1062>, accessed 10.10.2010.

<sup>32</sup> *E-Voting System. General Overview*, Estonian National Electoral Committee, Tallinn 2005–2010, pp. 7.

<sup>33</sup> *Riigikogu Election Act, Local Government Council Election Act, Referendum Act and European Parliament Election Act* – all of the acts include similar conditions for e-voting.

<sup>34</sup> "Citizens can now access the Internet from one of 729 Public Internet Access Points (PIAP), 51 PIAPs per 100 000 people. The PIAP has a special traffic sign, with the @ symbol, showing its location. Most PIAPs are located in libraries and other municipal buildings across the country. No fee is charged for using the Internet services at PIAPs. As it was mentioned above, eGovernment Internet access is free to all citizens should they choose to use the public access facilities provided. There are more than 600 areas (city squares, gasoline stations, hotels, pubs, airports etc.) which currently

Being one of the leading global investors in the field of ICT, the Estonian government managed to build an extremely powerful technological infrastructure: already in 2009, as many as 63% of households in that small European country had access to the Internet. The number of households connected to the Internet almost doubled from the moment of introducing online voting for the first time in 2005. Now, over 70% of Estonians at the age between 16 and 74 use the Internet<sup>35</sup>.

**Table 1. Internet access and Internet users in Estonia**

	2005	2007	2009
<b>Households with access to the Internet</b>	38,5%	52,9%	63%
<b>Internet users (at the age between: 16–74 years old)</b>	59,2%	63,6%	71,2%

Source: Statistics Estonia, <http://www.stat.ee/>, 12.10.2010; *Case Study 2: E-Stonia*, The Judith and John Bedrosian Center on Governance and the Public Enterprise, University of Southern California, [http://www.usc.edu/schools/sppd/bedrosian/private/docs/Case\\_Study\\_\\_Estonia.pdf](http://www.usc.edu/schools/sppd/bedrosian/private/docs/Case_Study__Estonia.pdf), accessed 10.10.2010.

There were five internet votes of binding character in Estonia between 2005 and March 2011. The first time citizens had the possibility to vote online was in 2005, when the local elections were held.. Another internet vote took place two years later at the parliament elections. In 2009 Estonians could vote online twice – firstly in June during the second elections for European Parliament in Estonia and in October during local elections. In March 2011, Estonians elected their next national Parliament – they also voted online on this occasion.

The first local elections, in which e-voting was possible, took place in October 2005. Online voting was conducted between October 10th and October 12th, and 9317 of voters cast their votes online – the total number of votes cast was 9681. When calculating the results 9287 i-votes were taken into consideration because a single voter cast 364 votes, and additionally 30 people who voted online eventu-

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provide high-speed wireless Internet access. All Estonian schools are connected to the Internet, as a result of the state-run “Tiger Leap” programme, implemented from 1997–1999. Even the three-student schoolhouse on the geographically isolated Ruhnu Island, with about 40 inhabitants, has an Internet connection. A short-term goal is to have at least 1 computer per 20 pupils in every school”; *Case Study 2: E-Stonia*, The Judith and John Bedrosian Center on Governance and the Public Enterprise, University of Southern California, [http://www.usc.edu/schools/sppd/bedrosian/private/docs/Case\\_Study\\_\\_Estonia.pdf](http://www.usc.edu/schools/sppd/bedrosian/private/docs/Case_Study__Estonia.pdf), accessed 10.10.2010.

<sup>35</sup> *Two thirds of households of Estonia have access to the Internet at home*, 18.09.2009, Statistics Estonia, <http://www.stat.ee/index.php?id=31246&highlight=internet,connection>, accessed 15.10.2010.

ally voted again at a polling station. In the first instance (when someone votes online more than once) – according to the law – the last vote is valid, and while someone votes at a polling station – on a voting paper – after previously voting online, the last vote that was cast is valid, and the i-vote is cancelled. In 2005, almost 2% among those who cast a vote during local elections did it through the Internet.

The next local elections in Estonia took place four years later and enabled voting through the Internet again. I-voting was conducted from October 8th to October 14th in 2009. From about 1,100,000 eligible voters, approximately 663,000 participated, and about 104,000 of them decided to vote online. In total, (together with 2383 repeated i-votes) 104,413 eligible voters cast 106,786 electronic votes. What is interesting, 100 voters eventually voted traditionally at a polling station after casting their vote online.

As we compare both elections, the number of online votes cast in 2009 was eight times greater in relation to all votes cast in 2005. To put it straight, in 2005 i-votes constituted 1.85% out of all votes that were cast, whereas four years later – during the fourth elections that enabled i-voting – participation of i-votes in relation to all of the votes cast was 15.74%. Basing on just one of those ratios, large progress in the development of e-voting in Estonia is visible, which is proved by an increasing number of people who decide to participate in electoral processes through the Internet<sup>36</sup>.

Parliamentary elections in 2007 were another nationwide voting in which Estonians could vote through the Internet. Electronic voting was conducted from February 26th to February 28th. Elections at ballot boxes took place on March 4th, 2007. The application of online voting in the Estonian national parliamentary elections was indeed symbolic and the first of that kind on the world scale. Over 30,000 out of almost 900,000 eligible voters voted electronically. Estonian i-elections from 2007 were second in a row in that country (after local elections in 2005) where voters could decide to vote through the Internet<sup>37</sup>. With comparison to the year 2005 and despite a relatively low percentage of i-voters, the level of interest in a new method of participation in polling procedures increased to 5.44% in 2007.

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<sup>36</sup> Ü. Madise, P. Vinkel, E. Maaten, *Internet Voting at the Elections of Local Government Councils on October 2005. Report*, p. 28., Estonian National Electoral Committee, <http://www.vvk.ee/public/dok/report2006.pdf>, accessed 12.12.2010.

<sup>37</sup> A.H. Trechsel, *Internet voting in the March 2007 Parliamentary Elections in Estonia. Report for the Council of Europe*, European Union Democracy Observatory (EUDO), Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute Florence, 31 July 2007, p. 11.



In June 2009, Estonia – just like twenty six other states of the European Union – held the elections to the European Parliament elections. The second Estonian election to the European Parliament (the first one was held on June 13, 2004, and voter turnout amounted to 26.89%<sup>38</sup>) was in fact the third election in which the electorate could vote through the Internet. It aroused larger interest among voters more than in 2004 which is proved by a higher voter turnout – 43.88%.

From February 24th to March 2nd, 2011, Estonian citizens were asked to decide on the composition of their next national Parliament. Advanced voting (paper-based voting in advance to the election at specific polling stations) was possible February 28th to March 2nd, 2011. Voting via the Internet was available prior to the election from February 24th to March 2nd. On March 6th, voters could vote on paper in their constituency. There were 913 346 eligible voters, 580 264 took part in the election, and the total 140 846 of Estonians caste their vote over the Internet. The final participation rate at the Riigikogu Elections was 63.5%<sup>39</sup> and there were 15.4% internet voters.

### **E-VOTING IN ESTONIA BETWEEN 2005 AND 2011 – CONCLUDING REMARKS**

According to the proponents of e-voting, an increase in the turnout level is one of the key arguments to use electronic voting, which is often regarded as a remedy for the democratic crisis due to the decline in citizen participation.

Research into the application and efficiency of *i-voting* in Estonia showss that the attitude among Estonians towards this new electronic form of voting at the beginning of *e-voting* implementation process has been positive, and the new method for voting is attracting increasingly high percentage of eligible voters, which is demonstrated by the data in Table 2.

Analysis of data from Estonian elections leads to several conclusions.

In terms of the numbers of voters, the electronic form of voting gained great interest among Estonian citizens. Each time elections were held the percentage of those who chose a new channel of voting has increased. Comparing percentages

<sup>38</sup> *European Parliament Elections 2004: results*, 29.06.2004, EurActiv.com, <http://www.euractiv.com/en/elections/european-parliament-elections-2004-results/article-117482>, accessed 13.11.2010.

<sup>39</sup> *Riigikogu (parliamentary) Elections. March 6th 2011*, Estonian National Electoral Committee, <http://www.vvk.ee/?lang=en>, accessed 15.03.2011.



of i-turnout in 2005 and 2009 local elections, and of national parliamentary elections of 2007 and 2011 we can see that the numbers increased visibly: in local elections the growth was by the factor 10.67%, and in the Riigikogu elections by 4.46 %,

**Table 2. I-voting in Estonia – comparison of selected information**

ELECTIONS	10.2005	03.2007	06.2009	10.2009	03.2011
Turnout (%)	47.43	61.91	43.88	60.6	63.5
I-voters	9 317	30 275	58 669	104 413	140 846
I-turnout (%)	0.91	3.46	6.54	9.74	15.4
Percentage of i-votes in relation to all of the votes cast (%)	1.85	5.44	14.68	15.74	24.3

I-voters – those eligible, who voted via internet; i-turnout – internet turnout (percentage of those eligible who voted via internet)

Source: My own studies based on information from Estonian National Electoral Committee.

Comparing the final turnout of these elections one may notice that the participation in national parliamentary election increased only by 2%, and it cannot be treated as proof that e-voting affects the level of citizens' involvement. It is probably the indication that those who usually voted in a traditional way changed their channel of casting their vote into i-voting. It is confirmed by Daniel Bochsler, who states that: "Instead of attracting new voters, it seems, Internet voting mostly substituted for existing votes at the polls. Furthermore, instead of attracting social groups that usually abstain from elections, Internet voting has for the most part attracted the same politically well-established groups"<sup>40</sup>.

However, the opinion of Bochsler cannot be applied in the case of local elections. The most significant change in the level of total electorate participation concerns Estonian local elections. From 2005 to 2009, the general turnout increased by 13% – from ca. 47% to about 60%. Simultaneously, the number of those who voted online grew 11 times. Thus, we may state that e-voting positively influences the turnout in elections at the local stage.

<sup>40</sup> D. Bochsler, *Can Internet voting increase political participation?, Remote electronic voting and turnout in the Estonian 2007 parliamentary elections*, Prepared for presentation at the conference 'Internet and Voting', Fiesole, 3–4 June 2010, p. 1, <http://www.eui.eu/Projects/EUDO-PublicOpinion/Documents/bochsler-voteeui2010.pdf>, accessed 14.03.2011.

The greatest expectations related to e-voting have been associated with the youngest voters. However, data of the Estonian Electoral Committee show that the biggest change concerns the oldest voters – at the age of more than 55 years<sup>41</sup>. The number of young voters is constantly at 10%, while the level of participation of the oldest electorate increased from 18% in 2009 to 21% in 2011<sup>42</sup>. This leads to the conclusion, that a significant number of the elder voters prefer the online voting solution to cast their vote.

When results from both types of 2009 elections (to the European and the national parliament) are compared, we will notice that the increase of the i-turnout is relatively low – by ca. 3%, although the general turnout increased by 16%. Such a difference between these two turnout levels confirms the persisting second-order nature of EP elections<sup>43</sup>. In this context, it is worthwhile adding that the distinction between *first-order national elections* and *second-order national elections* was made by Karlheinz Reif and Hermann Schmitt<sup>44</sup>. They claim that in the second-order elections the participation rate is lower than in national parliamentary elections and the citizens are eager to vote on smaller and new parties<sup>45</sup>. Furthermore, electorate “uses” the second-order elections as a tool of punishment or rewarding the governing parties.

The analysis of the data in table 2 leads to the conclusion that the constant boost in Internet votes since 2005 to 2011 is the evidence for the demand of citizens to have more comfortable and easier way to participate in elections.

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<sup>41</sup> *Statistics about Internet Voting in Estonia*, Estonian National Electoral Committee, <http://www.vvk.ee/voting-methods-in-estonia/engindex/statistics>, accessed 15.03.2011.

<sup>42</sup> There are several reasons for it: since 1994 Estonia faced a negative population growth rate, thus the number of people below 24 is the smallest part of the population; the citizens below 24 have been 7 years or younger when Estonia became independent in 1994 – so, they can perceive democracy as something normal; *Internet voting in Estonia – Internet voting is necessary to maintain the turnout and integrate voters*, <http://www.e-voting.cc/>, accessed 15.03.2011.

<sup>43</sup> It needs to be emphasized that the elections to the European Parliament are usually considered as a second-order elections in most of EU Member States.

<sup>44</sup> In 1980, they studied the first 1979 European election and constructed their theoretical model.

<sup>45</sup> K. Reif, H. Schmitt, *Nine second-order National elections: a conceptual Framework for the analyses of European Election Results*, “European Journal of Political Research” 1980, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 3–4; K. Reif, *European Elections as member state second – order elections revisited*, “European Journal of Political Research” 199, no. 31, pp. 115–24; H. Schmitt, R. Mannheimer, *About Voting and Non-voting in the European Parliament Elections of June 1989*, “European Journal of Political Research” 1991, no. 19, pp. 31–54; M. Marsch, *Testing the Second-Order Election Model after Four European Elections*, “British Journal of Political Science” 1998, no. 28, pp. 591–607.

To sum up, it should be stated that the Estonian model of online voting is a success in many respects – especially if we consider citizens' usage of *i-voting* and their participation in local elections. The Estonian authorities claim that the so-called *Remote Internet Voting* is a socially anticipated feature of the electoral process in the country, and the feature is highly important from the standpoint of electorate participation levels<sup>46</sup>. Although it is not hard evidence, we may consider data provided by the Estonian Electoral Commission: the turnout in parliamentary elections slightly increased from 58.2% in 2003 to 61.9% in 2009, and during European Parliament elections from 26.8% in 2004 to 43.9% in 2009<sup>47</sup>. Moreover, increasingly high percentage of i-votes in the structure of all votes cast may confirm that the Estonian society displays a high level of confidence in new electoral methods.

It should also be mentioned that a lot of research and rankings concerning *e-government* and the information society, place Estonia as one of the most successful countries in Europe and worldwide in this field. Although it used to belong to the former communist bloc, Estonia is now often included in the group of the richest countries in Europe and worldwide – mainly because of the considerable development in the area of ICT. A report prepared by the United Nations entitled *Top 35 Countries in the 2008 e-Government Readiness Index*, places Estonia on the 13th place just behind the Nordic countries, the United States, Japan or Switzerland. Such result is undoubtedly proof of the position and success of Estonia among countries that have succeeded in the field of new technologies and their application in the public sphere.

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<sup>46</sup> N. Goodman, J.H. Pammett, J. DeBardeleben, J. Freeland, *A Comparative Assessment...*, pp. 35.

<sup>47</sup> *Voter turnout data for Estonia*, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), [http://www.idea.int/vt/country\\_view.cfm?country=EE](http://www.idea.int/vt/country_view.cfm?country=EE), 1.12.2010; Estonian National Electoral Committee, <http://www.vvk.ee/>, accessed 1.12.2010.



# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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*Beata Master*

## THE DETERMINANTS OF THE POLISH PRESIDENCY IN THE EU – 2011

### ABSTRACT

Chairing the Council of the European Union underlines the importance of the state in integrated Europe. However, the recent amendments to the Treaty have given rise to significant changes in the functioning of this institution. Our understanding of this concept as well as of its functions and methods has changed. This is particularly important for Poland, which in July 2011 will take over the half year presidency. The new conditions of operation pose both opportunities and challenges. This article presents the model of the Presidency and its role both before the Treaty of Lisbon and immediately after it. It also discusses the ability of countries holding presidency, especially Poland, to handle these changes. The author examines the conditions, strengths and weaknesses of Poland with respect to exercising this function.

**Keywords:** presidency, Treaty of Lisbon, Poland in the European Union, European integration

**ON JULY, 2011,** Poland will take over the Presidency of the Council of the European Union. It is an opportunity, but also a great challenge in terms of politics, logistics and culture. A rich tradition of presidencies in the EU structures shows that their character varied, from being strongly political to only administrative. Each of presidencies, which will also be the case of the Polish one, wanted to bequeath something concrete and visible to future Europe. What will definitely make the Polish presidency different from the presidencies of Germany, France,

Belgium and other “old” member states of the EU is not only the fact that as the Treaty of Lisbon came into force the formal model of presidency has changed, but also the fact that Poland will exercise this function for the first time ever. The new legal situation may be both an advantage and a great challenge. Many mechanisms are still in the development phase. Minister Mikołaj Dowgielewicz estimates that it may even take a few years for some of them to become fully established.<sup>1</sup> This fact may be of an extremely high value for Poland as it makes it possible to form the shape of certain instruments of the European Union in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Moreover, we must become aware of the fact that Poland will take over the presidency in the EU as the first country in a trio of states alongside Denmark and Cyprus, thus, theoretically, for the period of eighteen months. This assumption should determine the development of the priorities of the Polish presidency. According to T.G. Gross, it is a chance for Poland to promote its image as an active and effective country.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, there are opinions that it is an overstatement to say that owing to holding the presidency Poland will have a remarkable chance to strengthen the position of the leader in the EU. There is no doubt that it will be a very important instrument of reinforcing Poland's position in integrated Europe and the opportunity for the development of a more effective integration policy, which should not be wasted.

Therefore, the aim of this article is to analyse the Polish conditions and preparations for holding the presidency of the European Union, with particular emphasis on the changes brought by the Treaty of Lisbon.

## **PRESIDENCY BEFORE AND AFTER THE TREATY OF LISBON**

Presidency has been part of the integration process of the European Union from the very beginning. Its importance has continually grown, although only a few provisions in the Treaties themselves directly referred to it. The increasing significance of the presidency might have resulted from the fact that in the 1960s the active “founding fathers” withdrew from a large part of their activities in the Communities. It helped to focus attention on the presidency, as a form of leadership in

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<sup>1</sup> M. Dowgielewicz, *Pozycja Polski po wejściu w życie Traktatu Lizbońskiego*, “Sprawy Międzynarodowe” 2010, no. 2, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> T.G. Gross, *Ocena rządowego programu przygotowań przewodnictwa w UE. Brief Programowy Instytutu Kościuszki*, Kraków (November 2009), p. 2.



the European Community.<sup>3</sup> As early as in the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community we could read that the leadership in the Council, i.e. the presidency, shall be held by member states rotationally, in the alphabetical order for the period of three months.<sup>4</sup> This period was extended to six months in the Treaty of Rome (art. 146).<sup>5</sup> The Treaty establishing the European Community (art. 204) stipulated that such a state would convene and chair meetings of the Council, initiate a decision-making process on the legislative and political issues, as well as reach a compromise in case of discrepancies among member states. These tasks were extended to the function of representing the European Union in the field of foreign and defence policy at international conferences and meetings.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the Council's Rules of Procedure specified that the Presidency would organise meetings of various committees and working parties.<sup>7</sup> Such a big number of tasks caused that a country holding the presidency needed a staff of people, who were perfectly trained in different fields so that they could perform and improve specific actions. It is one of the reasons for which from the very beginning of the presidency there have been demands that its form should be changed. One of the most important documents which contained such claims was the Tindemans Report from the 1970s. in which the author proposed that the presidency be extended to one year in order to strengthen the importance of this institution.<sup>8</sup> However, it appeared to be impossible to be accepted. The Treaty of Lisbon introduced fundamental changes, but they were far from original ideas. Some countries suggested the introduction of group presidency, which would be composed of more countries, at the same time extending its period. Others proposed that the time of holding or waiting for the EU leadership should be dependent on the size of a country. The compromise in the Treaty of Lisbon only partly settled this issue,

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<sup>3</sup> M. Zuber, *Rola Prezydencji Rady Unii Europejskiej*, Warszawa 2010, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> „Art. 27: The office of President shall be held for a term of three months by each member of the Council in turn, in alphabetical order of the Member States.” The Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, 1951.

<sup>5</sup> „Art. 146: The office of President shall be exercised for a term of six months by each member of the Council in rotation according to the alphabetical order of the Member States.” The Treaty establishing the European Economic Community, 1957.

<sup>6</sup> *Ustrój Unii Europejskiej i ustroje państw członkowskich*, P. Sarnecki (ed.), Warszawa 2007, p. 49.

<sup>7</sup> Council Decision of 22 March 2004 adopting the Council's Rules of Procedure (2004/338/WE, Euratom), <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2004:106:0022:0045:EN:PDF>, accessed 11.08.2010.

<sup>8</sup> L. Tindemans, Report on European Union (29 December 1975), [http://www.ena.lu/report\\_european\\_union\\_29\\_december\\_1975-2-16956](http://www.ena.lu/report_european_union_29_december_1975-2-16956), accessed 8.03.2011.

by appointing a trio without clear authority and specified responsibilities. Another extremely important change was the establishment of two new institutions, the President of the European Council and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.<sup>9</sup> Both institutions have considerably reduced the competence of the country presiding the Council. In the long run, it may lead to an increase in the level of citizens' distrust of the European Union, which seems to be keen on the reduction of the role and importance of member states in the unified structure.<sup>10</sup> The support for the proposed concepts obviously depended on the integration model backed by specific countries. As a result of these changes, the Treaty of Lisbon introduced the model of the EU presidency, which combines rotational leadership of member states and the establishment of new institutions of a permanent character, which would partly take over its functions.<sup>11</sup> The main aim of the appointment of the so-called President of the European Union and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, apart from extending the term of office and strengthening the role of these positions, was to give these posts a European rather than a national mandate, which is strongly dependent on the country currently presiding the Council.<sup>12</sup>

What is of utmost importance is the change in the way the institution of presidency is defined. In order to recognize this difference, we need to examine this notion as stipulated in the treaties before and after Lisbon. The Treaty on European Union, art.4, stipulates that "(...) the European Council shall meet at least twice a year, under the chairmanship of the Head of State or Government of the Member State which holds the Presidency of the Council."<sup>13</sup> This provision implies that presidency is an institution, whereas chairmanship is an activity performed by a specific person – the head of state or government. This situation looks different in the Treaty of Lisbon. The presidency is assigned to a group of three countries, while a chairperson is no longer an individual, but the country which currently holds the presidency. Thus, it is a shift from the model of a single-person chairman-

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<sup>9</sup> K. Smyk, *Prezydencja w Traktacie z Lizbony: Główne postanowienia i wnioski dla Polski*, [in:] *Biuletyn Analiz UKiE, Prezydencja Polski w Unii Europejskiej – 2011 r.*, UKiE. Departament Analiz i Strategii, Warszawa 2009, p. 27.

<sup>10</sup> J. Barcz, *Polska w systemie instytucjonalnym nowej UE*, "Sprawy Międzynarodowe" 2010, no. 2, p. 49.

<sup>11</sup> K. Smyk, *op.cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>12</sup> K.D.Borchardt, *The ABC of the European Union law*, Luxembourg 2010, p. 53.

<sup>13</sup> The Treaty of the European Union, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2006:321E:0001:0331:EN:pdf>, accessed 11.08.2010.

ship to a group one.<sup>14</sup> Previously, the head of state or government which holds the presidency could effectively affect the debate at the European Council's meetings for half a year. Now, the emphasis is on efficient administration. To sum up, the Treaty of Lisbon strongly reduced the importance of the presidency, by officially separating it from the European Council and linking it directly with the Council of the European Union.

Another important change concerned the composition of the Council. Before the Treaty of Lisbon the Council met in nine different functional configurations. Each of them was headed by the minister of the country which currently held the presidency.<sup>15</sup> After the recent treaty amendments the General Affairs and External Relations Council was divided into the General Affairs Council and the Foreign Affairs Council, thus increasing the number of possible Council's formations to ten.

However, for the sake of this article it is a lot more important that the minister of the presiding country does not chair the Foreign Affairs Council. Art. 16, par. 9, of the Treaty on European Union stipulates that the Presidency of Council configurations, other than that of Foreign Affairs, shall be held by Member State representatives in the Council on the basis of equal rotation, in accordance with the conditions established in accordance with Article 236 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.” It is the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy that is responsible for external relations. Nevertheless, the other Council configurations are still headed by the ministers of the country which holds the presidency.<sup>16</sup> However, the fact that the head of the presiding state no longer chairs the meetings of the European Council and the its Minister of Foreign Affairs does not head the Foreign Affairs Council is an obvious proof of the reduced role of this institution. It is enough to examine the priorities of previous presidencies to find out that many of them actually concerned the issues of foreign policy (table 1). Hence, the country which holds the presidency in the Council of the European Union, the President of the European Council and

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<sup>14</sup> A. Jaskulski, *Struktura i funkcje prezydencji w Radzie Unii Europejskiej*, [in:] *Przewodnictwo państwa w Radzie Unii Europejskiej – doświadczenia partnerów, propozycje dla Polski*, Z. Czachór, M. Tomaszuk (eds.), Poznań 2009, p. 48.

<sup>15</sup> The Council's configurations from before Lisbon: the General Affairs and External Relations Council, Economic and Financial Affairs (Ecofin), the Justice and Home Affairs Council (JHA), the Employment, Social Policy, Health and Consumer Affairs Council (EPSCO), the Competitiveness Council, the Transport, Telecommunications and Energy Council, the Agriculture and Fisheries Council, the Environment Council, and the Education, Youth, Culture and Sport Council.

<sup>16</sup> K.D.Rochardt, *op.cit.*, p. 55.

the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy will have to agree on new methods of procedure in this field.

**Table 1. An overview of priorities of selected Presidencies**

Country	Time of presidency	Principal priorities
France	July – December 2008	1. Energy and climate 2. Issues of population migrations 3. Agriculture 4. Security and defence
Czech Republic	January – June 2009	1. Economy 2. Energetics 3. The European Union in the world
Sweden	July – December 2009	1. Economy and employment 2. Climate 3. The judiciary and internal affairs 4. The EU's strategy for the Baltic Sea 5. The EU, its neighbourhood and the world 6. The new Parliament, the Commission and the Treaty of Lisbon
Spain	January – June 2010	1. The full and effective implementation of the Treaty of Lisbon 2. Strengthening the recovery of the European economy 3. Strengthening the EU's presence and its influence in the new international scenario 4. Putting European citizens at the heart of the Union's policies – the citizen's rights
Belgium	July – December 2010	1. The battle with the economic crisis 2. Environmental protection 3. Building the open and safe European Union 4. Building a cohesive social model 5. Efforts towards the EU's common foreign policy
Poland – initial priorities	July – December 2011	1. New EU financial framework 2014–2020 2. Strengthening of the EU internal market 3. Eastern Partnership 4. EU energetic sector (solidarity and competitiveness) 5. Cooperation in the field of defence 6. Knowledge based economy

Source: Self-study based on data: Sz. Ruman, *Doświadczenia wybranych państw w zakresie przygotowań do prezydencji w Radzie UE*, „Analizy. Biuro Analiz Sejmowych” 2009, no. 15 and *Wstępna lista priorytetów polskiego przewodnictwa w Radzie Unii Europejskiej w II połowie 2011 r.*, KPRM, Warszawa, 21.07.2010.

As regards extending the period of presidency, we should refer to the *Declaration annexed to the Treaty of Lisbon*, which says that “The Presidency of the Council, with the exception of the Foreign Affairs configuration, shall be held by pre-

established groups of three Member States for a period of 18 months. The groups shall be made up on a basis of equal rotation among the Member States, taking into account their diversity and geographical balance within the Union.”<sup>17</sup> Such solution means, however, that each country will in fact chair the European Union every thirteen and a half years, given the present number of member states. Therefore, we can definitely say that the idea of shortening the waiting time for the presidency has failed.<sup>18</sup> The Treaty of Lisbon did not also clarify the issue of chairing working parties and the role of the head of state or government of the country which holds the presidency in a given half year.<sup>19</sup> A very brief description of the competences which they may have causes that they can act both in a very wide and narrow scope.

To sum up, as a result of the provisions of the Treaty of Lisbon, the basic tasks of the presidency include the administration and coordinating the Council’s work. Therefore, the presidency will continue to shape the Council’s agenda, gaining an opportunity for promoting selected initiatives. It is especially important from the point of view of small member states, which owing to this, get the chance of appearing on the international arena and speaking the voice of the whole Union.<sup>20</sup> The tasks of the presidency will also include seeking a compromise between member states in case any disagreements arise.<sup>21</sup> Today, it is difficult to determine the role of the presidency in the EU. It seems that the development of its form is one of the principal tasks of the countries which will hold it in the near future.

## **MODELS OF PRESIDENCY**

A long-standing practice of the Union’s presidencies brought a number of different models of this institution in the literature on the subject. The most widely discussed one divides the presidency into the national and the Brussels one. In the first approach it is the capital city of the presiding country that is the management centre. It is here where all logistical and content-related activities are undertaken.

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<sup>17</sup> Declarations annexed to the Final Act of the Intergovernmental Conference which adopted the Treaty of Lisbon, December 13, 2007. Declaration no. 9, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2010:083:0335:0360:EN:PDF>, accessed 1.08.2010.

<sup>18</sup> K. Smyk, *op.cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 32.

<sup>20</sup> K.D. Rochardt, *op.cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>21</sup> K. Smyk, *op.cit.*, p. 24.

The Permanent Representation in Brussels is only one of executive instruments. In the Brussels model, in turn, it is the Representation of a given country in Brussels that plays the role of the strategic centre. A specialized group of people is responsible for the logistics of operations and solves all problems, following consultations with state authorities. Experience shows that Brussels presidencies work better. It may result from the fact that they are better organized in technical terms. Nevertheless, it is enough to recall the last presidency of France and the role of President Sarkozy to say that technical issues are not always the most important. It should be remembered, however, that, in practice, clearly defined models are rare. Mixed models are the most common. The Polish government also declares its willingness to choose this type of model. *The Programme of the Preparations of the Republic of Poland for Taking Over and Holding the Presidency in the Council of the European Union*, adopted by the Council of Ministers on January 13, 2009, in attachment 4 says that on the basis of talks and gathered data: "The Office of the Committee for European Integration proposes that the concept of a mixed system should be adopted. Out of the total number of 216 identified formations of the EU Council's preparatory bodies, as regards 113 of them, government departments recognize no need for running working parties from Brussels; in case of 70, government departments indicated the need for handling them by an expert based in Brussels."<sup>22</sup> The most important thing in the mixed model appears to be the finding of an effective method of communication between the domestic head office and the Representation in Brussels.<sup>23</sup> However, it seems that this division is no longer sufficient after the changes introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon. According to its provisions, the presidency is held by a trio of countries. Therefore, the efficient model of the presidency, in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty, should take this level into consideration, both in the Brussels model and the national one. It may turn out that some presiding countries will hold the leadership on their own, and meeting within the framework of the Trio will be obligatory rather than useful. A good example of unsuccessful coordination is the lack of cooperation between the French and Czech governments during their consecutive presidencies.<sup>24</sup> On

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<sup>22</sup> Zał. nr 4: Informacja na temat sposobu obsługi organów przygotowawczych Rady Unii Europejskiej – określenie modelu prezydencji polskiej w 2011 r., [in:] *Program Przygotowań Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej do Objęcia i Sprawowania Przewodnictwa w Radzie Unii Europejskiej*, Warszawa (Janu-  
ary 13, 2009), p. 1.

<sup>23</sup> A. Jaskulski, op.cit., p. 49.

<sup>24</sup> *Prezydencja grupowa UE: doświadczenia z lat 2007–2009*, L. Jesień, R. Kołatek (eds.), "Polski Przegląd Dyplomatyczny" 2010, no. 3, p. 40.

the other hand, the creators of the Treaty of Lisbon intended to establish the platform for cooperation, mutual support and developing the directions of the EU's policy. A good example here is the Slovenian presidency, which "used" specialists of the German administration, the General Secretariat and the European Commission.<sup>25</sup> Thus, the presidency may be managed both from Brussels, through the cooperation of its Representations, or from the capital cities of the Trio countries. In the latter approach it may be a very difficult task, given the fact that such presidencies are usually political. Moreover, there may be situations, in which one or two countries of the Trio will follow the Brussels models, while the others will choose the national one. The resulting model might be referred to as "hybrid presidency." This "hybridity" is additionally reinforced by an unspecified role of the head of government of the presiding country. A possible solution to this situation might be to choose only the Brussels model of holding the presidency. All the activities would be coordinated by the Representation of a given country in Brussels, which would find it a lot easier to consult and cooperate with other Union institutions and Representations of member states. At present, given strong leadership ambitions of some EU countries, this idea does not seem plausible.

## **THE MEANING OF PRESIDENCY PRIORITIES**

The EU presidency is intrinsically associated with formulating and implementing clearly defined priorities by the presiding country. They may be referred to as the keywords specific to the country which chairs the Council. Moreover, they help to evaluate the efficiency of a given country's actions in the Council. For example, the Greek presidency of 2003 is associated with Poland's signing the Accession Treaty, whereas the German and Portuguese presidencies are associated with the Treaty of Lisbon. One must also be aware that the period of the presidency in the European Union should be preceded by a few years of preparations rather than the time for presenting proposals. There is too little time for this. What is more, the process of preparations for the presidency seems to be far more important than the time of actual chairmanship, which seems to be a kind of splendour and the crowning of the presiding country's efforts. The presidency, which one cannot forget, is a specific instrument of member states' foreign policy. It is known that each state has its national interests, the implementation of which it must secure

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<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, p. 55.



through its membership in the EU, and the presidency is one of the methods. While chairing the Council, a given country becomes more visible in the whole Union, or even outside the EU. Thanks to available mechanisms, it exerts significant influence on what is currently being discussed and implemented. Minister Dowgielewicz notes that the presidency will make it possible for Poland to present “the priorities of Polish policy, emphasize its key areas and present its own ideas and initiatives”<sup>26</sup> on the EU forum. One disadvantage is the fact it lasts only six months. Especially if a given country, like Poland, holds the presidency in the EU in the second half of a year, when additional breaks shorten this time even more. The next chance will come in thirteen years. Thus, each country which wants to achieve something while presiding the Council faces an enormous challenge. All the more so because the priorities do not have to meet the expectations of this country, but should be perceived as relevant for the whole Community. However, in order to combine those two interest areas, it is believed that the priorities should meet two principal criteria: desirability and feasibility. The criterion of desirability requires choosing such priorities which will first of all appear to be useful for the whole Union, will promote its goals and values and correspond to the current problems and challenges, and at the same time will implement the national interests of a given member state. It must be remembered that the key role of the country holding the presidency is to be an “impartial mediator.”<sup>27</sup> The presidency should serve the whole European Union rather than a single country.<sup>28</sup> On the one hand, it gives a lot of opportunities, but, on the other hand, it is a constraint. In case controversial issues arise, the presiding country should make efforts towards settling them rather than deepening them. This role of Poland may be very important in discussing issues connected with, e.g. the EU’s New Financial Framework or the 2012 budget. In case there is a conflict of interest, Poland will have to propose solutions which will bring benefit not only to itself, but also to the other member states. It may also have to give up some of its own guidelines in order to reach a compromise. It is obviously a matter of proper preparation and actions.

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<sup>26</sup> M. Dowgielewicz, *Dlaczego Prezydencja to szansa i wyzwanie dla Polski?*, <http://www.przyzycencjaue.gov.pl/polskie-przygotowania-do-prezydencji>, accessed 11.08.2010.

<sup>27</sup> *Dobór priorytetów przez państwa członkowskie sprawujące przewodnictwo w Radzie UE w latach 2002–2008. Wnioski dla Polski*, M. Jatczak, B. Słowińska (eds.), [in:] *Biuletyn Analiz UKIE...*, pp. 52–53.

<sup>28</sup> S.M. Grochalski, *Ewolucja instytucji Prezydencji od traktatów powołujących Wspólnoty do Traktatu Lizbońskiego*, [in:] *2011 Polska Prezydencja w Unii Europejskiej*, R. Riedel, P. Klimontowski (eds.), Opole 2010, p. 42.



Apart from the issues connected with establishing the priorities of the presidency according to the proposed criteria, another important factor is their number. As the presidency period is very short, there is no point setting too many goals as it may only weaken the efficiency of a given country, which could then be perceived as unable to accomplish all its objectives. Most countries decide to adopt from four to six priorities.<sup>29</sup>

This strategy depends on a number of determinants. They are worth closer examination. First of all, each country which begins to prepare for presiding the European Union has to know exactly what is currently happening in its structures. It needs to monitor them closely in advance. This thorough analysis helps to predict and establish the scope of further actions that a given country will be able to undertake in a specific area so that it would not waste time trying to implement unfeasible projects. All the more so because, apart from carrying out the objectives established by the government of a given country, the presidency fulfils a number of other technical and administrative functions.

Another important factor is the political situation in the country which is going to hold the presidency. If we look at the example of the Czech Republic, we will see that the collapse of the government influenced the evaluation of that presidency. Elections are often an obstacle. An electoral campaign and political change may lead to turbulence and disturb the decision-making process regarding the European policy. Thus, each country must find a way of dealing with such a situation. Another extremely important factor is the international situation, the example of which might be the present events in Africa. They may dominate discussions at the Union's summits. In today's globalized world, many decisions or events require fast reaction from EU countries or institutions. Although the Treaty of Lisbon introduced the position of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, his or her role has not been fully shaped yet, so the countries which hold the presidency will be certainly able to take advantage of this opportunity. Another problem is a threat of unpredictable crisis situations in the European Union and the world. Each country holding the presidency must be perfectly prepared for such events, because they often determine the evaluation of a given presidency.

*The Programme of the Preparations of the Republic of Poland for Taking Over and Holding the Presidency in the Council of the European Union* (January 13, 2009) specifies that Poland is going to establish priorities within three or four levels. As

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<sup>29</sup> Ibidem, p. 57.

regards the key interest areas of the whole Union, they will be the New Financial Framework, including the Common Agricultural Policy and the Baltic Sea Strategy. The second level, i.e. the Polish initiatives, involves the Eastern Partnership and the energy policy. The third area refers to the continuation of the actions undertaken by its predecessors and the Union's institutions. The fourth level encompasses unpredictable situations, for which Poland must adequately prepare.<sup>30</sup>

It must be emphasized that Polish preparations are based on the experiences of previous presidencies. However, although these priority levels have been established in the government document, they are not the final objectives, but the most probable proposals, which may yet be changed. Prime Minister Tusk referred to these levels as the "first outline of Polish priorities," saying that "the adopted programme should specify particularly those actions which should be taken in the years 2009–2011 so that Poland would effectively prepare for holding the Presidency in the Council of the European Union."<sup>31</sup> Moreover, in July 2009, at the meeting with the Deputy Prime Minister of the Czech Republic, Foreign Minister Jan Kohout, Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Radosław Sikorski said that the issue of the European security and defence policy would be one of the priorities of the Polish presidency,<sup>32</sup> while the above-mentioned document does not mention it. The Polish government did not deny this proposal. However, given the importance of the problem and the new offices in the EU, this priority might turn out to be very difficult to implement. Poland could raise this issue within the framework of the Eastern Partnership, thanks to which it may take care of its own interest and meet the general challenges of the EU at the same time. This subject was also discussed on the occasion of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the September 11 attacks, especially after the recent political change in the USA. Moreover, at the Polish-French Summit for Security and Defence in November 2009, Prime Minister Tusk and the President of France Nicolas Sarkozy issued a joint declaration, in which it is clearly stated that both countries would make efforts to develop their cooperation in the field of security and defence in NATO and the European Union. The Polish presidency

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<sup>30</sup> Program Przygotowań Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej do Objęcia i Sprawowania Przewodnictwa w Radzie Unii Europejskiej, 13.01.2009, Warszawa, pp. 19–20.

<sup>31</sup> M. Konarski, *Tusk przedstawił priorytety polskiej prezydencji*, <http://www.psz.pl/tekst-16148/Tusk-przedstawil-priorytety-polskiej-prezydencji-w-UE>, accessed 8.08.2010.

<sup>32</sup> Sikorski: *Obronność priorytetem polskiej prezydencji w UE*, [http://www.gazetaprawna.pl/wiadomosci/artykuly/341325,sikorski\\_obronnosc\\_priorytetem\\_polskiej\\_prezydencji\\_w\\_ue.html](http://www.gazetaprawna.pl/wiadomosci/artykuly/341325,sikorski_obronnosc_priorytetem_polskiej_prezydencji_w_ue.html), accessed 8.08.2010.

ought to be one of its components and instruments.<sup>33</sup> At the summit both countries also declared that they would cooperate in the field of agriculture and energy. The speech delivered by the Foreign Minister of Poland in the Polish Sejm on April 8, 2010 seems to confirm these premises. In the annual *Report on Poland's foreign policy guidelines in 2010*, the Minister said: "We have already established preliminary priorities, which include: 1) a heavyweight task: the negotiations of the Multiannual Financial Framework; 2) the internal market – new ways of stimulating the economic growth after the crisis; 3) relations with the countries of Eastern Europe; 4) the energy policy and energy security of the Union; 5) the Common Security and Defence Policy."<sup>34</sup> The word "preliminary" should be highlighted here as it shows that final decisions in this respect have not been made yet. Another step towards the establishment of the priorities of the Polish presidency was the acceptance of *The Initial Priorities for the Polish Presidency in the Second Half of 2011* by the Council of Ministers on July 21, 2010. The document specified that the Polish priorities would focus, as it was indicated in *The Programme of the Preparations* (...), on the Multiannual Financial Framework, relations with the East, the Internal Market, the Common Security and Defence Policy and, which was not included in the above-mentioned documents, exploiting the intellectual capital of Europe. The document also contained the important information that the final list of priorities would be presented in June 2011.<sup>35</sup>

It must be acknowledged that these problems are of the utmost importance for the whole Union. As regards the "heavyweight task" of the New Financial Framework 2014–2020, the first steps were taken as early as at the turn of 2008/2009, when the preliminary debate on this issue began. However, the elections to the European Parliament, the formation of the new composition of the European Commission, problems related to the implementation of the Treaty of Lisbon, and the economic crisis caused that the debate lost momentum. However, it is likely to be revived soon, and the key decisions as well as problems and disputes will become

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<sup>33</sup> *Polish-French Summit Declaration for Security and Defence*, November 5, 2009. [http://wyborcza.pl/1,76842,7226679,Deklaracja\\_Francusko\\_Polskiego\\_Szczytu\\_w\\_sprawie\\_Bezpieczenstwa.html?as=1&startsz=x](http://wyborcza.pl/1,76842,7226679,Deklaracja_Francusko_Polskiego_Szczytu_w_sprawie_Bezpieczenstwa.html?as=1&startsz=x), accessed 10.08.2010.

<sup>34</sup> R. Sikorski, *The Minister of Foreign Affairs Report on Poland's foreign policy guidelines in 2010*, Warsaw, April 8, 2010. <http://www.msz.gov.pl/Informacja,Ministra,Spraw,Zagranicznych,o,zalozeniach,polskiej,polityki,zagranicznej,w,2010,roku,34836.html>, accessed 10.08.2010.

<sup>35</sup> *The Initial Priorities for the Polish Presidency in the Second Half of 2011*, [http://www.premier.gov.pl/rzad/decyzje\\_rzadu/id:5071/](http://www.premier.gov.pl/rzad/decyzje_rzadu/id:5071/), accessed 10.08.2010.

evident in the second half of 2011 and 2012.<sup>36</sup> Thus, Poland must be prepared for the role of a negotiator between member states. It will also make efforts to take care of its own interests. Within the framework of this priority the debate on the future shape of the Common Agricultural Policy and the Regional Policy will certainly be necessary.

The second priority proposed by minister R. Sikorski, which concerns the internal market, requires launching a number of initiatives now, so that there would be any visible effects in a year and a half. *The Programme of the Preparations* (...) includes only a short provision which specifies that in 2011 the so-called directive on services, which Poland is interested in, will be reviewed.<sup>37</sup> The discussion and activities in this area need to be intensified. All the more so because it is Poland which is highly likely to pilot very difficult and important negotiations on the introduction of the unitary European patent. So far, this issue has not been settled.<sup>38</sup>

The third of the above priorities also appears to be very important from the perspective of the objectives of Poland's foreign policy. The Eastern Partnership project was presented by the Foreign Minister of Poland Radosław Sikorski with assistance of his Swedish counterpart Carl Bildtin May 2008.<sup>39</sup> It is also worth noting that while Poland is holding the presidency, Jerzy Buzek will be still the President of the European Parliament, Štefan Füle from the Czech Republic will be the Com-

<sup>36</sup> M. Kałużyńska, *Polska prezydencja w Unii Europejskiej – jak pomyślnie zdać egzamin dojrzałości?*, [in:] *Biuletyn Analiz UKiE, Prezydencja Polski...*, p. 9.

<sup>37</sup> *Program przygotowań...*, p. 19 The Directive on services in the internal market (commonly referred to as the Bolkestein Directive) was adopted in December 2006. In its original version it introduced the complete liberalization of the flow of services in the EU. However, as a result of strong opposition from the French, German and Belgian politicians it was adopted in a much amended form, bringing just a few changes to the existing system. For more details see: The European Commission site, [http://ec.europa.eu/internal\\_market/services/services-dir/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/internal_market/services/services-dir/index_en.htm), accessed 20.08.2010.

<sup>38</sup> A. Łada, *Patent na Prezydencję*, [http://wyborcza.pl/1,75477,9216006,Patent\\_na\\_Prezydencje\\_.html](http://wyborcza.pl/1,75477,9216006,Patent_na_Prezydencje_.html), accessed 12.03.2011.

<sup>39</sup> The project was officially inaugurated in Prague on May 7, 2009. Its geographical scope consists of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. It is a part of the European Neighbourhood Policy. The aim of this initiative is to strengthen the Eastern dimension of the ENP and to tighten the political and economic relations between the European Union and Eastern Europe countries. It must be pointed out, however, that the Partnership is meant to bring its member states closer to the EU, but it does not guarantee their accession to the Union. The Partnership succeeded in securing the budget of 600 million euro which it will receive from the European Union in the years 2010–2013. For more details see: Sz. Ananicz, *Partnerstwo Wschodnie*, "Biuro Analiz Sejmowych" 2009, no. 17.

missioner for Enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy and Hungary holds the chairmanship in the EU before Poland.<sup>40</sup> This favourable situation may cause that the EU's Eastern Policy will gain momentum and it may provide a perfect opportunity for strengthening the role and importance of the Visegrád Group countries in the Community. A very important event for Poland will be the summit of the Eastern Partnership it is to hold. Initially, it was planned for the first half of 2011, during the Hungarian presidency. However, because Hungary had to prepare the Union's representation for the G20 summit, the date of the meeting devoted to Eastern issues was postponed until the period of the Polish presidency. It is a significant tool, which might be effectively applied.<sup>41</sup> In this case, the greatest challenge will be to efficiently cooperate with the President of the European Council and, most importantly, with the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. All the more so because the European Union is currently concerned with the difficult situation in Africa. Poland will have to show great negotiation skills in order to convince its Union partners that even in such circumstances the "Eastern issues" cannot be overlooked.

Poland also has great expectations as to the shape and role of the European energy policy and security. This policy has grown insignificance following the provisions of the Treaty of Lisbon which refer to it directly. Article 194 of this Treaty says that "in the context of the establishment and functioning of the internal market and with regard for the need to preserve and improve the environment, Union policy on energy shall aim, in a spirit of solidarity between Member States, to:

- (a) ensure the functioning of the energy market;
- (b) ensure security of energy supply in the Union;
- (c) promote energy efficiency and energy saving and the development of new and renewable forms of energy; and
- (d) promote the interconnection of energy networks."<sup>42</sup>

This article also includes the provision that the measures necessary to achieve the above objectives will be established in accordance with the ordinary legislative

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<sup>40</sup> Rok 2011 szansą dla V4 na przejęcie roli lidera UE w stosunkach ze wschodnimi sąsiadami, <http://www.euractiv.pl/rozszerzenie/arttykul/rok-2011-szans-dla-v4-na-przejecie-roli-lidera-ue-w-stosunkach-ze-wschodnimi-sasiadami-001565>, accessed 12.08.2010.

<sup>41</sup> *Stosunki ze Wschodem*, "Monitor Polskiej Prezydencji 2011. Biuletyn nr 1" 2011, p. 5.

<sup>42</sup> The Treaty of Lisbon, <http://www.lisbon-treaty.org/wcm/the-lisbon-treaty/treaty-on-the-functioning-of-the-european-union-and-comments/part-3-union-policies-and-internal-actions/title-xxi-energy/485-article-194.html>, accessed 12.08.2010.

procedure by the European Parliament and the Council after the consultation of the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. However, if such measures are primarily of a fiscal nature or they affect a member state's energy policy, the Council will act in accordance with a special legislative procedure. The latter assumption seriously reduces the possibility of making decisions which will be binding for the whole European Union. Nevertheless, entering provisions concerning energy issues in the Treaty must lead to concrete decisions in the near future. This is where the countries of Eastern Europe have a chance to show what they can do together. Poland can take advantage of its presidency period here. All the more so because at the last energy summit in Brussels, in February 2011, José Manuel Barroso announced that the "North-South natural gas interconnection plan" would be formally accepted in the second part of the year. It is to link the energy systems in the area located among the Baltic Sea in the North, the Adriatic in the Southwest and the Black Sea in the Southeast, covering selected European countries. This project is to a large degree promoted by Poland.<sup>43</sup> Like in the case of other priorities, it requires a well-thought strategy and taking proper actions in advance, so that the effects will be satisfactory.

It seems that the priorities established by present and future presidencies should also take into consideration the issues included in the "Europe 2020" strategy. It is a document which identifies five headline targets that the European Union has to accomplish by 2020. It is to replace the unimplemented Lisbon Strategy. Its main aims are to build knowledge-based economy, to develop low-emission economy and to increase social inclusion.<sup>44</sup> There is no room here for the evaluation how feasible these goals are. Nevertheless, even a short analysis helps to observe that these priorities will be present and discussed during the Polish presidency in the EU. First of all, they are inextricably connected with discussing the EU's Multiannual Financial Framework, its internal market and intellectual capital. These priorities might become common guidelines and objectives for the group presidency. It must be added that the Polish government presented its own proposals for this Strategy. Prime Minister Tusk sent a letter to Herman Van Rompuy, José Manuel Barroso i José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, in which he emphasized that the efforts within "Europe 2020" should focus on investment in roads, railway and telecom-

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<sup>43</sup> *Wzmocnienie zewnętrznej polityki energetycznej Unii Europejskiej*, "Monitor Polskiej Prezydencji 2011...", p. 7.

<sup>44</sup> *Nowa strategia dla Europy*, [http://ec.europa.eu/polska/news/100303\\_europa\\_2020\\_pl.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/polska/news/100303_europa_2020_pl.htm), accessed 12.08.2010.

munication networks, and the cohesion policy covering all regions in the Union rather than only supporting “innovativeness.”<sup>45</sup> The Polish proposals were taken into consideration and included in the document, therefore Poland may take advantage of it while it is holding the presidency. However, the real battle for the implementation of the “Europe 2020” objectives will take place when the EU’s Multiannual Budget is being established.

## THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POLISH PRESIDENCY

In the context of the facts about the presidency presented above, it is worth analysing the process of Polish preparations for this role in the EU. First of all, Poland is monitoring the situation and changes in each sector of the European Union. The calendar of Union institution clearly shows what events have been planned for the second half of 2011. In most cases Poland will be their organizer or host. Thus, these events are highly predictable in advance. During the period of the Polish presidency six EU summits with third countries – China, India, Russia, Ukraine, Canada and Brazil – are going to be held. Hence, Poland should establish cooperation with the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy in this respect. Moreover, in 2011 the European Union is planning to make a review of specific directives, including the directive on services in the internal market, which is of great importance for Poland.<sup>46</sup> As the government document stipulates, in this period the UE intends to discuss the directive on the establishment of a European Works Council or a procedure in Community-scale undertakings and Community-scale groups of undertakings for the purposes of informing and consulting employees, the maternity leave directive, the directive on simplifying terms and conditions of transfers of defence-related products within the Community, and many others.<sup>47</sup> Poland should be well prepared and recognize its objectives with regard to each of these fields. It should also be aware of other

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<sup>45</sup> K.Niklewicz, T.Bielecki, *Premier Tusk pisze Brukseli: Inwestujmy w “twardą” infrastrukturę*, [http://wyborcza.biz/biznes/1,101562,7694528,Premier\\_Tusk\\_pisze\\_Brukseli\\_\\_Inwestujmy\\_w\\_twarda\\_.html](http://wyborcza.biz/biznes/1,101562,7694528,Premier_Tusk_pisze_Brukseli__Inwestujmy_w_twarda_.html), accessed 12.08.2010.

<sup>46</sup> Directive 2006/123/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council on services in the internal market, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2006:376:0036:0068:en:PDF>, accessed 12.08.2010.

<sup>47</sup> For more details see: *Załącznik 1: Założenia organizacji przygotowań programowych do Prezydencji w Radzie UE – przykłady*, [in:] *Program przygotowań...*, pp. 2–4.



member states' requirements with respect to them, so that it could suggest a compromise. Poland also intends to launch its own initiatives. For example, the Minister of Culture and National Heritage announced the initiative towards the introduction of a wide package concerning the protection of intellectual property. It became possible because some steps regarding this area had been taken before, thus it is not a completely new thing.<sup>48</sup> It seems that only those few issues are the evidence how important it is for the EU's presiding country to efficiently use the legislative procedures of the Union and to be able to predict what it can achieve in a given field.

Another area in which Poland has to make thorough preparations includes current issues, projects and proposals of great importance for the whole European Union. The key issue is obviously the New Financial Framework 2014–2020 and the 2012 budget. The fact that Janusz Lewandowski from Poland is the current Commissioner for Financial Programming and the Budget in the EU causes that the future Financial Framework and next year's budget may be considered our country's success or failure. What is particularly interesting from the Polish point of view is the size of the budget, the issue of European grants and the Common Agricultural Policy.

Other problem areas which Poland needs to have deep knowledge of – as they are continuously being debated on the European forum – include the EU's enlargement, possibly by Croatia, which is now ending its negotiation process, and Bulgaria and Romania's accession to the Schengen Area. It is extremely important to thoroughly examine the opinions of all member states on these issues as well as to be able to express its own view and propose solutions.

Poland must also be ready for the European anniversaries and celebrations, which are typically organized by the country which holds the presidency. 2011 is the European Year of Volunteering. Poland will have to continue the activities initiated by Hungary and come up with some new ones. Another important event is the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the September 11 attacks. Poland will probably cooperate with the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and the President of the European Council in order to find the best form of celebration and discuss the main problems related to terrorism.

Krzysztof Szczerski underlines the importance of the internal determinants of the presiding countries. He lists factors such as: the ability to maintain consensus on the domestic political scene, personal characteristics of the ruling elite, the

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<sup>48</sup> Ibidem, p. 2.



ability to effectively include the state administrative bodies in the presidency activities, the choice of adequately prepared experts and the appropriate promotion and media policy.<sup>49</sup>

The biggest challenge that Poland faces is connected with its lack of experience in holding the presidency and the internal political situation. It is complicated, inasmuch the elections to the Polish parliament are going to be held in the autumn of 2011, which will result in the formation of the new government. It may significantly weaken the Polish chairmanship in the Council of the European Union. The Polish decision-makers even thought of swapping the sequence of holding the presidency, e.g. with Denmark, but this idea was rejected. There is also a possibility of shortening the term of office of the parliament and conducting early elections, but this seems quite an unlikely solution. The change of a government during the presidency is obviously not something extraordinary. However, it requires a big political compromise, which is difficult to reach during an electoral campaign. By calculations, in accordance with the Constitution, the day of October 30, 2011 is the last date on which the parliamentary elections have to be held. The first session of the new parliament could be held on November 29, 2011, at the earliest. Given such dates and the good will of newly elected members of parliament the Prime Minister and the future members of the Council of Ministers might be appointed on December 13, 2011. If Poland pursued such a solution it would be able to efficiently manage working groups and perfectly organize summits of the European Council, having a team of competent people capable of making decisions.<sup>50</sup> It is directly connected with the fact that the formal end of the presidency, usually in Brussels, could take place just before Christmas break, as well as with the fact that the role of the head of state or government in holding the presidency has been significantly reduced by the Treaty of Lisbon. This assumption, however, requires great determination from the Polish government and a big consensus for the sake of Poland's interest. We will find out about the result not earlier than in the second half of 2011. However, it is evident today that there is too little debate on the issue of the Polish presidency in parliament. This is not an unusual situation in the EU. The analysis of the presidency in other EU countries shows that political parties rarely join the preparations for this event. The presidency is perceived as a chal-

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<sup>49</sup> K. Szczerski, *Instytucja Prezydencji w Unii Europejskiej – uwagi do analiz politologicznych*, [in:] *Prezydencja w Radzie Unii Europejskiej* (ed.) K.A. Wojtaszczyk, Warszawa 2010, pp. 35–36.

<sup>50</sup> Zał. 2: *Wstępny kalendarz posiedzeń lipiec – grudzień 2011*, [in:] *Program przygotowań...*, pp. 1–2.

lenge for the government administration.<sup>51</sup> Nonetheless, the period of the Polish presidency will overlap the final stage of the electoral campaign to parliament. Political parties will certainly address this issue, but it is quite likely they will do it in a populist way rather than through decent debate. Moreover, party leaders and representatives should have in mind the importance of the presidency for Poland. Conflict situations may badly affect Poland's image among the Union's structures. It is an enormous challenge for Polish politicians. All the more so because the Polish public opinion is not interested in this subject. The survey conducted by the research and marketing information company TNS OBOP in February 2011 showed that 33% of Poles do not know that their country will chair the Council of the European Union, and 44% of the respondents cannot accurately define the time of the presidency.<sup>52</sup>

Apart from the biggest threats, there are also some minor ones. According to the report of the NIK (the Supreme Audit Office) of January 2011, the government administration has been well prepared for the Polish Presidency in the Council of the European Union. NIK auditors have found, however, certain minor irregularities in the preparation processes. The biggest delays have been found with regard to the area of internal affairs, IT systems, communication systems and tasks of special services. The Supreme Audit Service has also indicated that the role of the Prime Minister during Poland's Presidency in the EU Council has to be clarified as it has changed since the Lisbon Treaty entered into force. The auditors were also worried about the staff fluctuations in the Presidency Service.<sup>53</sup>

As regards the international factors, the biggest challenge for Poland is whether it will be able to cooperate with the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and how to clearly define the tasks of each side. In 2011 the above-mentioned summits and the Doha Development Round are going to be held, which are especially important after the world economic crisis. Moreover, Poland is going to host the International Tourism Trade Show and the European Culture Forum. They are extremely important events from the point of view of the development of tourism in our country and because of the fact that Poland co-hosts

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<sup>51</sup> A. Paczeński, *Krajowe elity partyjne wobec polskiej Prezydencji w Unii Europejskiej*, [in:] 2011 *Polska Prezydencja...*, p. 227.

<sup>52</sup> *Polacy nie wiedzą o przejęciu Prezydencji*, <http://www.rp.pl/artykul/621604.html>, accessed 11.03.2011.

<sup>53</sup> *Informacja o wynikach kontroli realizacji zadań w ramach przygotowań organów administracji rządowej do sprawowania przez Rzeczpospolitą Polską przewodnictwa w Radzie Unii Europejskiej*, Warszawa 2011.

Euro 2012 with Ukraine, and Wrocław will be the European Capital of Culture in 2016. All these events should be promoted and reminded in debates in order to enhance positive effects and arouse interest in the European issues among the public opinion.

It is vital that each presidency be well prepared for emergency situations. This is one of the biggest challenges, which each presiding country must be ready to face. All countries have to establish the efficient crisis management system, which will be able to cope with any problems in a fast and effective manner. Such events largely affect the general opinion of the presidency. Therefore, it is essential that each country which chairs the Council make efforts to find solutions to problems that may be anticipated in advance, so that it could also manage those which come up all of the sudden.

The preparations for the presidency also include the area of coordination, logistics and technology. In order to coordinate all activities, by the Government Order of July 15, 2008 (The Official Journal of Law, no. 133, item 843), the office of the Government Plenipotentiary for the Preparation of the Government Administration Bodies to Hold the Presidency of the Council of the European Union by Poland was established.<sup>54</sup> The position was assumed by the Secretary of State for European Affairs Mikołaj Dowgielewicz. At the end of 2008, the above-mentioned *Programme of the Preparations (...)* was issued. On May 28, 2009, the Office of the Committee for European Integration initiated meetings with independent experts from the EU member states,<sup>55</sup> on February 16, 2010, the so-called Presidency Corps was formed,<sup>56</sup> and in June 2009, the budget for the Polish presidency was adopted. In February 2009, the Polish presidency preparations website – [www.prezydencja.gov.pl](http://www.prezydencja.gov.pl) – was launched, and in August of the same year, the programme of cultural activities was established. Moreover, in order to familiarize Polish people with the presidency, it became visible on community sites, such as Facebook or GoldenLine. Poland also cooperates intensively with representatives of the countries which have already held the presidency and the countries of the Trio in order to agree on joint objectives. Therefore, it seems that the process of the preparations is running swiftly. Soon the main motto of our presidency should be

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<sup>54</sup> *Program Przygotowań...*, p. 4.

<sup>55</sup> *Uwarunkowania i wyzwania polskiej prezydencji w UE w 2011 r. – zapis z debaty z udziałem ekspertów zagranicznych*, "Biuletyn Analiz UKIE...", p. 13.

<sup>56</sup> The Presidency Corps is composed of officials who will represent us during the Presidency, about 1200 people.

chosen. Among the first proposals was the slogan: "growth through opportunity."<sup>57</sup> In order to ensure proper coordination, the Government Plenipotentiary for the Preparation of the Government Administration Bodies to Hold the Presidency of the Council of the European Union by Poland set up four advisory teams for:

- 1) budget;
- 2) logistics and security;
- 3) promotion and culture;
- 4) human resource management.<sup>58</sup>

The Polish presidency budget amounts to 430 million zloty. The money will be spent on training people who will be responsible for carrying out presidency-related tasks, and then on the realization of these tasks during the Polish chairmanship and promotional activities.<sup>59</sup> We still don't know the final list of venues for meetings and conferences. It is a huge challenge for Poland. First of all, such places should combine the criteria of attractiveness with easy access. Moreover, they should offer facilities for handicapped people, which is still a problem in many places in Poland. The presidency website is going to be up and running soon and the logo of the Polish presidency will be presented in May 2011. The Presidency liaison officers are being recruited and the government is finalising talks with the so-called Presidency Partners (among others, Peugeot Polska, Coca-Cola, Orange, Microsoft).<sup>60</sup> Konrad Niklewicz was appointed the Spokesperson for the Polish Presidency.<sup>61</sup>

The Ministry of Culture and National Heritage will be responsible for promotion and culture during the Polish chairmanship in the EU: the National Audiovisual Institute in the country, and the Adam Mickiewicz Institute abroad. In August 2009, *The strategic principles of the Polish Presidency cultural programme in the second half of 2011* were adopted. According to the document, the main objective of the Programme is to promote Poland in the European Union and outside it, as well as to promote the EU in our country. These activities are going to be carried

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<sup>57</sup> *Uwarunkowania i wyzwania polskiej prezydencji w UE w 2011 r. – zapis z debaty z udziałem ekspertów zagranicznych*, "Biuletyn Analiz UKiE...", p. 18.

<sup>58</sup> *Program Przygotowań...*, p. 26.

<sup>59</sup> *Budżet Prezydencji*, [www.prezydencjaue.gov.pl/obszary-przygotowa/budzet](http://www.prezydencjaue.gov.pl/obszary-przygotowa/budzet), accessed on August 12, 2010.

<sup>60</sup> J. Pawlicki, *Odliczanie do polskiej Prezydencji*, [http://wyborcza.pl/1,75478,9022158,Odliczanie\\_do\\_polskiej\\_prezydencji\\_w\\_UE.html](http://wyborcza.pl/1,75478,9022158,Odliczanie_do_polskiej_prezydencji_w_UE.html), accessed 12.03.2011.

<sup>61</sup> *Konrad Niklewicz rzecznikiem polskiej prezydencji*, [http://europarlament.pap.pl/palio/html.run?\\_Instance=cms\\_ep.pap.pl&\\_PageID=1&\\_menuId=17&\\_nrDep=27140&\\_Checksum=1272455722](http://europarlament.pap.pl/palio/html.run?_Instance=cms_ep.pap.pl&_PageID=1&_menuId=17&_nrDep=27140&_Checksum=1272455722), accessed 12.03.2011.

out in five selected cities of Poland and six European capitals (probably in Berlin, Paris, Rome, Madrid, London and, obviously, Brussels). The cities from outside the Union in which Poland intends to hold some cultural events include: Beijing, Moscow, new Delhi, Tokyo, Washington, Seoul, Ankara, as well as Kiev and Minsk within the framework of the Eastern Partnership.<sup>62</sup> The document also informs that Poland's cultural programme will be cohesive, compatible, based on cooperation and on the quality rather than quantity of projects. Its creators also intend to present a uniform image of Poland abroad and organize some competitions. The programme specifies each institution's scope of responsibility.<sup>63</sup> However, it does not identify the specific actions to be taken. The document appears to be a set of guidelines rather than a programme. It does not specify events with their venues or dates. The main objective seems to be vague, as well. The cultural strategy should focus on the promotion of Polish art and culture abroad rather than promote the whole country. These institutions should not be required to support the Polish economy or industry.

However, it is not only *The Cultural Programme* that lacks specific solutions. In *The Programme of the Preparations* (...) proportions of the proposed actions seem to be a bit distorted. There are only a few pages about the priorities, whereas, for example, the issue of training has been widely discussed. It is particularly important in the face of the fact that on March 31, 2010, the European Commission presented its Work Programme 2010. The Commission agreed a list of 34 strategic priorities that would be implemented before the end of that year. It also specified another 280 major proposals under consideration during 2010 and beyond. The main interest areas included in the *Commission Work Programme* concern tackling the crisis, building a citizens' agenda which puts people at the heart of European action, developing an ambitious and coherent external agenda with global outreach, and modernising EU instruments and ways of working.<sup>64</sup> *The Programme of the Preparations* (...), in attachment1, includes only one example of a Polish initiative and ten examples of projects under monitoring in EU institutions. It is far too little. It should be emphasized once again that our priorities, which are of the key

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<sup>62</sup> *Strategiczne założenia Programu Kulturalnego Polskiej Prezydencji w II połowie 2011 r. Departament Współpracy z Zagranicą MKIDN, Instytut Adama Mickiewicza, Narodowy Instytut Audiowizualny w konsultacji w ramach prac Międzyresortowego zespołu opiniodawczo-doradczego ds. promocji i kultury, Warszawa, 2009, p. 4.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 8.

<sup>64</sup> For more details see: *Komisja ma plan*, [http://ec.europa.eu/polska/news/100331\\_plan\\_pracy\\_komisji\\_pl.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/polska/news/100331_plan_pracy_komisji_pl.htm), accessed 12.08.2010.

importance, are discussed in the Polish document to a much smaller extent than the issues related to logistics or training officials.

### **THE POLISH PREPARATIONS FOR THE PRESIDENCY IN THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION – SUMMARY**

It must be emphasized that Poland has been praised for the state of its preparations for the presidency. The Supreme Audit Office (NIK) in the report mentioned earlier estimated that the Polish administration is well prepared for performing this task.<sup>65</sup> The appropriate institutions and units responsible for the preparations for the presidency have been set up, the government has adopted *The Programme of the Preparations (...)*, staff are being trained, top-level meetings are being held and the presidency website, which provides up-to-date information about this issue, is up and running. In May 2009, Minister Dowgielewicz announced that meetings with “eminent authorities in their fields” devoted to integration policy in the EU are going to be held. Among the experts invited to cooperation by the government are: L. Cohen-Tanugi, who produced a report on globalization for President Sarkozy; the representatives of a think-tank *Notre Europe*; A. Mayhew from the Sussex European Institute, who was a member of the cabinet of the European Commission under the leadership of Jacques Delors; D. Helm, a professor from Oxford, a specialist in energy policy, who advised Tony Blair’s government; and a number of other people with great knowledge of European challenges and problems. The first meeting of this group was held at the end of May 2009 and the next one in the autumn of the same year. As the outcome of both meetings, their participants produced a report to the Polish government.<sup>66</sup> However, what Prof. Mayhew emphasized in an interview for *Gazeta Wyborcza*, experts will propose interesting solutions for Poland, but whether Poland will use them depends on its government’s decision.<sup>67</sup> At the first convention of experts in Warsaw, Poland was praised for the state of its preparations. At the same time, experts indicated that Poland’s main task during its presidency will be to tackle the economic crisis. This is a great chance to show one’s competences within the scope of the uniform internal mar-

<sup>65</sup> Informacja o wynikach kontroli realizacji zadań...: NIK

<sup>66</sup> J. Pawlicki, *Jadą mózgi z Europy*, [http://wyborcza.pl/1,76842,6609801,Jada\\_mozgi\\_z\\_Europy.html](http://wyborcza.pl/1,76842,6609801,Jada_mozgi_z_Europy.html), accessed 12.08.2010.

<sup>67</sup> Ibidem.

ket.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, the European Union must also face the challenge of the present African crisis. It may dominate the debate at the Union's summits. Nevertheless, the Polish priorities seem to have been established to a large extent. Poland will hold the presidency in the circumstances in which Poles occupy important positions in the EU. What is more, Poland's role in the Trio is also significant. First of all, it is the biggest of the three countries. What is more, Cyprus, which maintains quite strained relations with Turkey and Greece, may find it difficult to handle many problems on its own. Finally, it should be remembered that Denmark enjoys a few exemptions, but the period of its presidency of 2002 is considered to have been successful. Hence, Poland may either effectively cooperate or compete with Denmark.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, Poland is perceived as a country which coped with the crisis better than other European countries. These are enormous advantages which must be exploited.

However, it must also be remembered that the Polish presidency may be weakened or even completely destroyed by the parliamentary elections and the political battle they entail. The presidency requires a great deal of cooperation and political consensus, which seems to be hard to achieve during an electoral campaign. Another weakness of the Polish presidency is our country's lack of experience in conducting similar undertakings. On the other hand, the Presidency is present on community sites, which is a very good solution, given the fact that more and more people are actively participating in online discussions. A serious drawback in the preparations is also the lack of social debate on this issue. There is too little information about it in mass media. A good example of such activity is the recent launch of the website: [www.slaskie2011.pl](http://www.slaskie2011.pl), through which the Silesian voivodeship is trying to promote the Polish presidency among citizens and tries to encourage them to join various actions. The preparations for the presidency are also a good time for serious debate about the future of the European Union and the role that Poland might play.<sup>70</sup> The presidency should be also used as a tool for the intensified promotion of the country in Europe. It is not the matter of the promotion of tourism, as it is too general and does not bring much effect. European politicians move from place to place in a very short time and they have no chance to admire landscapes and enjoy local attractions. It would be a lot better idea to promote Poland's

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<sup>68</sup> P. Świeboda, *Euro 2011, czyli kryzysowa narzeczona*, [http://wyborcza.pl/1,97738,6666020,Euro\\_2011\\_czyli\\_kryzysowa\\_narzeczona.html](http://wyborcza.pl/1,97738,6666020,Euro_2011_czyli_kryzysowa_narzeczona.html), accessed 12.08.2010

<sup>69</sup> *Prezydencja grupowa...*, p. 58.

<sup>70</sup> P.J. Borkowski, "Wsiąść do pociągu byle jakiego..." – dokąd zmierza IC Europa i czy możemy być maszynistą?, [in:] *2011 Polska Prezydencja...*, p. 176.



unique characteristics for the whole period of the presidency. They might include human capital, the best specialists in Europe, e.g. in information technology. Thanks to this, promotional activities could take place at any time and place, and they would bring about new associations with Poland, changing stereotypical thinking about our country and its citizens. Poland has a chance to show Europe what it wants to specialize in.

The presidency is an organizational and technological challenge for Poland. After all, the only success which is certain today will be a team of perfectly trained people from the Presidency Corps, who may later help to build a more effective European policy in Poland. They will also learn how to improve cooperation with Union institutions and how to apply the available instruments for shaping European policy. It is legitimate to say that it will be a time of learning and gaining experience for Poland. We cannot expect any spectacular effects of the Polish presidency, especially after the recent treaty changes. There is too little time, too little experience and there are too many problems. On the other hand, it cannot be said that as a result of those amendments the presidency has completely lost its importance. The introduction of changes requires reflection and implementing a new strategy. It creates an opportunity for establishing a new model of holding the presidency. Poland may also contribute to the development of this new model. However, it requires having a clear vision and taking consistent actions.

It should be pointed out that the EU member states can actually influence European policy on a regular basis, not just during the time in which they hold the presidency. The presidency is the crowning of the work done, a promotional instrument rather than a tool for introducing changes which could be relevant for the presiding country. Thus, for the sake of evaluating the Polish presidency we must focus on the actions that Poland has taken a lot earlier. The presidency provides an opportunity for strengthening European policy in a given country.

To conclude, the success of the presidency means the efficient and decent preparations for holding it and for active membership in the European Union. Poland's success will largely depend on the measures it has already taken and will take soon. From July 2011 we will be subject to continuous evaluation and we will have to settle disputes or dilemma by means of the methods developed in advance.

The article was completed in March 2011.



*Waldemar Paruch, Marcin Rydel*

## **THE STRATEGIC ASSUMPTIONS OF THE CONCEPT OF POLAND'S FOREIGN POLICY: THE ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF THE LAW AND JUSTICE PARTY**

### **ABSTRACT**

There is a strong conviction in the political thought of the Law and Justice party (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość; hereafter PiS) that the fundamental motive behind the state's activity in the international environment is the pursuit of the state's own interests (the realistic theory of international relations), which is historically determined (historical policy). PiS politicians specified that the main goal of the Polish foreign policy is to ensure the state's external security. Two fundamental pillars of the Republic of Poland's security were defined. First, the foundation of the state's security would be close alliance with the United States, strengthened by Poland's membership in the NATO. Secondly, a significant role in the neutralization of threats was seen in Poland's membership in the European Union. The party led by Jarosław Kaczyński took an exceptionally realistic view of the policies pursued by Poland's neighbours – Russia and Germany. The Russian Federation was seen as a state that sought to gain control over Central and Eastern European countries (clientelism). The intensification of the cooperation between Germany and Russia caused particular apprehension among PiS politicians.

**Keywords:** Polish Political Thought, Polish Political Parties, Foreign Policy of Poland, International Relations

## 1. THE PARADIGM OF ANALYZING THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

**THE POLITICAL VIEWS** originated and advocated by the Law and Justice Party [*Prawo i Sprawiedliwość*, hereafter PiS] are distinguished in the contemporary Polish political thought not only by their complex character but also by the style of thinking. This feature is seen, among others, in the way the international environment is analyzed and the concept of Poland's foreign policy is formulated, especially regarding the strategic level. From the reflections on the space and time in Polish history, four conclusions follow, which are essential in the context of our discussion on the political thought of the PiS.<sup>1</sup>

First, elementary rules and norms, both those characteristic of the present times and those fundamental to international organizations, do not guarantee the emergence of a stable and conflict-free global and continental order. In international relations dominated by the states, the rule of competition – which consists in outstripping other actors in historical development – prevails. The key issue is to gain the largest power possible because this is what determines the position of a state in the international system. The power of the state can be defined only in reference to other actors, especially those in the nearest neighbourhood.<sup>2</sup>

These theoretical views have been adopted by the PiS political thought. According to Jarosław Kaczyński, “there is competition in Europe and in the world,” although, the PiS leader believes this is not the only mechanism controlling the international environment because one should “be able to combine competition with cooperation but also to protect one's interests firmly, in a well-thought manner and in the long-term perspective.”<sup>3</sup> For this fundamental reason, foreign policy is a game based on constant activity, including intellectual one, which consists in deciding on the proportions between competition and cooperation in a particular situation, time and space.<sup>4</sup> Another prominent PiS politician of the early 21<sup>st</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See R. Skarżyński, *Anarchia i policentryzm: Elementy teorii stosunków międzynarodowych*, Białystok 2006, passim.

<sup>2</sup> S.P. Sałajczyk, *Wizje rzeczywistości międzynarodowej*, [in:] *Stosunki międzynarodowe: Geneza, struktura, dynamika*, E. Haliżak, R. Kuźniar (eds.), Warszawa 2006, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> The “Rzeczpospolita” daily webpage, <http://www.rzeczpospolita.pl> [hereafter: SI RZ], “Archiwum,” “Polityka zagraniczna jest twardą grą: Rozmowa Pawła Lisickiego i Małgorzaty Subotić z premierem Jarosławem Kaczyńskim,” 16.12.2006, info of 12.01.2008.

<sup>4</sup> Webpage of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland, <http://www.sejm.gov.pl> [hereafter: SI Sejm], “Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report],” Sejm, 4th term, 40 MPs, 22.01.2003, “Informacja

century, Kazimierz Michał Ujazdowski, while not denying the validity of reasoning on international relations presented by the PiS leader, stressed the factors determining the status of states. He spoke in the Sejm [Parliament] that apart from the classical factors such as population, territory, and military power, some new ones emerged, such as "economic effectiveness, access to modern technologies, the power of the state, the efficiency of the political system and administration, the level of education or widespread propagation of culture."<sup>5</sup>

PiS politicians based their main arguments supporting the thesis of the competitive character of international relations on historical experience, especially in reference to Central and Eastern Europe. They saw this area as a battleground for historical struggle, during which different stages could be distinguished, taking into account the balance of power among states. The essence of struggle in this region was excellently interpreted by Janusz Kurtyka, who argued that the First Republic of Poland (the First Commonwealth) created a separate cultural and civilization circle in the large areas between Cracow, Vilnius and Kiev, which was destroyed in the political confrontation with the Russian empire. The defeat was undoubtedly traumatic for the Polish political community but "this tradition in the cultural and 'mythical' sense was not eradicated and [...] and remains as a longing in the areas beyond our Eastern frontiers."<sup>6</sup> The PiS found it necessary to use this tradition in Poland's foreign policy, taking up the challenge of influencing the political status of Central and Eastern European states.

The PiS strongly espoused the conviction that history should be seen as an extremely dynamic process in which political actors emerge, become transformed, undergo crises, and collapse in space and time. This was expressed in 2005–2007 in the work on a new strategy of state security: "In the life of nations, like in the life of individuals, nothing is given once and for all. The international order is not a solidified, immutable form."<sup>7</sup> The most illustrative example was the fate of Poland. When it lost its relative strength, its power to be an actor in international relations radically declined, which was manifested in many forms: the crisis of the state, the dependence on foreign powers, loss of sovereignty or independent existence. In K.M. Ujazdowski's view, this condition determined public activity: "[...] in the

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rządu na temat polskiej polityki zagranicznej w 2003 roku: Przemówienie J. Kaczyńskiego," info of 2.01.2007.

<sup>5</sup> SI Sejm, "Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report]," Sejm, 4th term, 16 MPs, 14.03.2002, "Przemówienie K.M. Ujazdowskiego," info of 15.09.2008.

<sup>6</sup> *Polska polityka historyczna*, "Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej" May 2006, no. 5, p. 16.

<sup>7</sup> *Strategia bezpieczeństwa narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, Warszawa 2007, p. 3.

latter half of the twentieth century the grand task of Poland's policy was to regain independence and the ability to shape its statehood in a sovereign way.”<sup>8</sup>

At the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, PiS politicians saw another task of strategic importance: to support the Euro-Atlantic aspirations of former Soviet republics. They were by no means concerned with strengthening the democratic and liberal order in this area, at the same time weakening the political potential of the Russian Federation and establishing strong ties between Poland and Russia's European neighbours divided into two groups, depending on their membership of the integration structures. Regarding the Central European EU members, the PiS proposed that a two-way foreign policy should be pursued: on the bilateral and EU levels, whereas with regard to the states outside the EU and the Alliance, the initiation of an integration path was suggested. Poland would achieve its strategic goals in Central and Eastern Europe through specific initiatives proposed by the PiS, which supports the independence and sovereignty of the states situated between Poland and Russia.<sup>9</sup> The intentions of the PiS were most clearly seen in relation to the Ukrainian question. In M.K. Ujazdowski's view, “it is in Poland's interest that there should be a strong and independent Ukrainian state between Poland and Russia.”<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, Jarosław Kaczyński, accepting the idea of strategic partnership with Ukraine, recognized it “as a duty arising also from the necessity of safeguarding Polish national interests,” and regarded the activities for the successful orange revolution as a factor weakening Russia and strengthening “Poland's position and Polish national security.”<sup>11</sup>

Whether in opposition or in power, PiS politicians advocated the conduct of “tough” foreign policy i.e. the uncompromising defence of Polish interests in bilateral and in multilateral relations (e.g. with Russia, Germany, and with other European countries as well as within the European Union and in the NATO

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<sup>8</sup> SI Sejm, “Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report],” Sejm, 4th term, 16 MPs, 14.03.2002, “Informacja ministra spraw zagranicznych o podstawowych kierunkach polityki zagranicznej Polski: Przemówienie K.M. Ujazdowskiego,” info of 15.09.2008.

<sup>9</sup> *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, Program 2005...*, pp. 47–48.

<sup>10</sup> SI PRJ, “Co oznacza dla Polski zwycięstwo Wiktora Juszczenki na Ukrainie? Rozmowa Krzysztofa Grzesiowskiego i Wiesława Molaka z Kazimierzem M. Ujazdowskim 27.01.2004,” info of 15.01.2005.

<sup>11</sup> SI Sejm, “Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report],” Sejm, 4th term, 40 MPs, 22.01.2003, “Informacja rządu na temat polskiej polityki zagranicznej w 2003 roku: Przemówienie J. Kaczyńskiego,” info of 2.01.2007; “Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report],” Sejm, 4th term, 96 MPs, 21 January 2005, “Informacja ministra spraw zagranicznych o zadaniach polskiej polityki zagranicznej w 2005 roku: Przemówienie J. Kaczyńskiego,” info of 14.02.2007.

respectively).<sup>12</sup> When assessing Poland's foreign policy in 2004 towards the East and the West, the PiS leader emphasized "the inexplicable timidity or even apprehensiveness" of Polish decision-makers. In his evaluation he referred to historical explanations, seeing "quite a strong and long-lasting Polish tradition of servility towards the stronger," which made foreign policy utterly ineffective. Apart from producing an inefficacy effect, this model of activity on the international arena, J. Kaczyński argued, motivated other states to pursue a policy towards Poland that will be of "flagrant disrespect, very clear one-sidedness, the belief that decisions can be made unilaterally, and that despite all this there will be no adverse consequences; this is the result of tolerance of this situation."<sup>13</sup> For the PiS, Poland's foreign policy characteristic of 1989–2005, described in such terms, was tantamount to weakening the power of the state with far-reaching consequences for its fate and international position, especially in the Euro-Atlantic structures.

Second, states are the most important political actors representing societies in the international arena and giving it a specific shape that they find optimal. That is why each state should be oriented towards defending its own political community and its identity, towards the implementation of economic, cultural and cratological concentration, and towards developing its interpretation of events and its own symbols. These actions are exceptionally important at least for one reason – in political relations neither the level of political actorship, nor the existence of any entity, including the state, is guaranteed. Following these reasons in their *Program of 2005*, the PiS clearly demonstrated, in the section on international policy, the need for building a strong state and defending national interests.<sup>14</sup> In J. Kaczyński's view, this was to be achieved by a large-scale change in the character of public debate in Poland, consisting in propagating the Polish version of republicanism (following the French and American models) and at the same time in a departure from deprecating the importance of the state for the fate of the society. He emphasized that the state can be liquidated but "[...] then it will be much, much worse

<sup>12</sup> A very critical assessment of the 'toughness' of the PiS-formulated foreign policy of Poland see R. Kuźniar, *Droga do wolności: Polityka zagraniczna III Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 2008, pp. 277–278.

<sup>13</sup> SI Sejm, "Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report]," Sejm, 4th term, 67 MPs, 21.01.2004, "Informacja ministra spraw zagranicznych o podstawowych kierunkach polityki zagranicznej Polski w 2004 roku: Przemówienie J. Kaczyńskiego," info of 14.09.2008; SI RZ, "Archiwum," Polityka zagraniczna jest twardą grą: Rozmowa Pawła Lisickiego i Małgorzaty Subotić z premierem Jarosławem Kaczyńskim," 16.12.2006, info of 12.01.2008.

<sup>14</sup> *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, Program 2005, IV Rzeczpospolita, Sprawiedliwość dla Wszystkich*, [without place of publication] 2005, p. 38.

because in international relations there are no free gifts: if someone has no power then they are hit hard on the head. Poles have already experienced this many a time, and I would advise you not to try it again. If you want to have a state, it is simply expensive [...] You have to respect your own state [...].”<sup>15</sup>

A manifestation of the policy of cultural concentration would be historical policy, which the PiS firmly supported, thus becoming, among the Polish political parties, the main advocate of politicization of history as a means used for 1) restoring the geopolitical dimension of Poland’s international activity; 2) attaining goals of strategic significance in the international environment; 3) promoting Poland’s own heritage in the public consciousness of Poles and in international debate.<sup>16</sup> In the policy manifesto of 2005, historical memory and historical policy were repeatedly referred to. Next year, Marek Jurek emphasized the pragmatic context of historical policy at a conference at the Institute of National Remembrance “In politics one should remember about the matters that have no current relevance today but that are important in the historical dimensions and can always become topical and relevant.”<sup>17</sup>

Reconstructing historical memory would be one of the elements of the program of “cleansing” the state, transforming the public consciousness “devastated” and “deformed” by “45 years of communism and post-communism.”<sup>18</sup> J. Kaczyński came to the conclusion that the hybrid character of the Third Republic [i.e. Poland after 1990] became dysfunctional for the nation-making process under the conditions of broadening and deepening European integration. The attitude to the past proposed by the PiS was to strengthen the image of the Polish nation in the minds of Poles, and clearly separate it from the other communities that make up the European Union.<sup>19</sup> Another aspect of the external dimension of historical policy was also

<sup>15</sup> The webpage of the Polish Radio “Jedynka,” <http://www.polskieradio.pl> [hereafter: SI PRJ], “Bezpieczeństwo kosztuje: Rozmowa Jacka Karnowskiego z Jarosławem Kaczyńskim,” 19.09.2006, info of 18.12.2009.

<sup>16</sup> See D. Gawin, P. Kowal, *Polska polityka historyczna*, [in:] *Polityka historyczna: Historycy, politycy, prasa. Konferencja pod honorowym patronatem Jana Nowaka-Jeziorańskiego, Pałac Raczyńskich w Warszawie, 15 grudnia 2004 roku*, A. Panecka (ed.), Warszawa 2005, pp. 11–13; *Polska polityka historyczna...*, pp. 2–34.

<sup>17</sup> *Polska polityka historyczna...*, p. 8.

<sup>18</sup> The document says: “[...] we will regain historical memory, we will show who was who. We shall remind people what the essence of communism and People’s Poland lay in.” *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, Program 2005...*, p. 17.

<sup>19</sup> J. von Wedel, *Polska polityka wobec Niemiec 2005–2007: polityka historyczna czy nowa polityka europejska?*, [in:] *Polityka zagraniczna Polski w warunkach członkostwa w Unii Europejskiej*, R. Podgórska (ed.), Toruń 2009, p. 44.

pointed out, which consisted in popularizing important facts of Polish history in the international environment, especially the struggle against the twentieth-century totalitarianism. Nor did PiS politicians hide the anti-Russian context of building the modern Polish historical memory recalling the traditions of the struggle of Poland and the Poles against different forms of the Russian state (tsarist Russia, Soviet Russia, the Soviet Union) and the case of the Katyń massacre.<sup>20</sup>

Third, political polarization is a natural phenomenon in the international environment, which generates many contradictions that cannot be overcome by arriving at a permanent compromise because states are separate promoters of specific values and ideological visions, as well as holders of power of strategic importance. Under the circumstances of strong polarization of relations, the existence of political actors (entities) is determined by their ability to implement their own interests; for that reason one must not be influenced by temporary feelings, emotions, moods, ideological trends and tendencies although they also affect political and decision-making processes as irrational factors.

The dominant, ideology-based view in the PiS political thought was indisputably the view of historical conflicts between Poland and Russia. In its moderate version (M. Jurek), Russia ignored Poland and her interests, and in the radical one (J. Kaczyński), Russia was not even willing to recognize Poland's autonomy, sovereignty, independence and identity. In a parliamentary foreign policy debate in 2004, the PiS leader firmly stressed that "As long as Moscow does not understand that the idea of restoring domination in this part of Europe, including domination over Poland, is a dangerous idea, also for Russia, then our status as an independent state, as an actor of international policy, will not be fully clarified." In his opinion, Moscow has to "finally realize that the return [...] to any form of domination whatsoever is out of the question."<sup>21</sup> The PiS did not see any chance of the normalization in Polish-Russian relations in real historical time; it would be a task attainable in the long-term perspective because in post-Soviet Russia "Poland is seen as an adverse condition for building the Russian identity." In order to cope

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<sup>20</sup> See statements by Michał Kamiński and Marek Jurek [in:] The website of the Law and Justice [PiS] party, <http://www.pis.org.pl> [hereafter: SI PiS], "Rozmowy w »Faktach« 15 January 2002," info of 2.03.2009; "Rozmowa Doroty Gawryluk z Markiem Jurkiem 4 August 2004," info of 5.02.2009.

<sup>21</sup> SI Sejm, "Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report]," Sejm, 4th term, 67 MPs, 21.01.2004, "Informacja ministra spraw zagranicznych o podstawowych kierunkach polityki zagranicznej Polski w 2004 roku: Przemówienie J. Kaczyńskiego," info of 14.09.2008; SI PRJ, "Rozmowa Krzysztofa Grzesiowskiego z Marszałkiem Sejmu Markiem Jurkiem w audycji »Sygnały dnia« 15.01.2006," info of 12.09.2008.



with these circumstances, the Polish side would have to adopt an attitude of patience, rationality and firmness,<sup>22</sup> without being under the illusion that changes in Europe at the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries caused a radical shift in Polish-Russian relations.

The accuracy of the PiS's thinking in terms of historical continuity was reinforced by Russia's actions towards Central-Eastern Europe and by Germany's activities to restore special relations with the Russian Federation. In the PiS's view, imperialist tendencies were being revived in Russia as was the will to use cooperation with Germany as a form of pressurizing Poland in order to reduce its role as a political actor. The PiS believed that a tendency to act to the detriment of Poland prevailed in Moscow and Berlin. Guided by its own interests and wishing to strengthen its potential, Poland highly justifiably chose the Euro-Atlantic and integration options. The PiS party was by no means in favour of adopting either a pro-American or Euro-enthusiastic stance, but both the North-Atlantic Alliance and the European Union were treated as complementary pillars of Poland's security. This convergence was precisely expressed by K.M. Ujazdowski in his Sejm speech, "A condition for the proper functioning of NATO is the harmonious cooperation of the European states with the United States. We are against such actions, irrespective of the underlying reasons, as they would lead to the withdrawal of American troops from our continent."<sup>23</sup> The PiS expected that in this way they would be able to counter threats emerging in the international environment, win over allies in order to achieve success in foreign policy, reinforce Poland's bargaining position in international disputes, and gain additional assets in strengthening the state's security.

Fourth, when analysing the political reality, exceptional importance was attached to distinguishing two sets: political actors and political means. This is crucial inasmuch as some participants in the public debate in the Third Republic tended to attribute the status of genuine political actors to entities classified into the second group. But politicalness was assigned to them by participants in political relations with a high degree of political-actor status, who use political means in order to bolster their own existence by satisfying their basic interests and attaining strategic goals. It is the access to political means that states compete for in the international

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<sup>22</sup> *Wystawiamy rachunek za krzywdy: Rozmowa Jarosława Kurskiego z Lechem Kaczyńskim*, "Gazeta Wyborcza" 21.05.2005, no. 117, p. 13; *Wstrzymuję się od krytyki PO: Rozmowa Ewy Milewicz z Jarosławem Kaczyńskim*, "Gazeta Wyborcza" 25.10.2005, no. 249, p. 5.

<sup>23</sup> SI Sejm, "Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report]," Sejm, 4th term, 16 MPs, 14.03.2002, "Przemówienie K.M. Ujazdowskiego," info of 15.09.2008.



arena. This set of views constituted an important basis for understanding the political thought of the PiS.

In the view of the party led by J. Kaczyński, the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization should be treated as political means only, which was expressed in a double sense. J. Kaczyński's PiS tried to use the two international structures in furtherance of Polish national interests, at the same time emphasizing that numerous debates and disputes in the agencies of both organizations are manifestations of rivalry between the member states. Poland would take part in this competition as an important party. Supporting accession to the EU and the Alliance, the PiS pointed out the necessity of Poland's influence on the desired shape and evolution of the two organizations. Poland's membership of the NATO would be conducive to establishing a direct alliance with the United States; it would reinforce US strategic presence in Europe and enable the extension of transatlantic cooperation onto Eastern Europe: Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova. In 2007, this group was expanded with the countries of South Caucasus and Transcaucasia, such as Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia.<sup>24</sup>

The PiS supported Poland's membership of the European Union, seeing it as the best way of implementing their political plans through Poland itself. Its leading politicians adopted a Eurorealistic attitude,<sup>25</sup> which they expressed in two ways. First, when criticizing the European Union as a community, the PiS pointed out the EU's many weaknesses: ineffective Union leadership, wrong organizational and economic solutions, cultural entanglements, prevalence of national egoisms and particularist interests, or hegemony of strong states. Second, in polemical arguments both with Eurosceptics and Euroenthusiasts the two orientations were accused of doctrinairism and lack of realism, whereas "Ideological fetters do not explain the essence of the Polish policy towards the European Union [...]"<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, Program 2005...*, pp. 40–41, 47; *Dbamy o Polskę. Dbamy o Polaków*, [without place of publication] 2007, p. 52; *Strategia bezpieczeństwa narodowego...*, p. 8.

<sup>25</sup> Evaluations see K. Kowalczyk, *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość*, [in:] *Polskie partie i ugrupowania parlamentarne*, K. Kowalczyk, J. Sielski (eds.), Toruń 2004, pp. 159–160; R. Podgórzńska, *Polityka europejska rządu Kazimierza Marcinkiewicza*, "Przegląd Europejski" 2006, no. 4, p. 63; M. Landgraf, *Aktualna koncepcja roli Polski w Unii Europejskiej*, "Przegląd Europejski" 2006, no. 1, p. 149 et seq.; J. Sielski, *Ewolucja poglądów polskich partii politycznych do procesu integracji europejskiej*, [in:] *Europa XXI wieku: Perspektywy i uwarunkowania integracji europejskiej*, M. Musiał-Karg (ed.), Poznań 2007, pp. 153–166; A. Grzesik-Robak, *Polskie partie polityczne wobec integracji Polski ze Wspólnotami Europejskimi/Unią Europejską (1989–2004)*, Toruń 2008, p. 101.

<sup>26</sup> SI Sejm, "Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report]," Sejm, 4th term, 16 MPs, 14.03.2002, "Przemówienie K.M. Ujazdowskiego," info of 15.09.2008.

The *2007 Strategy of National Security*, developed under the PiS government, regarded the possible end of continental integration as a negative phenomenon, which would result from one of the three scenarios: 1) the return to national egoism; 2) the collapse of the transatlantic community; 3) the European Union's inability to create a common policy.<sup>27</sup> The PiS's clearly pro-European orientation was accompanied by another conviction presented in the *2005 Programme*, which rejected the understanding of continental integration in a centralist way consisting in building the structure of a super-state and creating the Pan-European identity at the expense of national states and their characteristic political communities. Two statements by Lech Kaczyński were authoritative for the PiS: 1) "I am for the Union but I will never support the concept of the federation, which is beginning to prevail in Europe"; 2) "Yes for the Union, but we are in for the struggle for the model of the Union."<sup>28</sup>

The justification of the PiS's hostile attitude towards the federation model of integration was explained in different ways. In the aforementioned interview, L. Kaczyński referred first of all to Polish interests: 1) the national (state) interest threatened by the loss of control over the major policy sectors; 2) civic interest threatened by the absence of the possibility of protecting Poles against being marginalized in the European Union as "second-class" Europeans. The party negatively assessed the *Constitution for Europe* project, identifying it with the manifestation of domination by the strong states in the EU and with a threat to Poland's sovereignty. The *Programme of 2007* reads, "We are afraid of the Union being dominated by the strongest, most populous, and economically most powerful states." The authors of this programme document described this threat by adducing objective factors (domination, particularism) and at the same time denying the explanatory role of the will and emotions. L. Kaczyński's opinion on the European Union as a superpower may serve as a comment on the above, "[...] it

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<sup>27</sup> *Strategia bezpieczeństwa narodowego...*, p. 9.

<sup>28</sup> *Jeśli Wrzodak, daję dyla: Rozmowa Jarosława Kurskiego z Lechem Kaczyńskim*, "Gazeta Wyborcza" 3.06.2003, no. 128, p. 13; SI PiS, "Wywiad z prezydentem Warszawy Lechem Kaczyńskim z 2 June 2003 r." info of 15.10.2007; "Sprzeciw dla koncepcji europejskiego superpaństwa," info of 10.10.2009; K. Szymański, *Czas walki*, "Nowe Państwo," 2003, no. 9, p. 28–29. For the preliminary analysis of the problem of PiS's attitude towards the European Union in the period of this party's rule see A. Niedźwiecki, *Polska polityka europejska w latach 2005–2007: Zarys problemu*, "Athenaeum" 2008, no. 19, pp. 39–53.

will be an instrument of the French-German 140-million-strong empire. The rest are fillers.”<sup>29</sup>

The PiS also voiced somewhat different, realistic, but also universal arguments in public. They explained the PiS's attitude towards European integration. Paweł Kowal (Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs in J. Kaczyński's government) acknowledged that Poland under the PiS-LPR [League of Polish Families]-Samobrona [Self-Defence Party] coalition government expressed “[...] the unwillingness to speed up some current integration processes that would prevent the integration of all states in proportion to their strength, and to their capacities today. We want even development of Europe [...]”<sup>30</sup> In L. Kaczyński's view, the economic unification on the EU scale would be objectively harmful because the same instruments do not work to the same extent in different states.<sup>31</sup> K.M. Ujazdowski, on the other hand, indicated that the party he represented [i.e. PiS] defended the future of a “Christian, Western, competitive and partnership-based Europe” because this continent would not be a strong participant in the international life as a “formation not based on partnership,” dominated by states that do have the “feeling of a transatlantic bond” and “overburdened in terms of social benefits, stifling economic activity.”<sup>32</sup>

Using the state-related criteria to assess the international environment, the PiS warned: “In social practice, the project of constructing new ‘European’ consciousness must ultimately come down to the imposition of the identity of the strongest nations upon the weaker ones.” The party wanted to prevent this by supporting the idea of a “Europe of solidary nations,” in which national states would be the only carriers of sovereignty and primary values. This is how it was formulated in the PiS's European programme of 2004 while in his Sejm speech in the same year the party leader rejected “the Union's grand constructivist experiment.”<sup>33</sup> In order to implement its version of integration, the PiS offered the Union a treasure trove of Polish historical experience embodied in Old Polish multicultural tradition, uni-

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<sup>29</sup> *Dbamy o Polskę. Dbamy o Polaków...*, p. 52; *Jeśli Wrzodak, daję dyla...*, p. 13.

<sup>30</sup> SI PRJ, “Otwierajmy drzwi do Europy: Rozmowa Krzysztofa Renika z Pawłem Kowalem 22 July 2006,” info 16.11.2009.

<sup>31</sup> *Jeśli Wrzodak, daję dyla...*, p. 13.

<sup>32</sup> SI Sejm, “Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report],” Sejm, 4th term, 96 MPs, 21.01.2005, “Przemówienia M.K. Ujazdowskiego,” info of 14.02.2008.

<sup>33</sup> See *Europa solidarnych narodów: Program polityki europejskiej Prawa i Sprawiedliwości*, Warszawa 2004; SI Sejm, “Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report],” Sejm, 4th term, 67 MPs, 21.01.2004, “Przemówienie J. Kaczyńskiego,” info 7.03.2009.

versal Christian values referred to by Pope John Paul II, and social solidarity advocated by the Solidarity movement. It is in this that we should see the similarity between the election slogan "A solidary Poland" with the terms "A Europe of solidary nations" and "A solidary Europe" used in the PiS European program. The party also put forward the idea of institutional-functional guarantees for the integration model it supported. Different solutions which would serve this purpose include: 1) strengthening the role of the Sejm in making and implementing Poland's European policy; 2) augmenting the transparency of the Union's institutions and decision-making mechanisms; 3) restructuring the relations between the main Community authorities in order to strengthen intergovernmental (Council of Europe, Council of the European Union) and representative (European Parliament) structures as well as to weaken trans-state institutions (European Commission).<sup>34</sup>

Poland should be a participant in the game for the character of the European Community. The PiS saw its role as the leader of Central European, states which are treated on unequal terms within the EU, and supported the projects based on the rules of solidarity and competition. One of the points at issue was the protection of systemic competition and the model of the EU's regional policy. Since the PiS opposed the radical deepening of integration, it suggested that actions be intensified on two levels. First, to increase interest in working out a common European foreign policy addressed to the EU's international environment i.e. four directions: transatlantic, Eastern, Balkan, and Mediterranean.<sup>35</sup> Second, to implement "an open-door policy" consisting in creating prospects for states that previously did not belong to the EU, on the assumption that "a complete Europe is both Eastern, Central, and Southern Europe." It is this kind of policy that will, in P. Kowal's view, guarantee that "the European Union will develop better and have better dynamics."<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, Program 2005...*, pp. 9, 42, 46; *Dbamy o Polskę. Dbamy o Polaków...*, p. 51; *Europa solidarnych narodów...*, pp. 12–13, 21–23.

<sup>35</sup> *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, Program 2005...*, pp. 44–45.

<sup>36</sup> SI PRJ, "Otwierajmy drzwi do Europy: Rozmowa Krzysztofa Renika z Pawłem Kowalem 22 July 2006," info 16.01.2009; see SI PiS, "PiS za przyjęciem nowych państw do NATO," info 17.11.2009.

## 2. REALISTIC GROUNDS FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF GERMANY AND RUSSIA

If we regard the simple division of the main theories of international relations into realistic and liberal (without going into their many versions) as legitimate<sup>37</sup>, then the PiS political thought can be assigned into the former orientation on account of the adopted assumptions and premises. Roman Kuźniar noted (and gave a definitely negative assessment of three constitutive features of the PiS's conception of Poland's foreign policy: 1) mistrust of foreign partners; 2) low capacity for dialogue and compromise; 3) demonstration of pride and firmness.<sup>38</sup> These can be actually presented in a different way, adducing the assumptions contained in the *2007 Strategy for National Security of the Republic of Poland*. It reads, under the unquestionable influence of the PiS political thought and the experience of the rule exercised by President L. Kaczyński and the two PiS-formed cabinets, that "The fundamental national interests are constant, [...] they stem from Poland's fundamental and unchanging values, and their implementation is the overriding need for the state and its inhabitants." The catalogue of vital and important interests fully corresponded to the realistic understanding of foreign policy, whereas the last category of so-called other essential interests included enhancing the efficiency of the most important international institutions, the development of international cooperation, and the establishment of the desired order on an international scale.<sup>39</sup>

PiS politicians put particular emphasis on the survival of the independent, sovereign and secure Republic of Poland in the unstable international environment, which at the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries was dominated on the one hand by competition among states of different power (each power having its historical reference), and on the other hand by European integration, globalization,

<sup>37</sup> R. Jackson, G. Sørensen, *Wprowadzenie do stosunków międzynarodowych: Teorie i kierunki badawcze* [trans. from *Introduction to International Relations. Theories and Approaches*], Kraków 2006, pp. 69–145; K. Mingst, *Podstawy stosunków międzynarodowych* [trans. from *Essentials of International Relations*] Warszawa 2006, pp. 57–77; *Teorie stosunków międzynarodowych* [trans. from *Theories of International Relations*], S. Burchill et al. Warszawa 2006, pp. 46–138; J. Czaputowicz, *Teorie stosunków międzynarodowych: Krytyka i systematyzacja*, Warszawa 2007, pp. 58–140; T. Łoś-Nowak, *Paradygmat realistyczny – projekcje porządku międzynarodowego u progu XXI wieku*, [in:] *Porządek międzynarodowy u progu XXI wieku*, R. Kuźniar (ed.), Warszawa 2006, pp. 21–58; E. Haliżak, *Liberalna wizja porządku międzynarodowego*, [in:] *Porządek międzynarodowy...*, pp. 58–83.

<sup>38</sup> R. Kuźniar, op.cit., pp. 278–279.

<sup>39</sup> *Strategia bezpieczeństwa narodowego...*, pp. 4–5.

and by new threats consequent upon the two processes. The Polish state in a modernized form (the so-called Fourth Republic) was seen by the PiS as the factor that would ensure security, development and identity for the members of a political community. In this historic work Poland cannot rely on the support of other states (powers) or international organizations (political and military alliances, or political unions). In their public statements PiS politicians did not point out any qualitative change in international relations that stemmed from the emergence of new forms such as the network of international links, transnational (non-state) actors, international trans-state institutions, and provisions of international law.

Contrary to the liberal approach to foreign policy, the then leaders of the PiS stressed two rules. According to J. Kaczyński, foreign policy is implemented in accordance with the general directive of “activity, seeking allies, constant active participation in the game, which is immanent in foreign policy, something that never stops.” The other rule was expounded in the Sejm by K.M. Ujazdowski: “[...] a typical model of international relations is a difficult choice rather than comfort or unidirectionality of foreign policy.”<sup>40</sup>

The party led by J. Kaczyński had an exceptionally realistic view of the foreign policy pursued by Poland’s neighbours – Russia and Germany. The analysis of the Russian Federation’s historical policy let PiS politicians conclude that this power constantly strove to subordinate Central-Eastern Europe and impose clientist relations upon the countries of this region. They believed that Russia, which emerged after the Soviet Union’s collapse, pursued the way of thinking in terms of *Realpolitik* or areas of influence, which meant claims to interfere in the internal affairs and foreign policy of the states situated in different regions of the world, historically linked with the Russian/Soviet state. Paweł Zalewski named Central and Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and Transcaucasia here.<sup>41</sup>

A negative view on Russia’s attitude to Poland was expressed in the *2005 Programme*. The document read, “We must strive to make Russia stop considering Poland as a natural sphere of its influence so that it will start treating it as an equal member of the European Union.”<sup>42</sup> This attitude imposed a certain kind of assess-

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<sup>40</sup> SI Sejm, “Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report],” Sejm, 4th term, 40 MPs, 22.01.2003, “Przemówienie J. Kaczyńskiego,” info of 2 .01.2007; “Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report],” Sejm, 4th term, 96 MPs, 21 January 2005, “Przemówienie M.K. Ujazdowskiego,” info of 14.02.2008.

<sup>41</sup> SI PRJ, “Wypowiedź P. Zalewskiego w »Sygnałach Dnia« on 11 June 2007,” info of 18.12.2009.

<sup>42</sup> *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, Program 2005...*, p. 47.

ment of the actions taken by Moscow in its current policy and determined the "tough" policy towards Russia. Russia's activity was thus seen in the broad context. It was viewed as an expression of traditional imperialism striving to achieve "a position in a transregional dimension,"<sup>43</sup> rather than a case of furthering only isolated, particularistic economic or defence interests. PiS politicians were worried not only by the Russian endeavours to confine Poland's sovereignty in the choice of strategic solutions (e.g. installation of the elements of the missile defence system), but also by specific matters concerning bilateral relations.

First, intensified cooperation between Germany and Russia, of which the most expressive example was the Nord Stream gas pipeline project. The PiS – K. Marcinkiewicz as Prime Minister and L. Kaczyński as a presidential candidate – found this venture economically unjustified and regarded it as the reflection of the anti-Polish will of both contracting parties acting to the detriment of Poland's interests.<sup>44</sup> The *2005 Programme* said that "our great concern is raised by the recently signed contract, behind our backs and against Polish interests, for constructing a gas pipeline over the Baltic between Germany and Russia."<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, Germany was accused of breaking solidarity between the EU member states. This was clearly expressed by P. Zalewski in a radio statement, "[...] on the one hand, Germany says it wants European integration, but on the other hand, it disregards our interests, for example on the question of energy security, and cooperates with Russia in the construction of the gas pipeline."<sup>46</sup>

Second, Poland's dependence on the supply of the Russian energy raw materials. Starting from the conviction that "energy is the nervous system of the economy, and energy security is the *raison d'état*, an element of national and state sovereignty,"<sup>47</sup> the PiS leaders pointed out that Russia fairly effectively used its energy potential as an instrument of its foreign policy towards post-communist

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<sup>43</sup> *Strategia bezpieczeństwa narodowego...*, p. 6.

<sup>44</sup> SI PiS, "Aktualności, źródło: PAP, Premier: informacje »Rzeczypospolitej« nieprawdziwe," 11.05.2006, info of 11.09.2008; "Aktualności," Prezydencka debata w TVN: Lech Kaczyński vs. Donald Tusk," 7 October 2005, info of 14.09.2008; see SI PRJ, "Rozmowa Krzysztofa Grzesiowskiego z Markiem Jurkiem w »Sygnałach dnia« 15.02.2006," info of 2.09.2008; "Trafią na naprawioną Polskę: Rozmowa Krzysztofa Grzesiowskiego z Kazimierzem Marcinkiewiczem 4 May 2006," info of 8.07.2006; "Dryfowanie mnie nie interesuje: Rozmowa Krzysztofa Grzesiowskiego z Kazimierzem Marcinkiewiczem 6 December 2005," info of 12.03.2007.

<sup>45</sup> *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, Program 2005...*, p. 49.

<sup>46</sup> SI PiS, "Paweł Zalewski w »Poranku Radia TOK FM« 5 July 2006," info of 12.01.2007.

<sup>47</sup> SI Sejm, "Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report]," Sejm, 4th term, 12 MPs, 25.01.2002, "Przemówienie K. Marcinkiewicza," info of 14.09.2008.



countries. In L. Kaczyński's view, the Russian Federation did not conceal the fact that petroleum and natural gas were one of "the arguments used to consolidate its influence in Europe."<sup>48</sup> Trying to prevent this, the PiS, first as the opposition and then as the ruling party, was consistently in favour of diversifying Poland's supplies of energy raw materials. That is why the construction of the Norwegian gas pipeline and the search for alternative sources of energy supply were seen as absolutely necessary tasks, which appeared to be obvious from the standpoint of Poland's security.<sup>49</sup>

Third, Poland and Russia held economic disputes in the foodstuffs market and in the negotiations to conclude a partnership and cooperation treaty between Russia and the European Union. The PiS explicitly attributed broad political motives to Russia's actions, accusing it of the desire to purposefully undermine Poland's status in the EU<sup>50</sup>. Denying the exclusively economic character of Polish-Russian disputes, J. Kaczyński as Prime Minister intended to seek a solution to the problem on the political level involving the European Commission. He expressed this objective fairly precisely, saying that the "Union should be persuaded to tell Russia very clearly: Poland is an EU member and the policy of excluding it will be explicitly rejected."<sup>51</sup>

Fourth, the infiltration of the Polish state by the Russian secret services, which were regarded as a significant actor in shaping political processes in Poland during transformation and influencing the functioning of the Polish state. This was seen not only as a threat to Poland's sovereignty in the international arena, but also as a factor destructive for the public space within the country. In J. Kaczyński's view, the question of countering the penetration of Poland's political life by foreign secret

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<sup>48</sup> SI Sejm, "Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report]," Sejm, 4th term, 44 MPs, 26.03.2003, "Przemówienie J. Polaczka," info of 10.09.2008; SI PiS, "Wywiady," "Kandydat na urząd prezydenta Polski Lech Kaczyński gościem Moniki Olejnik w Radiu ZET," 13.05.2005, info of 9.09.2008.

<sup>49</sup> SI PRJ, "To nie histeria, to kwestia bezpieczeństwa państwa...: Rozmowa Wiesława Molaka i Henryka Szrubarza z Jarosławem Kaczyńskim 20 February 2002," info of 3.09.2007; SI RZ, "Archiwum," A. Łakoma, "Rząd szuka ropy i gazu," 14.04.2007, info of 7.09.2008; "Archiwum," K. Marcinkiewicz, "Jeden za wszystkich, wszyscy za jednego," 10.02.2006, info of 5.01.2007; A. Łakoma, A. Błaszczak, „Możliwy gaz z Norwegii,” 27.01.2006, info of 12.03. 2007.

<sup>50</sup> SI RZ, "Archiwum," Anna Fotyga: "Zakaz importu mięsa jest polityczny," 6 April 2007, info of 10.01.2008; "Archiwum," A. Łojewska, "Polskie weto dla umowy z Rosją," 4.11.2006, info of 14.03.2008.

<sup>51</sup> SI RZ, "Archiwum," "Polityka zagraniczna jest twardą grą: Rozmowa Pawła Lisickiego i Małgorzaty Subotić z premierem Jarosławem Kaczyńskim" 16.12.2006, info of 12.01.2008.



services “is [...] extremely significant for our security and position both in the Eastern and Western direction.”<sup>52</sup>

Somewhat different problems arose from the assessment of Germany's foreign policy. In the existing international configuration – the extension and deepening of European integration and US presence in Europe – the PiS generally did not fear the revival of traditional German imperialism oriented towards controlling Central-Eastern Europe, which this party expressed in their stances in 2001–2007. However, the PiS chairman as the opposition leader emphasized that the policy on the German issue pursued by Poland's government in 1989–2005 objectively did not serve the normalization of bilateral relations on a partnership basis but produced new tensions due to omissions. The “Gazeta Wyborcza” presented his evaluation: “The policy pursued for years was an act of madness because it created the atmosphere in which the Germans made greater and greater demands.”<sup>53</sup> In practice, this means negative assessment of the concept of the “community of interests” and “strategic partnership” implemented by the successive cabinets in sovereign Poland and in united Germany<sup>54</sup>.

The PiS policy statements did not describe Polish-German relations as a strategic partnership based on the community of interests. J. Kaczyński, already as Prime Minister, explicitly characterized the so-called German problem, “We want to have good relations with Germany, it is quite obvious, it is in our interest and I believe it is in Germany's interest.”<sup>55</sup> By contrast, in a radio interview in 2006, he pointed out the differences between the historical policy in the Polish and German versions. In the *2007 Programme*, the PiS indicated that there is a “potential for revisionist threat” in Germany, i.e. systematic actions in international courts, thereby falsifying the legal and moral responsibility for the tragic consequences of World War II. The party put forward two proposals, which were significant for the development of Polish-German relations that 1) the sense of pursuing the many-year-long

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<sup>52</sup> SI Sejm, “Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report],” Sejm, 4th term, 40 MPs, 22.01.2003, “Przemówienie J. Kaczyńskiego,” info of 2.01.2007; see SI PiS, Interviews, Sejm, “Poseł Prawa i Sprawiedliwości Zbigniew Wassermann gościem w »Kontrwywiadzie« Kamila Durczoka 26 October 2005,” info of 19.01.2007.

<sup>53</sup> J. Kaczyński, *Reperowanie reparacji*, “Gazeta Wyborcza” 1.09.2004, no. 205, p. 14.

<sup>54</sup> See R. Kuźniar, op.cit., p. 291.

<sup>55</sup> SI PRJ, “Bezpieczeństwo kosztuje: Rozmowa Jacka Karnowskiego z Jarosławem Kaczyńskim,” 19 September 2006, info 18.12.2009.

policy of reconciliation and friendly relations be reconsidered; 2) that the controversial issues in bilateral cooperation be debated.<sup>56</sup>

The desire to establish new rules defining relations between Poland and Germany did not, as PiS politicians believed, exclude the dialogue on the conflict of interests in Polish-German relations at many levels and in many respects. The PiS rejected a policy of blurring differences on such important issues as the reform of the European Union and the functioning of the North-Atlantic Alliance. The party stressed Germany's ambiguous attitude towards the consequences of World War II and Polish-German relations: on the one hand, Germany declared its support for European integration, while on the other hand, it re-evaluated historical assessments (see, for example, the Centre Against Expulsions, the Prussian Trusteeship), and Berlin was involved in joint ventures with Russia (the Nord Stream gas pipeline), which had negative consequences for Poland and European solidarity.

According to PiS politicians, German-Russian cooperation justified the validity of the thesis about the sceptical attitude towards Germany, as well as it also 1) illustrated the real character of European integration; 2) demonstrated that European states were unwilling to coordinate foreign policies; 3) showed that the EU's common foreign policy and security were subordinated to the interests of the most important member states. Foreign Minister Anna Fotyga summed up this issue in her statement in the Sejm. When analysing the German-Russian project of the northern gas pipeline, she emphasized that "European solidarity that would enable deep political integration as outlined in the Constitutional treaty, e.g. common foreign and security policy, is certainly a premature idea that does not correspond to the state of political consensus between the EU member states."<sup>57</sup> However, for the PiS the German problem did not come down only to properly setting bilateral relations within European cooperation but it had another, far more difficult context, pointed out by P. Zalewski. The strategic task in Poland's foreign policy, which determined its functioning in the international environment in the early twenty-first century, was to formulate such a concept of cooperation with Germany which would be more attractive than the Russian one and would neutralize Berlin's tendency to pursue its own national interests in alliance with Russia but ignoring Poland.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Ibidem; *Dbamy o Polskę. Dbamy o Polaków...*, p. 50.

<sup>57</sup> SI Sejm, "Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report]," Sejm, 4<sup>th</sup> term, 30 MPs, 16 December 2006, "Wystąpienie A. Fotygi," info of 10.10.2009.

<sup>58</sup> SI PiS, "Paweł Zalewski w »Poranku Radia TOK FM« 5 July 2006," info of 12.01.2007.

### 3. STRATEGIC GOALS OF POLAND'S FOREIGN POLICY

PiS politicians decided that the main goal of foreign policy would be to ensure Poland's security and adopted three assumption at the same time.<sup>59</sup> First, security in international relations is not a guaranteed condition but a complex and multi-aspectual process. Second, the contemporary world should be seen as a dichotomy: on the one side, as a secure hemisphere, where the United States guarantees order and protects small and medium-size states against "regional violence," and on the other side, as a "hemisphere of local dominations" where regional powers confine the sovereignty of other states, thus forcing them to accept a client-state status. Third, security cannot be expressed in terms of money and described with economic indices but it should be defined in a broad sense, and its objective scope should be extended onto new levels.

The significance of security in the PiS's political thought was attested by the inclusion into the *2005 Programme's* five foreign policy – priorities, as many as three of which were directly connected with this category expressed in terms of strategy, economy and energy.<sup>60</sup> A year later, Prime Minister J. Kaczyński emphasized in the Sejm that his government regarded security as having a double nature – internal (domestic) and international. In the first interpretation, he argued that it consisted in the state ensuring public order, and as regards citizens – personal and social security, as well as the freedom of economic activity and protection against abuses of power by public authority agencies. In the other sense, he understood security in relative terms, or in relation to other states threatening Polish sovereignty, including economic and energy sovereignty.<sup>61</sup> The dual understanding of security was distinctly seen in the *2007 National Security Strategy* and in numerous programmes implemented by the two cabinets formed by the PiS in 2005–2007 and covering the issue of enhancing the level of internal security, for example, in the areas of penal policy, the system of justice, secret services, and combating corruption. The solutions applied corresponded with the realistic vision of international relations. Its originators and supporters treat security as a dominant value for the state authorities, which are obliged to protect citizens as subjects of security policy against all kinds of threats. In contrast, competition between states, which

<sup>59</sup> See SI Sejm, "Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report]," Sejm, 4th term, 44 MPs, 26.03.003, "Przemówienie M. Jurka," info 17.12.2009.

<sup>60</sup> *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, Program 2005...*, p. 39.

<sup>61</sup> SI Sejm, "Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report]," Sejm, 5th term, 10 MPs, 17 February 2006, "Przemówienie J. Kaczyńskiego," info 17.12.2009.

selfishly seek to implement their own interests, is attributed with the role of a factor that stimulates development on a comprehensive scale.

In its policy documents, the PiS named two fundamental and international pillars of Poland's security: 1) a strategic alliance with the United States implemented at bilateral and multilateral levels within the NATO structures; 2) the European Union treated as an area of cooperation between the member states. The third, internal, pillar was Poland's armed forces. When trying to determine the PiS's position in the on-going European debate on the model of international security at the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries,<sup>62</sup> we should point out that this party chose the Atlantic option, in which it was the North Atlantic Alliance that played the leading role, with other structures, especially those established by the European Union, performing only an auxiliary function. Two alternative projects – Pan-European and European – were negatively assessed. The PiS maintained that it was an illusion to expect the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe to guarantee security on the continent, while the European Security and Defence Policy was more of a plan than an area of actual actions.

The first foundation of Poland's security would be its close alliance with the United States, reinforced by its membership of the NATO. The PiS was definitely more interested in strengthening the strategic partnership with the US than only in Poland's autonomous presence in the North Atlantic Alliance. The party believed that it was possible to develop a Polish-American "solidary and balanced partnership" regardless of the differences in the political and military potential between the two states. Consequently, PiS ideologists also wrote that the United States (rather than the NATO as an organization), with which Poland has common interests, was the main guarantor of security. L. Kaczyński said this straight out in the TV election debate in 2005, "for me the first capital is Washington."<sup>63</sup> P. Zalewski gave a very convincing justification for this stance: "Only the United States is able to provide the right response to all kinds of global or regional threats. It is also able to support us regarding all kinds of threats or [threatening] signals coming from Russia."<sup>64</sup> With such approach to the problem we should conclude that PiS politicians viewed a political-military pact as a tool in Poland's foreign policy

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<sup>62</sup> For more see M. Stolarczyk, *Polska i Niemcy wobec głównych kontrowersji w relacjach transatlantycznych w dziedzinie bezpieczeństwa na początku XXI wieku*, "Krakowskie Studia Międzynarodowe" 2007, no. 4, pp. 84–85.

<sup>63</sup> Polsat TV webpage, <http://www.cozpolka.pl>, "Debate prezydencka z udziałem Lecha Kaczyńskiego i Donalda Tuska z 27 September 2005," info 13.07.2007.

<sup>64</sup> SI PRJ, "Wypowiedź P. Zalewskiego w »Sygnałach Dnia« 11 June 2007," info of 18.12.2009.

for establishing privileged allied ties with Washington, which would be formalized in a special bilateral agreement, as well as for maintaining the US presence in Europe and US-EU cooperation.

This kind of thinking had two important consequences for the PiS's political thought. One tenet was presented by K.M. Ujazdowski as early as in 2002: "NATO should retain its real, military and defence character [...]. Only in this form – real, defence-oriented, and true to its origins – is NATO a peace-making factor in the world and in our region. The ideas, once advanced by the left wing camp, of softening up this organization, of weakening its real importance [...] run counter to the country's security and Polish interests."<sup>65</sup> The other was included in the party's program of 2005, it read that the PiS would seek to give Polish-American relations a formal and heightened character "following the example of the states that are tied with the US by bilateral agreements defining mutual obligations as allies." This might have allegedly meant Israel, the United Kingdom, and Germany.<sup>66</sup>

The PiS attributed an extended range of functions to the Polish-American alliance: first, it would enhance Poland's potential in the strategic competition with the Russian Federation for the status of the leader of Central and Eastern Europe, and in the on-going disputes clearly seen in bilateral relations; second, it would strengthen Poland's position in European bargaining with the main EU member states; third, it would secure the desired character of continental integration, thus weakening the European Union's emancipation tendencies towards the United States; fourth, it would stabilize the relations between Poland and Germany as allies of the United States.<sup>67</sup>

Starting from the assumption that "the community of free nations, which was originated by the European statesmen associated with Christian democracy, is

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<sup>65</sup> SI Sejm, "Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report]," Sejm, 4th term, 16 MPs, 14.03.2002, "Przemówienie K.M. Ujazdowskiego," info of 15.09.2008.

<sup>66</sup> *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, Program 2005...*, p. 40.

<sup>67</sup> See an interesting opinion on the consequences of tightening Polish-American cooperation [in:] P. Rebizant, *Tarcza antyrakietowa i relacje w trójkącie: USA–Rosja–Europa*, "Arcana" 2004, no. 6, p. 94 et seq.; P. Witkowski, *Plany umieszczenia "tarczy antyrakietowej" na terenie RP a bezpieczeństwo Polski – wpływ, znaczenie, analiza krytyczna*, [in:] *NATO w dobie transformacji: Siły zbrojne w transatlantyckim systemie bezpieczeństwa początku XXI wieku*, K. Kubiak, P. Mickiewicz (eds.), Toruń 2008, p. 158 et seq.; K. Wodzińska, *Polskie dylematy strategiczne; Debata na temat uczestnictwa Polski w amerykańskim systemie obrony rakietowej*, [in:] *NATO na początku XXI wieku*, S. Zakrzewski (ed.), Poznań 2008, p. 139 et seq.

a good fact in the history of our continent,”<sup>68</sup> the PiS viewed Poland’s membership of the European Union as an important factor in neutralizing threats: and this constituted the second pillar of the country’s security. This stance became possible partly because the PiS presented a comprehensive approach to the security of the state, combining its two dimensions (external and internal) and different sectors (military, economic, ecological, and social). We should therefore regard the conclusion contained in the 2007 *National Security Strategy* as legitimate, “Membership of the European Union significantly determines the foundations of Poland’s security. This radically increased the possibilities of implementing Poland’s security policy and its capacity for international influence.”<sup>69</sup> Despite this clear declaration, the PiS emphasized in its programmes that it was against treating the EU political-military structures as competing with the NATO. The party was ready to support only those EU defence projects, which were justifiable in terms of military sense, i.e. the formation of the European army politically subordinated to the European Commission, which would complement US military activities in threatened regions and be commanded by the NATO Headquarters. J. Kaczyński maintained that otherwise, “the common defence policy would actually undermine the Alliance.”<sup>70</sup>

Two types of threats were perceived: the Russian one (subjective) and the civilizational one (objective); it was in these contexts that the European Union was extremely useful for Poland. These stances were fairly often expressed by the PiS leading politicians, especially in 2002–2004, for example, in discussions on the referendum on Poland’s membership of the European Union and during the parliamentary election campaign in 2007. In his polemics with Eurosceptics M.K. Ujazdowski argued that the alternative to Poland’s entry in the European Union would be to remain “in the area outside Europe’s political organization, in the zone dependent on Russia” or find ourselves “under the bridge between the EU and Russia.” Paweł Poncyłjusz claimed that “historically, we are closer to Europe than to Russia.”<sup>71</sup> L. Kaczyński was more emphatic than the two politicians, stating

<sup>68</sup> SI Sejm, “Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report],” Sejm, 4th term, 16 MPs, 14.03.2002, “Przemówienie K.M. Ujazdowskiego,” info of 15.09.2008.

<sup>69</sup> *Strategia bezpieczeństwa narodowego...*, pp. 11–12.

<sup>70</sup> SI Sejm, “Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report],” Sejm, 4th term, 67 MPs, 21.01.2004, “Przemówienie J. Kaczyńskiego,” info of 14.09.2008.

<sup>71</sup> SI Sejm, “Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report],” Sejm, 4th term, 10 MPs, 10.01.2002, “Rozpatrzenie poselskiego wniosku o przeprowadzenie referendum ogólnokrajowego, w którym obywatele Polski odpowiedzą na pytanie: »Czy jesteś za przystąpieniem Polski do Unii Europejskiej?«: Przemówienie P. Poncyłjusza,” info of 12.11.2006; SI PiS, K.M. Ujazdowski: “O konsekwencji przystąpienia Polski do UE [Aktualności PAP],” 14.05.2003, info of 15.06.2007; Aktualności, Sejm,

that "In the present balance of power in Europe Poland simply has no other choice" because it must be "firmly and clearly in the West." He added that "for Poland, although some may think otherwise, there is no alternative in the East today."<sup>72</sup> However, in J. Kaczyński's view, torpedoing Poland's accession to the European Union would have fulfilled Russia's expectations. It was very important for Russia that "Poland should be a weak state."<sup>73</sup> In 2006–2007, the PiS also used the expression of a "significant civilization leap" seen at three principal levels: economic (economic promotion, representation of Polish interests, foreign investment), etatistic (building a strong and modern state) and the image level (defending Poland's image in the world).<sup>74</sup>

In the *2005 Programme* the PiS indicated that the European Union was an international structure important for the enhancement of Poland's security both in the global and domestic dimension. The party treated the two dimensions in an integral way, linking terrorism with organized crime and uncontrolled migration, and emphasizing that the coherence of security policy is a necessary condition for the creation of a "single security area within the EU and for complete integration of new member states from Central and Eastern Europe."<sup>75</sup>

In the PiS's view, Poland should use the European Union for strengthening its international position on a continental scale in relation to other EU countries, and on a regional one, first of all in the Central and East-European dimension, as well as with regard to the Russian Federation.<sup>76</sup> In the context of challenges connected with state security, the PiS started to invoke the principle of European solidarity and the state of symbiosis between Poland and the European Union: on the one hand, Poland would be "the initiator of the EU's Eastern policy, and would enable it to have a "new opening in the relations of Western European states with the East,"

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źródło: own information., "Polityka eurorealizmu," 4 June 2004, info of 8 February 2007. For more see G. Tokarz, *Koncepcje polityki zagranicznej polskich ugrupowań prawicowych po 1989 roku*, [in:] *Uwarunkowania i kierunki polskiej polityki zagranicznej w pierwszej dekadzie XXI wieku*, M.S. Wolański (ed.), Wrocław 2004, p. 150.

<sup>72</sup> SI PiS, Wywiady, Partia, "Nie boję się o wartości: Rozmowa z Lechem Kaczyńskim," 11.04.2002, info of 5.01.2007.

<sup>73</sup> SI PiS, Aktualności, Partia, source PAP, J. Kaczyński: "Silna Polska w Europie," 27.04.2003, info of 3 January 2007.

<sup>74</sup> *Dbamy o Polskę. Dbamy o Polaków...*, p. 53; see SI Sejm, „Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Short-hand report],” Sejm, 5<sup>th</sup> term, 10 MPs, 15 February 2006, "Przemówienie P. Zalewskiego," info 15.09.2009.

<sup>75</sup> *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, Program 2005...*, pp. 36–37.

<sup>76</sup> Ibidem, p. 39.



while on the other hand the European Union should enhance Poland's potential and capabilities in its relations with Russia and other neighbours in the East.<sup>77</sup> European solidarity was repeatedly referred to in the cases of anti-Polish actions taken by Russia. The two successive cabinets formed by the PiS (with K. Marcinkiewicz and J. Kaczyński as PMs) tried to mobilize the EU administration and encourage the EU member states to form coalitions to defend Polish interests in the relations with Russia.<sup>78</sup> The best-known initiative was the "Musketeers' Pact," based on a joint response according to the rule "all for one, one for all" in crisis situations caused by Russia ceasing to deliver energy supplies.<sup>79</sup>

The analysis of testimonies to the political thought of the PiS enables us to explicate the strategic dimension of the concept of Poland's foreign policy advanced by J. Kaczyński's party. The results of such studies allow us to explain the sense of the PiS's views on the international environment and foreign policy.

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<sup>77</sup> Ibidem, pp. 47–49.

<sup>78</sup> See SI Sejm, "Sprawozdanie stenograficzne [Shorthand report]," Sejm, 5th term, 41 MPs, 11.05.2007, "Wystąpienie minister spraw zagranicznych Anny Fotygi," info 10.10.2009; J. Kaczyński, *Polityka zagraniczna jest twardą grą*, "Rzeczpospolita" 16–17.12.2006, no. 293, p. 5.

<sup>79</sup> J. Bielecki, *D'Artagnan pozostanie sam*, "Rzeczpospolita" 7.03.2006, no. 56, p. 7; A. Łojewska, *Nikt nie chce być muszkietierem*, "Rzeczpospolita, Ekonomia & Rynek" 22.03.2006, no. 69, p. 2.



*Katarzyna Marzęda-Młynarska*

## **RATING AGENCIES AND THEIR ROLE IN THE PROCESS OF THE MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE OF GLOBALIZED FINANCIAL MARKETS\***

### **ABSTRACT**

One of the biggest challenges of the modern world is the problem of new models of international system governance under the globalization processes. Given the multidimensional nature of globalization answers to this question have been sought through processes of international negotiations between nation states. However it is increasingly clear that nation-states are unable to effectively steer international system without an involvement of other actors operating on different levels. The article deals with the role played by credit rating agencies in the multi-level governance of financial markets under the globalization processes. There is no doubt that credit rating agencies became an important element of this new model of governance. The idea of multilevel governance has acquired unprecedented importance today. It not only suggests ways of dealing with new conditions of globalization, but is said to be an essential term for understanding the transnational processes and for identifying non-traditional actors involved in governance processes on different levels.

**Keywords:** multilevel governance, credit rating agencies, globalization processes

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\* The paper financed by the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin within the framework of the grant of Vice-President for Science – Ministry of Science and Higher Education own research

## INTRODUCTION

**THE IDEA OF** the “global civil society” is inextricably linked with actions aimed at the accomplishment of specific goals.<sup>1</sup> In a positive sense, transnational organizations of the civil society have developed in order to “promote” certain problems in the international arena; in a negative sense, in the opposition to unfavourable phenomena occurring in the global environment. Their activity has become particularly important in the face of globalization processes. There are two kinds of relations here. Firstly, the development of modern technologies has made it possible and easier for civil society organizations to go beyond national borders, influencing their mobilization and making them more effective. Thanks to the application of new technologies in the field of communication and information exchange, they can shape relations on the social, political, cultural and economic level through influencing the elements of the internal and external environment of countries. Secondly, the emergence of negative phenomena accompanying the globalization processes has significantly widened their scope of activity and quantitative development.<sup>2</sup> This effect is reflected in the involvement of transnational organizations of the civil society in the process of managing/regulating global problems, including the challenges connected with the globalization of financial markets.<sup>3</sup>

This article discusses the role of rating agencies in managing problems connected with the globalization of financial markets, especially the role of the multi-level governance model. There is no doubt that rating agencies, as private organizations of the civil society, have an enormous impact on their functioning and on the behaviour of the participants of financial transactions. It should be noted, however, that their role and importance in this respect are very often marginalized. Moreo-

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<sup>1</sup> *Global Civil Society Yearbooks 2001–2006*.

<sup>2</sup> M. Kaldor, H. Anheier, M. Glasius, *Global Civil Society in an Era of Regressive Globalization*, [in:] *Global Civil Society 2003*, Oxford 2003, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> The research conducted by the Centre for Civil Society at the London School of Economics and Political Science indicates that there are four forms of such involvement. Firstly, activities aimed at maintaining current trends connected with the globalization of financial markets (supporters). Secondly, the involvement in order to reverse the process of the globalization of financial markets (isolationists). Thirdly, attempting to eliminate negative phenomena associated with the globalization of financial markets (reformists). Fourthly, the activities aimed at developing a model of international relations and lifestyle which would be an alternative to the “globalized market,” M. Desai, Y. Said, *The New Anti-Capitalist Movement: Money and Global Society*, [in:] *Global Civil Society Yearbook 2001*, Oxford 2001, pp. 51–78.

ver, the fact that the multi-level governance model has been indicated as the mechanism of managing financial markets under the globalization processes stems from the conviction that as a result of the growing liberalization and integration of financial markets as well as of the privatization of risk involved, the efficiency of traditional forms of governance, which include exclusively state actors, may be questioned. Managing problems related to the globalization of financial markets requires a completely new approach – described by Thilo Marauhn as a “hybrid regulation,”<sup>4</sup> in which the applied solutions not only take into account the specific nature of these problems, but also show a high degree of flexibility, which is one of the reasons of their efficiency.

As it was mentioned before, rating agencies are one of the elements of the civil society. However, this thesis might be disputable for a few reasons. Can rating agencies be really considered to be part of a broadly defined civil society? If so, how is it reflected?

The theory of the global civil society, particularly developed in the publications of the Centre for Civil Society,<sup>5</sup> indicates that this notion encompasses a number of different organizations. It includes both large organizations of a complex structure, which have enormous budgets, and transnational networks operating in the Internet, which owe its existence exclusively to the commitment of individual people. Not only do they differ in size or a degree of formality, but also in the field of activity (organizations focused on single issues or those dealing with a variety of problems), a method of operation (organizations offering professional services or those trying to mobilize social support) and a management model (organizations managed in a democratic way or authoritatively governed sects).<sup>6</sup>

Researchers point out that it is none of the above criteria, but the functioning within the framework of the so-called “supranational sphere of social and political participation” that is an indicator of belonging to the global civil society.<sup>7</sup> What is particularly important in this respect is both the ability to initiate political processes and to influence the internal and external environment of countries in order

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<sup>4</sup> T. Marauhn, *Introduction: the regulatory dilemma in international financial relations*, [in:] *The Regulation of International Financial Markets. Perspectives for Reform*, R. Grote, T. Marauhn (eds.), Cambridge 2006, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> See: *Global Civil Society Yearbooks 2001–2006*.

<sup>6</sup> H. Anheier, N. Themudo, *Organisational forms of Global Civil Society: Implications of Going Global*, [in:] *Global Civil Society 2002*, Oxford 2002, p. 191.

<sup>7</sup> H. Anheier, M. Glasius, M. Kaldor, *Introducing Global Civil Society*, [in:] *Global Civil Society Yearbook 2001*, Oxford 2001, p. 3.

to shape their policy. Rating agencies have become part of this model. As they are private entities of a commercial character, operating at the meeting point of politics and economy, their decisions concerning credit rating have specific political effects. The belonging of rating agencies to a group of transnational organizations of the civil society must be considered in the same context. What is of the key importance here is, first, the object and method of their activity and, second, their specificity as private regulatory institutions.

Rating agencies were established in response to the information gap existing in the first stage of the development of capitalism in the United States. The history of these institutions dates back to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and is strictly connected with the development of the American economy.<sup>8</sup> Companies such as Poor's Railroad Manual Company (founded in 1867) or John Moody & Company (founded in 1900) focused on gathering and publishing data concerning American enterprises, combining the informative function with statistics. In the 1920s, they extended their business by starting to deal with credit rating issues. T.J. Sinclair noted that this decision was of a random character, being a response to the fast-growing market of securities.<sup>9</sup> Raising capital through debt involved information pressure from investors who wanted to know the financial condition of borrowers. This pressure was noticed and channeled by rating agencies, for which the assessment of credit worthiness became a new source of income. The agencies claimed to make judgments on "the future ability and willingness of an issuer to make timely payments of principal and interest on a security over the life of the instrument,"<sup>10</sup> although it was not a recommendation that it should be bought, but the information on the basis of which investors made decisions, depending on their willingness to take a risk. In this way rating agencies became *ade facto* intermediary in transactions in a financial market.

For many decades the activity of rating agencies was confined to the U.S. economy, being its characteristic feature. As the Bretton Woods system collapsed and financial markets liberalized, the demand for services provided by rating agencies increased and their operations were gradually internationalized (table 1).

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<sup>8</sup> T.J. Sinclair, *The New Master of Capital. American Bond Rating Agencies and the Politics of Creditworthiness*, London 2005, pp. 22–27.

<sup>9</sup> T.J. Sinclair, *The New Master of Capital...*, p. 24.

<sup>10</sup> *Moody's Investors Service: Consistency, Reliability, Integrity*, New York, as cited in T.J. Sinclair, *The New Master of Capital...*, p. 7.

**Table 1. International branches of Moody's and Standard & Poor agencies**

REGION / OFFICE	MOODY'S INVESTOR SERVICE	STANDARD & POOR
<b><u>USA and Canada</u></b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Toronto</li> <li>• Boston</li> <li>• Chicago</li> <li>• Dallas</li> <li>• New York</li> <li>• San Francisco</li> <li>• Washington</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1994</li> <li>• 1993</li> <li>• 1909</li> <li>• 1989</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1993</li> <li>• 1994</li> <li>• 1994</li> <li>• 1996</li> <li>• 1941</li> <li>• 1989</li> <li>• 1994</li> </ul>
<b><u>Europe</u></b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• France</li> <li>• Germany</li> <li>• Italy</li> <li>• Spain</li> <li>• Ireland</li> <li>• Czech Republic</li> <li>• Sweden</li> <li>• United Kingdom</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1988</li> <li>• 1991</li> <li>• 1999</li> <li>• 1993</li> <li>• 2000</li> <li>• 2000</li> <li>• 1986</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1990</li> <li>• 1992</li> <li>• 1999</li> <li>• 1992</li> <li>• 1988</li> <li>• 1984</li> </ul>
<b><u>Other</u></b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Israel</li> <li>• Cyprus</li> <li>• Russia</li> <li>• RSA</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1995</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1998</li> <li>• 1998</li> <li>• 1997</li> </ul>
<b><u>Asia Pacific</u></b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• China</li> <li>• Australia</li> <li>• Hong – Kong</li> <li>• India</li> <li>• Indonesia</li> <li>• Japan</li> <li>• Philippines</li> <li>• Singapore</li> <li>• Korea</li> <li>• Taiwan</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2001</li> <li>• 1988</li> <li>• 1994</li> <li>• 1998</li> <li>• 1985</li> <li>• 1995</li> <li>• 1998</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1990</li> <li>• 1994</li> <li>• 1996</li> <li>• 1996</li> <li>• 1985</li> <li>• 1999</li> <li>• 1996</li> <li>• 1997</li> </ul>
<b><u>Latin America</u></b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Argentina</li> <li>• Brazil</li> <li>• Chile</li> <li>• Mexico</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1999</li> <li>• 1997</li> <li>• 1999</li> <li>• 2000</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1995</li> <li>• 1998</li> <li>• 1996</li> <li>• 1993</li> </ul>

Source: T.J. Sinclair, *The New Masters of Capital. American Bond Rating Agencies and the Politics of Creditworthiness*, London 2005, p. 28.

Rating agencies are presently an inseparable element of economic life on a global scale. They are concerned with assessing credit worthiness not only of corporations, but also of financial institutions, public utility companies and countries. Costs of evaluation are borne by investors, who receive information about the risk that a given loan involves.

The process of the evaluation of credit worthiness looks the same both for countries and enterprises. It involves gathering and processing information, and then making the results available. This information (both qualitative and quantitative) refers to the subject itself and its environment. It includes data concerning the relation between the subject's financial condition and the obligations resulting from debt service. What plays a significant role here is the time in which a borrower defaults on its payment, combined with its cash flow. Other information that a rating agency takes into account includes, among other things, financial forecasts for the following years (profit and loss account, balance sheet), a cost analysis, financial alternatives, a strategy and so called contingency plans. This information, which is secret, is complemented with widely available data. As part of the process of the assessment of credit worthiness agencies also use legal information, such as: a status of issued securities (type, size of offering) and their guarantees (potential pledge, protective clause). An important element of the process of evaluating credit risk is gathering and analysing data concerning the political and economic environment of the subject, such as the information about the market, competition, technological advancement, business legislation or labour market.<sup>11</sup>

On the basis of collected data, as a result of a complicated process of analysis,<sup>12</sup> the agency evaluates credit worthiness, which is formally described with a letter symbol, beginning with triple A, meaning the lowest degree of risk, and ending with D, meaning insolvency (table 2).

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<sup>11</sup> For more details see: T.J. Sinclair, *The New Masters of Capital...*, pp. 31–33.

<sup>12</sup> For more details see: D. Dziawgo, *Agencje credit-ratingu w procesie pozyskiwania kapitału na międzynarodowym rynku finansowym. Implementacja credit-ratingu w regulacjach ostrożnościowych dotyczących sektora bankowego*, [in:] *Nowa Umowa Kapitałowa Bazylejskiego Komitetu Nadzoru Bankowego – konsekwencje dla gospodarki i sektora bankowego w Polsce*, R. Wierzbą, M. Iwanicz-Drozdowska, B. Lepczyński (eds.), Gdańsk 2004, pp. 171–200.

**Table 2. Symbols and definitions of credit ratings**

GRADE	S&P SYMBOL	S&P DEFINITION	MOODY'S SYMBOL	MOODY'S DEFINITION
Investment	AAA	Extremely strong capacity to meet financial commitments. Highest rating.	Aaa	Obligations rated Aaa are judged to be of the highest quality, with minimal credit risk.
Investment	AA+ AA AA-	Very strong capacity to meet financial commitments.	Aa1 Aa2 Aa3	Obligations rated Aa are judged to be of high quality and are subject to very low credit risk.
Investment	A+ A A-	Strong capacity to meet financial commitments, but somewhat susceptible to adverse economic conditions and changes in circumstances.	A1 A2 A3	Obligations rated A are considered upper-medium grade and are subject to low credit risk.
Investment	BBB+ BBB BBB-	Adequate capacity to meet financial commitments, but more subject to adverse economic conditions. 'BBB-' – considered lowest investment grade by market participants	Baa1 Baa2 Baa3	Obligations rated Baa are subject to moderate credit risk. They are considered medium-grade and as such may possess certain speculative characteristics.
Non-investment	BB+ BB BB-	'BB+' – considered highest speculative grade by market participants. 'BB' – Less vulnerable in the near-term but faces major on-going uncertainties to adverse business, financial and economic conditions	Ba1 Ba2 Ba3	Obligations rated Ba are judged to have speculative elements and are subject to substantial credit risk.
Non-investment	B+ B B-	More vulnerable to adverse business, financial and economic conditions but currently has the capacity to meet financial commitments.	B1 B2 B3	Obligations rated B are considered speculative and are subject to high credit risk.
Non-investment	CCC+ CCC CCC-	Currently vulnerable and dependent on favourable business, financial and economic conditions to meet financial commitments.	Caa	Obligations rated Caa are judged to be of poor standing and are subject to very high credit risk.

GRADE	S&P SYMBOL	S&P DEFINITION	MOODY'S SYMBOL	MOODY'S DEFINITION
Non-investment	CC	Currently highly vulnerable	Ca	Obligations rated Ca are highly speculative and are likely in, or very near, default, with some prospect of recovery of principal and interest.
	C	A bankruptcy petition has been filed or similar action taken, but payments of financial commitments are continued	C	Obligations rated C are the lowest rated class of bonds and are typically in default, with little prospect for recovery of principal or interest.
	D	Payments default on financial commitments		

*Source:* T.J. Sinclair, *The New Masters of Capital. American Bond Rating Agencies and the Politics of Creditworthiness*, London 2005, pp. 36–39.

The area of activity of rating agencies is also connected with their regulatory function. It has an unintentional character and is in fact the consequence of their commercial operations. Agencies, as profit-oriented entities, do not include an element of coercion – e.g. they do not establish legal rules which are binding for borrowers.<sup>13</sup> Two phenomena are fundamental to the current state of affairs. Firstly, broadening the scope of operations of rating agencies, combined with the increase in demand for their services and common trust to the objectivity and reliability of assessments made by them. Secondly, the increased level of transactional risk associated with the globalization of financial markets as there is an increasing number of transactions and participants of the market game. These two phenomena cause that agencies are beginning to play a central role in organizing financial markets, thanks to which they may significantly influence the behavior of their participants.

The literature on the subject indicates three dimensions of the regulatory activity of rating agencies:

- 1) knowledge dissemination;
- 2) standard setting;

<sup>13</sup> For more details see: D. Kerwer, *Holding Global Regulators Accountable: The Case of Credit Rating Agencies*, "Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions" 2005, vol. 18, no. 3, p. 455.



- 3) using *rating* in financial regulations at the country level and on the international ground.<sup>14</sup>

Knowledge dissemination is the most characteristic form of the regulatory activity of agencies. It mainly stems from the role of *rating* itself. Opinions about credit worthiness given by agencies unintentionally become a factor which reduces the element of uncertainty dominating in financial markets and clears the information clutter. The knowledge made available by rating agencies is relevant from the point of view of investment decisions. As the number of transactions and market participants has considerably grown, the evaluations made by rating agencies become an important guideline for investors bombarded with excessive information. In this way this knowledge significantly influences financial markets and the behavior of their participants.

The role of rating agencies in disseminating knowledge may also be viewed in the context of the functioning of the so-called “epistemological communities.” T.J. Sinclair noted that by defining epistemological communities as “networks of knowledge-based experts” we also indicate their competences concerning knowledge dissemination.<sup>15</sup> It means that through dealing with gathering and processing some types of knowledge, rating agencies become experts in the field of their activity. As they control knowledge they have access to, they gain a significant advantage over other market players. As a result, they also have the right to create their own image as entities offering the only reliable expert knowledge. The fact that other market players acknowledge the professionalism and expertise of rating agencies in the area of their operations results in the growing number of entities that are interested in the knowledge they offer, which, consequently, leads to its spreading.

Another dimension of the regulatory function of rating agencies is standard setting. Agencies define rating as models of operation which are conducive to obtaining the highest grade. Thus, they establish specific operational standards, the accomplishment of which may result in raising rating of debt securities, which in

<sup>14</sup> T.J. Sinclair, *The New Masters of Capital. American Bond Rating Agencies and the Politics of Creditworthiness*, London 2005; D. Kerwer, *Holding Global Regulators Accountable: The Case of Credit Rating Agencies*, “Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions” 2005, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 453–75; idem, *Governing Financial Markets by International Standards*, [in:] *New Modes of Governance in the Global System*, M. Koenig-Archibugi, M. Zürn (eds.), London–New York 2006, pp. 77–100; idem, *Standardising as Governance: The Case of Credit Ratings Agencies*, [http://www.coll.mpg.de/pdf\\_dat/001\\_3.pdf](http://www.coll.mpg.de/pdf_dat/001_3.pdf).

<sup>15</sup> T.J. Sinclair, *The New Masters of Capital...*, p. 14.

turn will lead to the increase of its investment attractiveness.<sup>16</sup> They do it by issuing criteria, according to which they estimate a level of risk. These criteria include two major kinds of information. First, they indicate the value of a loan; secondly, they show how to increase this value (if there is a need). This is particularly important because low rating significantly increases the costs of loans taken out both by states and enterprises, and raises a level of risk involved in financial transactions.

In this context, the standardization activity of rating agencies is mostly defined as establishing certain rules, the purpose of which is to promote specific “organizational procedures and structures.”<sup>17</sup> What is important, the dissemination of these standards does not involve any coercion. As it was mentioned before, agencies, as private institutions of a commercial character, do not have this attribute. However, the freedom and expert character of their activity, combined with the invariability of the criteria they use for rating and the tendency of the participants of market transactions to optimize their decisions and minimize risk, are all conducive to their universalization. In other words, standards developed by agencies become widespread as it brings benefit to all subjects using their opinions. It should also be emphasized here that in this way agencies gain significant control over the participants of market transactions and influence the functioning of the market, including cash flow channels.

The regulatory character of the activity of rating agencies is also reflected in the fact that rating is has become part of financial regulations at the country level and on the international ground. This practice particularly concerns the obligation of financial institutions, including banks, to obtain the opinion of an independent rating agency. This opinion describes the real financial condition of an institution and its ability to repay its debts, which is important in the context of its involvement in financial markets and undertaking investment activities.<sup>18</sup> This dimension

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<sup>16</sup> T.J. Sinclair, *The New Masters of Capital. American Bond Rating Agencies and the Politics of Creditworthiness*, London 2005; D. Kerwer, *Holding Global Regulators Accountable: The Case of Credit Rating Agencies*, “Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions” 2005, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 453–475; idem, *Governing Financial Markets by International Standards*, [in:] *New Modes of Governance in the Global System*, M. Koenig-Archibugi, M. Zürn (eds.), London–New York 2006, pp. 77–100; idem, *Standardising as Governance: The Case of Credit Ratings Agencies*, [http://www.coll.mpg.de/pdf\\_dat/001\\_3.pdf](http://www.coll.mpg.de/pdf_dat/001_3.pdf).

<sup>17</sup> D. Kerwer, *Standardising as Governance: The Case of Credit Ratings Agencies*, [http://www.coll.mpg.de/pdf\\_dat/001\\_3.pdf](http://www.coll.mpg.de/pdf_dat/001_3.pdf), p. 8.

<sup>18</sup> T.J. Sinclair, *The New Masters of Capital...*, pp. 42–49; L.J. White, *The Credit Rating Industry: An Industrial Organization Analysis*, [in:] *Ratings, Rating Agencies and the Global Financial System*, R.M. Levich, G. Majnoni, C.N. Reinhart (eds.), New York 2002, pp. 41–63.

of the regulatory function of rating agencies also refers to laws which oblige investment funds to avoid investing in low-rated debt securities (speculative), which particularly concerns pension funds. The aim of such efforts is to reduce the number of those funds' risky investments, which, in the worst scenario, could even lead to the loss of money entrusted to them. Rating has become part of international financial regulations, which is reflected in the New Capital Accord issued by the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision – so called Basel II – the purpose of which was to formulate an international standard used when creating regulations about how much capital banks need to put aside to guard against the types of financial and operational risks they face.<sup>19</sup> It should be pointed out that the requirement of a positive rating grade included in financial regulations both at the country level and on the international ground is meant to stabilize financial markets and reduce the negative behaviour of market players.<sup>20</sup>

## **2. THE GLOBALIZATION OF FINANCIAL MARKETS – THE ESSENCE OF THE PHENOMENON**

In order to recognize the role and importance of rating agencies, we need to understand the essence of the phenomenon which made them so important in modern financial transactions. It must be noted that the globalization of financial markets led to the increased interest in the area of activity of rating agencies. As a result, they have become subjects in the field of managing problems associated with the globalization of financial markets. Thus, it is necessary to present the essence of this process as well as to identify the main problems it entails.

There is no doubt that the globalization of financial markets is one of the most evident paths of globalization processes occurring in the contemporary world. The fact that financial markets are interconnected is obvious not only to investors, especially when the major stock markets collapse, but also to specific countries, for

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<sup>19</sup> S. Emmenegger, *The Basel Committee on Banking Supervision – a secretive club of giants?*, [in:] *The Regulation of International Financial Markets. Perspectives for Reform*, R. Grote, T. Marauhn (eds.), Cambridge 2006, pp. 224–236; M.R. King, T. J. Sinclair, *Private Actors and Public Policy: A Requiem for the New Basel Capital Accord*, "International Political Science Review" 2003, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 345–362.

<sup>20</sup> For more details see: L. Oręziak, *Globalizacja rynków finansowych*, [in:] *Globalizacja od A do Z*, E. Czarny (ed.), Warszawa 2004, p. 163.

instance in the context of unfavourable data concerning their economic condition, which usually directly translates into negative reactions of financial markets.

This phenomenon dates back to the 1970s.<sup>21</sup> It was the time when the deregulation of financial markets, after abandoning the Bretton Woods system of monetary management, originated the new quality of their functioning. Giving up the key principles of the system, especially the rules of exchange rate determination, was a catalyst of deep changes, both in the internal policy of countries, as regards eliminating barriers to capital flow, and with respect to the possibility of performing financial operations at a global scale.<sup>22</sup> Those phenomena were enhanced by unprecedented technological development, especially from the beginning of the 1990s, as a result of which a flow of capital became more efficient. Thanks to the advancement of telecommunications or information technology, a lot of new instruments appeared, some of which were completely unconnected with real trade transactions.<sup>23</sup>

The creeping abolition of barriers and control in international capital flows, combined with the privatization of risk involved in global financial transactions and the deregulation of financial markets, meant a qualitative change in their functioning. Financial markets became more interconnected and integrated. Having no barriers and control, capital could flow freely from one place to another. In the face of the fact that states withdrew from the regulatory function with regard to financial markets or were unable to exercise it, it was market mechanisms that started to fulfil the function of a regulator. It corresponded with the economic philosophy of the time, stemming from the classical ideas of liberalism, according to which the privatization of risk is an element of the market game and brings benefits to its participants.<sup>24</sup>

The lack of barriers to capital flows has significantly increased their mobility on a global scale. However, a real breakthrough in the functioning of financial markets

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<sup>21</sup> L. Oręziak distinguishes four conditions ("driving forces") of the process of the globalization of financial markets: the globalization of national economies, the liberalization of financial markets, increasingly tough competition among financial institutions and technological advancement in information technology and telecommunications, L. Oręziak, *Globalizacja rynków finansowych...*, pp. 153–162.

<sup>22</sup> See: K. Marzęda, *Proces globalizacji korporacyjnej*, Warszawa–Bydgoszcz–Lublin 2007, pp. 135–136.

<sup>23</sup> For more details see: A. Sopoćko, *Rynkowe instrumenty finansowe*, Warszawa 2005.

<sup>24</sup> See: M. Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom*, Chicago 1962; idem, *Tyranny of the Status Quo*, New York 1985; F.A. Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*, Chicago 1944; idem, *The Constitution of Liberty*, Chicago 1960; J. Gray, *Liberalism*, Minneapolis 1986.

came with the progress of science and technology. The information revolution, which started in the 1990s, led to deep changes in the functioning of financial markets, providing new opportunities for their participants. However, it was not the only qualitative change which occurred in the field of finance under globalization processes. Having a lot of leeway at a global scale, participants of financial transactions gained double benefit. Firstly, owing to great mobility they became “immune” to any negative, in their opinion, deregulatory decisions of countries. Secondly, they gained significant influence on the shape of national economic policies, because even if state governments considered themselves to be independent in the implementation of their own economic policies, they made decisions and undertook actions which would be well-received by foreign investors.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, the process of the globalization of financial markets has considerably undermined the effectiveness of traditional tools of economic policy used by countries, such as interest rates, the size of budget expenses or taxes. The new model of international financial markets not only reduced the state’s real influence on its own economic policy, including inflow and outflow of capital, but also increased the risk of a financial crisis (capital outflow) as a result of unpredictable, often hysteric behaviour of the participants of the financial market.<sup>26</sup>

Under the new circumstances in financial markets the level of risk associated with financial transactions has also changed. On the one hand, the globalization of financial markets provided new opportunities for raising and accumulating capital to their participants, including countries. On the other hand, it also increased the risk involved. Two factors are responsible for this state of affairs.

Firstly, the privatization of risk resulting from the deregulation of financial markets and the minimization of control and supervision over capital flows and market players’ behaviour. Secondly, information asymmetry, connected with the qualitative and quantitative evolution of the subjective structure of international financial transactions and the new role of traditional actors, such as banks. In the face of the creeping integration of financial markets, supported by technological progress, financial transactions have acquired a new character as they often linked subjects which are thousands of kilometres apart and have no adequate knowledge about each other. This qualitative change led to the escalation of information asymmetry, which resulted in the increased uncertainty among market players.

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<sup>25</sup> K. Marzęda, *Proces globalizacji korporacyjnej...*, pp. 197–202.

<sup>26</sup> See: K. Marzęda, *Międzynarodowe problemy gospodarcze*, [in:] *Międzynarodowe stosunki polityczne*, M. Pietraś (ed.), Lublin 2006, pp. 481–489.

Another consequence of the globalization of financial markets is the evolution of the subjective structure of financial markets. Not only did globalization-related changes reduce the role of banks as traditional financial intermediaries, thus increasing their involvement in the investment field, but they also significantly increased the importance of institutional investors (insurance companies, investment funds, pension funds) in the international financial markets and enhanced the role of public offering as a means of raising capital by enterprises<sup>27</sup>

While these changes were originally positively received, especially in the context of the global growth of capital flows,<sup>28</sup> an increase in the mobility of short-term capital, often of a speculative character (as L. Oręziak pointed out, aiming at profit maximization, many investors are willing to invest in some highly risky markets<sup>29</sup>), combined with the lack of effective mechanisms of scrutiny over the activities of the participants of the financial market, started to be viewed as a threat to its stability. Two events revealed how serious this threat is. Firstly, a number of financial crises affecting the world economy in the 1990s; secondly, a series of scandals ended with bankruptcies of large multinational corporations, operating in financial markets, a disgraceful example of which was the case of Enron.

The above-mentioned qualitative changes, which incidentally may positively and negatively affect the functioning of financial markets, in the face of a threat of their destabilization resulting from a series of financial crises, gave rise to the increase of interest in the activity of rating agencies. Not only did they acquire a status of an intermediary in financial transactions, but they also revealed their potential in the field of managing problems associated with the functioning of financial markets.

## **THE MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE OF GLOBALIZED FINANCIAL MARKETS– THE ROLE OF RATING AGENCIES**

More and more evident threats to the stability of the international system provoked a debate on effective mechanisms of managing the problem of globalized financial markets. The experience of the monetary crises of the 1990s showed the

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<sup>27</sup> L. Oręziak, *Globalizacja rynków finansowych...*, p. 159.

<sup>28</sup> For more details see: R. Kozul-Wright, P. Rayment, *Globalization Reloaded: An UNCTAD Perspective*, "UNCTAD Discussion Paper" 2004, no. 167, pp. 18–22.

<sup>29</sup> L. Oręziak, *Globalizacja rynków finansowych...*, p. 160.

ineffectiveness of the previous solutions, based mostly on the mechanisms existing within the framework of the International Monetary Fund. It became apparent that a new formula must be developed in order to ensure the real cooperation and coordination of actions of all actors influencing the functioning of international financial markets, including rating agencies. This formula would also take into consideration the characteristics of problems occurring at the financial level in the conditions of globalization.

The intensification of research on the mechanisms of managing problems created by globalization is connected with the fiasco of the IMF's efforts to fight the financial crises of the late 1990s. The inefficiency of the IMF as the key pillar of the global financial architecture, contrasted with new challenges posed by globalization processes, drew attention to the need for seeking new solutions, which would be more effective and adapted to the new reality. The central theme of this debate was the issue of the new financial architecture.

First proposals concerned deep reform of established institutions, such as the IMF.<sup>30</sup> It was indicated that the Fund was not properly prepared for crisis situations, it had no specific strategies and its actions were of a reactive character. It did not monitor crisis-prone situations, either, so it did not have an "early warning system." While the IMF's regulatory potential was appreciated, it was pointed out that this institution has no relevant attributes, which are indispensable for effective action, i.e. it is not able to intervene in time (to step in and solve problems before they become a serious crisis)), and for enforcing the fulfilment of its own recommendations or decisions.<sup>31</sup> That is why the demands for the reform of the IMF were accompanied by opinions which indicated the need for establishing some completely new institutions equipped with "super" competences regarding the stabilization of international financial markets. These proposals included: a demand that the World Financial Authority<sup>32</sup> and the World Central Bank<sup>33</sup> be established and a proposal to develop the so-called International Bankruptcy Procedures.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> See: K. Marzęda, *Międzynarodowe problem gospodarcze...*, pp. 481–489.

<sup>31</sup> D. Nayyar, *The Existing System and the Missing Institutions*, [w:] *Governing Globalization. Issues and Institutions*, D. Nyar (ed.), Oxford 2002, p. 70.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>33</sup> J. Smithin, B.M. Wolf, *A World Central Bank?*, [in:] *Global Instability. The Political Economy of World Economic Governance*, J. Michie, J. Grieve Smith (eds.), London–New York 1999, pp. 212–226.

<sup>34</sup> M.S. Kumar, M. Miller, *Bail-outs, bail-ins and bankruptcy: evolution of the new architecture*, [in:] *International Financial Governance under Stress*, G.R.D. Underhill, X. Zhang (eds.), Cambridge, 2003, pp. 343–359.



The new institutional architecture was also supported by a proposal to reform the principles of financial systems both at a country and international level. The reform consisted of five steps:

- firstly, to establish mechanisms facilitating supervision over the macroeconomic policy of states, which would help to coordinate global efforts in case of a crisis;
- secondly, to develop “emergency” finance mechanisms for countries, which would avert the risk of the depletion of currency reserves;
- thirdly, to adopt the standstill principle during a crisis in order to prevent the outflow of capital from the country in recession;
- fourthly, to allow countries latitude in choosing the principles of monetary policy and the scope of the liberalization of the capital market;
- fifthly, to strengthen the institutional framework of the financial market by spreading the principles of corporate governance and standards concerning regulation, supervision and accounting.<sup>35</sup>

The debate on new international environment governance models under globalization processes is an important part of the discussion about the effective management of global financial markets.<sup>36</sup> The idea of Global Governance, which aroused interest of many international circles in the 1990s, should be mentioned here.

This model involved the establishment of an additional platform for international decision-making among national governments, international organizations and representatives of the so-called civil society, thus undermining the priority role of state-based structures of international governance. However, this model was significantly limited by the lack of reference to internal processes in countries themselves, including the processes which concern the dispersal of power and competences of national governments, both upwards – to supranational organizations, and downwards – to the subnational level. In this situation the alternative to global governance was the multi-level governance model, which takes into account not only the number of management levels, but also a multitude of actors and institutions acting simultaneously through different levels of governance.

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<sup>35</sup> D. Nayyar, *The Existing System and the Missing...*, pp. 369–370.

<sup>36</sup> K. Marzęda, *Zarządzanie wielopoziomowe jako mechanizm funkcjonowania późnowestfalskiego ładu międzynarodowego*, [in:] *Późnowestfalski ład międzynarodowy*, M. Pietraś, K. Marzęda (eds.), Lublin 2008, pp. 272–280.



It should be noted that the multi-level governance model has been actually developed in the margin of the above-mentioned debates. As under the pressure of globalization, financial markets function in a characteristic way, it has become very difficult to establish a universal, “new financial architecture.” All the more so because this “architecture” should take into consideration the requirements which might be referred to as “market axiom.” These axioms, which are connected with the new quality of the functioning of financial markets under globalization processes, include:

1. making a market more efficient rather than creating barriers to its development;
2. giving priority to self-regulating activity;
3. freedom and utilitarianism (profitability);
4. cooperation between subjects at different levels of management;
5. maintaining and promoting the policy of financial market liberalization and defending its achievements.

In the European context, the multi-level governance model was mainly used for explaining the evolution and specific nature of a decision-making process,<sup>37</sup> whereas with respect to the globalization of financial markets it focuses on institutions (actors) which make efforts to fight its negative effects. It stems from the characteristics of the issue under analysis. What plays the key role here is the relations between market participants and the subjects involved in regulatory activity, which are determined through balancing interests of all sides involved. Therefore, the multi-level governance is a kind of a game played by actors representing different, autonomous levels of management. In this game, it is those actors who specify links connecting different layers of governance, coordinate the management process through penetrating all its levels and indicate the need for undertaking specific political actions.<sup>38</sup>

Not only does the multi-level governance model involve the dispersal of decision capabilities (competence) among various actors at different decision levels, but it also puts emphasis on the overlapping of competences at various layers, implying that in relations between actors representing different management levels the representatives of national governments play an important, but not a dominant

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<sup>37</sup> For more details see: N. Bernard, *Multilevel Governance in the European Union*, The Hague–London–New York 2002.

<sup>38</sup> G. Peters, J. Pierre, *Multi-level Governance and Democracy: A Faustian Bargain?*, [in:] *Multilevel Governance*, I. Bache, M. Flinders (eds.), Oxford 2004, pp. 77–78.

role. It also assumes that state authorities are not the only link between the national and supranational level. As far as the subject of our analysis is concerned, in case of managing problems connected with the globalization of financial markets we can distinguish the level of the participants of market transactions, the level of countries and the level of intergovernmental and non-government organizations. However, the activity of these subjects is not assigned to a single layer of governance. The activity of countries is not confined to the national level, but it also concerns the regional or supranational level, just like the activity of market participants or intergovernmental and non-government organizations.

Another important element of the multi-level governance model is the activity of private participants of market transactions. Their regulatory activities, which are conducive to the stabilization of financial markets, reflects the key principle of this model. As they enter specific management levels, they complement actions undertaken by other players without undermining the principles of market functioning. This is the role which rating agencies actually play. As private actors, they are participants of market transactions and regulators at the same time. This gives them an enormous advantage in the conditions of globalized financial markets, when the regulatory initiatives of countries encounter resistance or reluctance of other participants of market transactions. All the more so because the assumption that the regulation of such important spheres as the functioning of financial markets by definition falls within the competence of public actors (countries, international institutions) has become highly controversial under the pressure of globalization.

The practice of recent years indicates that the participation of private actors in regulation process, especially by delegating specific competences sanctioned in the national or international legislation, appears to be a lot more effective than initiatives launched by public participants. In the case of rating agencies it was the U.S. legislation of 1975 that was of the key importance in this respect. It introduced preferential treatment (the exemption from the requirement to have a specified reserve capital) of debtors whose securities have obtained an investment grade as estimated by at least two "nationally recognised statistical rating organizations."<sup>39</sup> The implementation of this law significantly influenced the scope of activity of agencies and changed the attitude of other participants of market transactions towards them. Rating became the indispensable element of investment activity as well as a channel for the dissemination of knowledge and standards determining

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<sup>39</sup> M.R. King, T.J. Sinclair, *Private Actors and Public Policy: A Requiem for the New Basel Capital Accord*, "International Political Science Review" 2003, vol. 24, no. 3, p. 347.

the behaviour of market players. In this way agencies grew in importance as private regulatory institutions. Their operations entered the area originally reserved for national states, which benefited both the market (its participants) and countries (which, in the conditions of globalized financial markets, put increasingly difficult governance tasks into the scope of self-regulating activity).

The role of rating agencies in managing problems connected with the globalization of financial markets increased again after the New Capital Accord (so-called Basel II) issued by the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision came into force.<sup>40</sup> This agreement was a response to threats connected with the evolution of the traditional role of banks, which consisted in the reduction of their role as intermediaries in raising capital and their increased involvement in the international investment activity. This growth, however, did not correspond with an increase in efficiency of national institutions of banking supervision. This contrast in the functioning of financial markets and state institutions, whose task was to supervise banking operations, led to issuing the above-mentioned New Capital Accord.

From the point of view of rating agencies the key provision of the New Capital Accord concerns the fact that rating was recognized as an instrument of reducing the risk resulting from the international involvement of banks. Entering it in the Accord means a new approach to managing problems associated with the globalization of financial markets. Although it is (in a technical sense) only a “soft” international financial law, when adapted to national legal systems, the provisions of the Basel Committee become a “hard”, commonly binding law.

Thanks to the New Capital Accord the activity of agencies enters the national level, affecting the functioning of the internal capital market. It means that, in accordance with the premises of Basel II, agencies are no longer investment counselling companies, but become an important element of the process of managing international financial markets. As Danuta Dziawgo points out, bearing no responsibility for the evaluations they produce, the proposed solutions result in the significant reinforcement of the influence of agencies on the financial market.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> The Committee is composed of the representatives of the central banks of G10 countries. The committee's decisions are not binding for the central banks of the Group of Ten and other countries, but because of the specific nature of the issues the Committee's regulations concern, they are commonly respected.

<sup>41</sup> D. Dziawgo, *Agencje credit-ratingu w procesie pozyskiwania kapitału na międzynarodowym rynku finansowym...*, p. 193.

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To conclude, it must be emphasized that rating agencies have become an important element of the process of managing problems associated with the globalization of financial markets. The characteristics of their activity and regulatory functions also indicate the direction in which new ways of coping with challenges posed by globalization are sought. The dissemination of knowledge, setting standards or making rating part of regulations at the national and international level is clear confirmation of the new approach to the issue of managing problems of new quality and dynamics – the so-called hybrid regulation. Although it is difficult to unambiguously evaluate the activity of rating agencies,<sup>42</sup> there is no doubt that the enlargement of the area of regulatory initiatives by new actors and new forms, such as, for example, self-regulating activity, significantly increase the flexibility of the international system and its adaptation to new challenges. This, in turn, will lead to the development of a new model of managing problems associated with globalization processes – the multi-level governance model.

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<sup>42</sup> Many authors are critical of the effects of making rating agencies part of the processes of managing international financial markets. The role of agencies in minimising investment risk specified in the provisions of the New Capital Accord is especially criticised; see: D. Dziawgo, *Agencje credit-ratingu w procesie pozyskiwania kapitału na międzynarodowym rynku finansowym*, pp. 171–200; M.R. King, T.J. Sinclair, *Private Actors and Public Policy: A Requiem for the New Basel Capital Accord...*, pp. 345–362.

*Grażyna Strnad*

## **CONTEMPLATING JAPANESE AND KOREAN RELATIONS IN HISTORICAL, REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORETICAL CONTEXT**

### **ABSTRACT**

This paper focuses on relations between Japan and the two Koreas, the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Relations between Japan and the two Koreas can be simultaneously examined in three related contexts: the history of the national entities which is still subject to divergent interpretations, the post-Cold War East Asian security environment, and international relations (IR) theory, particularly the contrasts between neorealism, neoliberalism and neoclassical realism. In addition to traditional relations, the Japanese occupation of Korea (1910–1945) still serves as a relevant area of sensitivity between all three nations. The post-Cold War East Asian security environment is a complex mixture of vestiges of the Cold War and new regional paradigms and shifts of power, particularly against the backdrop of competing big-power interests converging on the region. Both the relations between these three nations and as well as the regional concerns of other state-actors have often been focused in recent years by North Korea's developing nuclear weapons and missile technologies. Japanese-Korean relations present a contentious subject for IR scholars to debate the respective merits of various theoretical approaches. It is the opinion of the author that on balance, at least for the time being, neoclassical realism is a better lens through which to view these relations.

**Keywords:** Japan, Korea, international relations, regional security

**THE JAPANESE-KOREAN RELATIONS** are a subject of fascination to many scholars. The two nations share a lot in culture and history, some of it tragic and full of conflict. Both the Japanese and Koreans recognize that both nations are a part of the East Asian civilization and that Korea served as an important bridge for transmitting higher forms of the Chinese civilization in the distant past. Koreans, for their part, in addition to being aware of the cultural connections, are often more conscious of Japan's negative impact on Korean history, because of such events as the invasion by Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1592–1598) or the Japanese Occupation of Korea (1910–1945). This last period, during which the Japanese colonial government attempted to eradicate the Korean identity, still brings painful memories to contemporary Koreans.<sup>1</sup>

In the period following World War II, Japan and the Republic of Korea (ROK) became a part of the United States' defense against communism in East Asia, an extension of the American Cold War strategic thinking. The Korean War was a symbol of the global ideological conflict, starting as a division between rival political interests, and evolving into a civil war which became a conflict involving the United States, China, the Soviet Union, and many other nations. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) became part of the communist bloc, following a path of socialist development with both the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) and China as its primary supporters. Throughout most of the last half of the twentieth century, history and the reality of the Cold War in the East Asian region both strongly defined relations between Japan and both the ROK and the DPRK. In the post-Cold War, history still seems to be an important factor in the Japanese-Korean relations. Remnants of the Cold War are at the core of the two competing nation-states on the Korean Peninsula.

In the post-Cold War era, however, there have been changes in the global balance of power: The decline in power of the United States; the emergence of the BRIC nations, Brazil, Russia, India and China; and the increasing importance or the influence of the G20. The influence of transnational corporations, as well as global communications have contributed to a growing sense of multipolarity left in the power vacuum of the post-Cold War. In the region of East Asia, the increasing wealth of both China and Russia has altered the scene: China, with its obvious ascending economic power and manifesting the desire to be recognized as a power, continues to expand its influence with both regional and global implications; and

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<sup>1</sup> B. Bridges, *Japan and Korea in the 1990s, From Antagonism to Adjustment*, Hants, England, and Brookfield 1993, pp. 1–5.

Russia, fed by oil and gas revenues and resurgent and assertive nationalism, expanding its influence. The United States is still a significant force, and the ROK and Japan are part of America's Pacific alliance. The DPRK continues to struggle, between the retention of power by the regime and the need for adaptation to an increasingly interconnected global economy.

In the light of these changes, international relations (IR) students might ponder which approach is most relevant to the relations between Japan and two Koreas, as well as the region. Neo-realism and neo-liberalism is a central theoretical IR debate axis,<sup>2</sup> among academics, diplomats, political economists, military officials, as well as other IR observers and practitioners.<sup>3</sup> In the last decade, however, neo-classical realism, an approach which emphasizes analysis of foreign policy calculations through complex and indirect intervening variables such as decision-makers' perceptions and state structures, has increasingly become regarded as a compelling alternative.<sup>4</sup>

## HISTORY BETWEEN JAPAN AND KOREA IN GENERAL

The history between Japan and Korea is full of controversy. Such problems are still the subject of debate among scholars and the source of friction among the citizens of the three nations, Japan, the ROK and the DPRK. The conflict between Japan and Korea is not a modern phenomenon.<sup>5</sup> The traditional history of the Japanese and Korean relations has numerous controversies, such as: the nature of the linguistic relationship between the Japanese and Korean languages; the possible role of the "horse riders" of the Puyŏ nation from the Korean Peninsula being

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<sup>2</sup> For a clear encapsulation of the neo-realist versus neo-liberal debate, see Andrew Jones, *Comparatively Assess Neo-realism and Neo-liberalism. Whose Argument Do You Find More Convincing and Why?*, "E-International Relations" 21.12.2007, <http://www.e-ir.info/?p=147jLJames>, accessed 8.03.2011.

<sup>3</sup> E. Haliżak, *Regionalny kompleks bezpieczeństwa Azji Północno-Wschodniej*, issue 3, Warszawa 2004, pp. 129–136.

<sup>4</sup> For a well-written overview of the theory, see Gideon Rose, *Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy*, "World Politics" 1998, vol. 51, no. 1, pp. 144–172.

<sup>5</sup> Yangmo Ku, *South Korean Democratization and Japan – South Korea Relations*, paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, San Diego, CA, 23–25 March 2006, pp. 4–5, [http://www.allacademic.com//meta/p\\_mla\\_apa\\_research\\_citation/0/9/9/7/0/pages99707/p99707-1.php](http://www.allacademic.com//meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/0/9/9/7/0/pages99707/p99707-1.php), accessed 9.03.2011.

a founding element of the Japanese imperial family,<sup>6</sup> the debate over the Korean territory of *Mimana* in Japanese, *Imna* in Korean, which some Japanese claim that early Japan conquered, while Koreans reject this notion;<sup>7</sup> and finally, the Toyotomi Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea (1592–1598), which caused much destruction to the Korean economy.<sup>8</sup>

It is the history between the two nations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, which especially gives the Japanese-Korean relations the feeling of antagonism. Koreans often point to the Japanese imperialism of the nineteenth century in which Japan employed its own variant of gunboat diplomacy to force Korea to sign a modern treaty with Japan in 1876,<sup>9</sup> and later the Japanese murder of Queen Min (Empress Myōngsōng) in 1895. Korea's occupation by Japan (1910–1945) included the economic exploitation of Korea in a myriad of ways, such as Korea being a source of rice for the growing Japanese domestic demand, and as a source of labor as demonstrated by the forced mobilization of Koreans to work in a variety of wartime activities, which included factories and mines in Japan.<sup>10</sup> Part of this mobilization included young Korean women, so-called “comfort women,” mobilized to serve in Japanese military brothels from 1942 to 1945.<sup>11</sup> Since the end of World War II, the Japanese Occupation has been used, both by Seoul and Pyōngyang, as a focal point for nationalism, while Japan has played down the period, attempting to stress the need for economic cooperation, especially with the ROK. Since the 1950s, the primary Japanese-Korean controversies have included the following: the territorial ownership of a few rocky islands between the Korean Peninsula and Japan (*Tok-do* in Korean, and *Take-shima* in Japanese); the occasional visits by Japanese politicians to Yasukuni Shrine where some 2.5 million Japanese war dead are honored, including war criminals, and indeed most controversially, 14 Class-A war criminals whose *kami*, or spirits, have been enshrined there since 1978; the revision of Japanese history textbooks deflecting

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<sup>6</sup> Jon E.H.C. Covell and A.C. Covell, *Korean Impact on Japanese Culture: Japan's Hidden History*, Seoul 1986, pp. 12–41.

<sup>7</sup> J.P. Rurarz, *Historia Korei*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 88–91.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 250–260.

<sup>9</sup> Woo-kuen Han, *History of Korea*, Honolulu 1971, pp. 372–375.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 429–431.

<sup>11</sup> Northeast Asia History Foundation, *Korean-Japan Relations, Contemporary Times*, [http://english.historyfoundation.or.kr/?sub\\_num=36](http://english.historyfoundation.or.kr/?sub_num=36), accessed 8.03.2011, and *History Controversy*, [http://english.historyfoundation.or.kr/?sub\\_num=116](http://english.historyfoundation.or.kr/?sub_num=116), accessed 8.03.2011.



the past of colonial imperialism in Korea<sup>12</sup>; the North Korean abduction of Japanese citizens; the North Korean military provocations; and the discrimination of some half a million *Zainichi*<sup>13</sup> Koreans residing in Japan.

## RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE ROK

The United States San Francisco Peace Treaty with Japan came into effect on April 18, 1952. Japan thus automatically recognized retroactively the existence and independence of the ROK. Syngman Rhee visited Japan three times as a guest of the United States military, in October 1948, February 1950 and in January 1953. The negotiations between the ROK and Japan throughout the 1950s were sometimes acrimonious affairs. Americans provided the impetus for normalization of relations.<sup>14</sup> The Syngman Rhee government (1948–1960) followed a largely anti-Japanese approach while being part of the anti-Communist American security fortress with Japan in East Asia. In 1962, both the ROK and Japan determined to settle the property claims of Korea through high-level negotiations. The Kim-Ohira Memorandum set the guidelines for the settlement: \$300 million for property claims, \$200 million in government-to-government credits to the ROK government, \$100 million in commercial credits, and grants and credits payable in Japanese products and services.<sup>15</sup> The Park Chung Hee government (1961–1979), however, normalized relations with Japan in 1965, with the encouragement of the US, and the willingness of the Prime Minister Sato Eisaku. The relationship better integrated the ROK into the dynamics of global capitalism, as the ROK imported intermediary goods from Japan for export. This, coupled with financial support from the United States as part of South Korean support to the Americans in the Vietnam War, contributed to the rapid growth of the ROK economy. Japanese

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<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, *History Controversy*, [http://english.historyfoundation.or.kr/?sub\\_num=48](http://english.historyfoundation.or.kr/?sub_num=48), [http://english.historyfoundation.or.kr/?sub\\_num=49](http://english.historyfoundation.or.kr/?sub_num=49), and [http://english.historyfoundation.or.kr/?sub\\_num=50](http://english.historyfoundation.or.kr/?sub_num=50), accessed 10.03.2011.

<sup>13</sup> The term *Zainichi* in Japanese means “residing or being in Japan; by itself, *Zainichi* can mean Koreans as they are the largest non-Japanese minority in Japan. Further distinctions can include *Zainichi chōsenjin* (Koreans living in Japan with a DPRK affiliation, or *Zainichi kankogujin* (Koreans living in Japan with a ROK affiliation).

<sup>14</sup> Kwan Bong Kim, *Korea-Japan Treaty Crisis*, New York 1971, pp. 42–45.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, p. 59.

Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro visited the ROK in 1983; ROK President Chun Doo Hwan visited Japan in 1984.<sup>16</sup>

In the 1990s the relations between the two nations were characterized by growing economic interdependency, and reaching the agreement on the need to respond to the DPRK's development of the nuclear weapons program,<sup>17</sup> resulting in Japan and the ROK being members of the Korean Peninsula Economic Development Organization (KEDO) from 1994 to 2006. The growth of regional institutionalism in the post-Cold War era seemed to be in agreement with the Japanese foreign policy tradition of multilateralism, though Japan was decidedly part of the American East Asian security strategy. Additionally, the ROK normalizing relations with China and the Soviet Union prompted Japan's keener interest in the Korean Peninsula, as the Japanese desired not to lose its status as an important regional player.<sup>18</sup>

Japan has slowly modified what was a rather non-assertive and minimalist foreign policy in the region from the 1950s until the 1990s. The Japanese have become more rhetorically assertive since the late 1990s, and have continued to foster closer relations with the ROK, especially in the light of the growing Chinese regional influence and both North Korean rhetoric and actions, compounding domestic fears in the ROK and Japan of an arms race in Northeast Asia.<sup>19</sup>

The ROK responded to the lessons of the unification of Germany and the end of the Cold War with the formulation of the *Sunshine Policy*, which meant more openness and exchange towards the DPRK as a means of opening North Korea to reform. The ultimate goal of the *Sunshine Policy*, which was the official engagement policy with the DPRK during the Kim Dae Jung administration (1998–2003) and the Roh Moo Hyun administration (2003–2008), was lessening the possibility of conflict on the Korean Peninsula. The logic of the *Sunshine Policy* was the inclusion of the DPRK in the Korean economic cooperation sphere, and that the integration

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<sup>16</sup> Hideki Yamaji, *Policy Recommendations for Japan: Unification of the Korean Peninsula*, working paper prepared for The Brookings Institution Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies, Washington, D.C., July 2004, pp. 2–3, at <http://www.brookings.edu/fp/cnaps/papers/yamaji2004.pdf>, accessed 12.03.2011.

<sup>17</sup> B. Bridges, *Japan and Korea in the 1990s...*, pp. 43–49.

<sup>18</sup> S.S. Kim, *North Korean Foreign Relations in the Post-Cold War World*, monograph prepared for The Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, PA, October 2006, pp. 35–36, at <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/download.cfm?q=772>, accessed 8.03.2011.

<sup>19</sup> Kamiya Mataka, *Japanese Foreign Policy toward Northeast Asia*, [in:] *Japanese Foreign Policy Today*, Inoguchi Takashi, Purnendra Jain (eds.), New York 2000, pp. 226, 243.

into the global economy would gradually bring socialization, and then result in an internal drift toward reform on the part of the decision makers in Pyongyang.<sup>20</sup>

During the last decade bilateral relations between the two nations have improved despite periodic controversies. Former Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro visited Yasukuni Shrine on six occasions during his time in office, as part of what was generally seen as his political strategy for support of more conservative (nationalist) elements of Japanese society. This caused very negative reactions throughout East Asia. In 1996 FIFA (*Fédération Internationale de Football Association*) announced that the two countries would jointly host the 2002 FIFA World Cup. The next few years produced much political good will in preparations for the games, which were successfully conducted. However, the Liancourt Rocks controversy erupted again when Japan's Shimane prefecture declared "*Takeshima Day*", inciting mass demonstrations in the ROK. During his term of office of former ROK president Roh Moo Hyun periodically called for Japan to compensate the ROK for damages and suffering inflicted on the Korean people during the Japanese Occupation Period. ROK President Lee Myung Bak, upon taking office in 2008, called for the two nations to put history behind them. In addition to nuclear detonations over the last several years, provocative actions on the part of the DPRK against the ROK in 2010, specifically the sinking of the ROK vessel the *Chōnan* on 26 March, and the DPRK shelling of Yōngp'yōng Island on 23 November which resulted in the deaths of two military personnel and two civilians, have continued to foster a perception on the part of both the ROK and Japan that their shared security is growing in importance,<sup>21</sup> particularly with respect to the DPRK.

## RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE DPRK

In 1955, despite not having diplomatic relations Japan and the DPRK agreed to establish the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (in Japanese, the *Zai Nihon Chōsenjin Sōrengōkai*, or *Chōsen Sōren*, and in Korean, the *Chae Ilbon Chosōnin Chōngryōnhaphoe*, or *Chōngryōn*) for the numerous ethnic Koreans in

<sup>20</sup> Key-young Son, *South Korean Engagement Policies and North Korea, Identities, Norms and the Sunshine Policy*, Oxon, United Kingdom and New York 2006, pp. 60–69.

<sup>21</sup> Sharyn Lee, *Japan and South Korea's Growing Bond*, "Pynx: Comment on Global Security and Politics" 18.0.2011, <http://www.pnyxblog.com/pnyx/2011/2/18/japan-and-south-koreas-growing-bond.html>, accessed 18.03. 2011.

Japan who identified with North Korea.<sup>22</sup> The organization became a *de facto* DPRK embassy in Japan. The *Chōsen Sōren* during the years 1959–1982 facilitated the majority of trade between the two countries, as well as the repatriation of an estimated 93,000 ethnic Koreans.<sup>23</sup> Following the ROK and Japan normalization treaty of 1965, the DPRK, consistent with its policy of opposition to recognition of two Koreas by one state, did little to attempt establishing diplomatic ties with Japan.<sup>24</sup> Relations temporarily worsened when in 1970 Pyōngyang granted asylum to members of the Japanese Red Army who hijacked a Japanese airliner.<sup>25</sup>

It seems to be generally agreed that there have been five attempts by Japan at the engagement with the DPRK. The first took place during 1971–1974, a period of détente, especially between the United States and the Soviet Union; the second in the early 1980s, with high-level initiatives made by the representatives of Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro.<sup>26</sup> The third attempt at the diplomatic engagement with the DPRK came after Tokyo was surprised by Seoul's *Nordpolitik* (the policy towards the North), and the movement of the ROK towards closer ties with both China and the Soviet Union. To maintain regional leadership Japan organized numerous overtures towards the DPRK in the 1990s, the last of which consisted of a delegation led by Liberal Democratic Party Kanemuru Shin.<sup>27</sup> This third series of Japanese diplomatic moves to engage the DPRK included its participation in the formation of KEDO in 1994. The fourth such engagement attempt was the preliminary normalization dialogue between Tokyo and Pyōngyang in 1999<sup>28</sup>, which had been prompted by the DPRK's firing a *Taepodong* missile over the Japanese

<sup>22</sup> The Korean Residents Union of Japan (in Japanese, the *Zai Nihon Daikanminkoku Mindan*, and in Korean, the *Chae Ilbon Taehan Min'guk Mindan*) is for Koreans in Japan who identify with the ROK. Founded in 1946, the organization is commonly known simply as the *Mindan* in both Japanese and Korean.

<sup>23</sup> F. Nevel, *Japan – DPRK Relations: An Overview*, [in:] *NK News: DPRK Information Center*, 21 November 2010, <http://nknews.org/2010/11/japan-dprk-relations-overview-2>, accessed 16.03.2011.

<sup>24</sup> S.S. Kim, *North Korean Foreign Relations...*, pp. 34–35.

<sup>25</sup> F. Nevel, *Japan – DPRK Relations...*

<sup>26</sup> V.D. Cha, *Japan's Engagement Dilemmas with North Korea*, "Asian Survey" 2001, vol. XLI, no. 4, p. 551.

<sup>27</sup> C.K. Quinones, *Japan's Engagement of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, 1990–2000*, "International Journal of Korean Unification Studies" 2000, vol. 9, no. 1, p. 147; Hong Nack Kim and J.L. Hammersmith, *Japanese-North Korean Relations in the Post-Kim Il-sung Era*, "Korea and World Affairs" 2000, vol. XXIV, no. 4, p. 590.

<sup>28</sup> V.D. Cha, *Japan's Engagement...*, p. 551.

territory in August 1998.<sup>29</sup> The fifth and final overture by Japan began in April 2000. Subsequently, Japan and the DPRK held three talks until October 2000. Japan calculated progress in conjunction with what seemed to be diplomatic momentum following the historic 15 June meeting between Kim Dae Jung and Kim Jong Il. No progress was made because of the abduction and missile issues.<sup>30</sup> At the historic meeting between Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi Jinichiro and DPRK Leader Kim Jong Il in 2002, discussions ranged from economic development to the status of 13 Japanese citizens who had been kidnapped and brought to North Korea in the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>31</sup>

This unilateral approach on the part of Japan, however, was largely deemphasized in 2003 after Pyöngyang withdrew from the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in January, and fired a missile later that year. The Six-Party Talks, which commenced in 2003, were in response to regional concerns about the DPRK's public statements regarding its nuclear program, and the development of nuclear weapons. The Japanese throughout much of the Six-Party Talks suggested that institutional pressure, specifically global pressure through such organizations as the United Nations, would be more effective than a mere regional attempt at an arrangement with the nations of the Six-Party Talks.<sup>32</sup>

In June 2008, after almost one year, Tokyo and Pyöngyang resumed bilateral talks after Pyöngyang promised a 'reinvestigation' of the fate of Japanese citizens abducted by the DPRK in the 1970s and 1980s. Additionally, Pyöngyang for the first time voiced its willingness to hand over to Japan the four remaining members of the nine hijackers of the Japan Airlines jet in 1970. In response, Tokyo agreed to partially lift sanctions against the DPRK, allowing certain North Korean ships to make port calls in Japan. Tokyo was also ready to lift restrictions on individual travel and charter flights between the two countries. After the DPRK's announcement it would pull out of the Six-Party Talks and its firing of a long-range missile, both events in April 2009, Japan then announced to extend economic sanctions by one year, including the ban on imports imposed in 2006. Tokyo enacted changes targeted at the DPRK: tightening of oversight of monetary transfers from Japan, and strengthening the ban on selling luxury goods. The DPRK's firing of a short-

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<sup>29</sup> S.S. Kim, *North Korean Foreign Relations...*, p. 45.

<sup>30</sup> Toshimitsu Shigemura, *New Prospects for North Korea-Japan Relations*, unpublished research paper prepared for The Institute for Far Eastern Studies, The Graduate School of North Korean Studies, Kyongnam University, Seoul 2001.

<sup>31</sup> V.D. Cha, *Japan's Engagement...*, p. 551.

<sup>32</sup> J. Bayer, W.J. Dziak, *Korea & Chiny, Strategia i Polityka*, vol. I, Warszawa 2006, pp. 254–289.

range missile over the Japanese territory and detonation of a nuclear device in May 2009 left relations at a relatively low state.<sup>33</sup> Provocations against the ROK have further chilled any overtures between the two nations in the next two years. What does seem abundantly clear is that the Japanese focus on the Korean Peninsula will be diverted for the foreseeable future due to the 11 March 2011 earthquake, the massive destruction caused by tsunami, and the ongoing concern over nuclear fallout. The estimates are that Japan will spend approximately 308 billion dollars on costs related to the March 2011 disaster.<sup>34</sup>

### THE EAST ASIAN REGIONAL SECURITY CONTEXT

The East Asia region will continue to be a place where the security interests of many actors converge. The post-Cold War era is characterized by a growing emphasis on regionalism, which is the case of East Asia. East Asia, as an increasing economically integrated and interdependent region,<sup>35</sup> has been referred to sometimes as a natural economic territory.<sup>36</sup> Despite the drive toward global economic integration, among the principal political obstacles in East Asia, national histories, competing historical narratives and nationalisms are prominent.<sup>37</sup> Japanese relationships with the ROK and the DPRK are merely one part of this general regional characteristic.

American interests in the region are not simply economic; trade with Asia accounts for about 60 percent of the United States' non-oil trade deficit goods.<sup>38</sup> The United States has ideological interests, supporting Japan and the ROK, two successful democracies in the region. Moscow's interests are more likely purely economic, at least in the mid-term. Russia's national energy strategy, adopted on 22 May 2003, involves a long-term strategic shift of its oil and gas exports from Europe to Northeast Asia. By the year 2020, 25–30 percent of Russian oil exports,

<sup>33</sup> A. Burkofsky, *Japan-North Korea Relations – (Sad) State of Play and (Sad) Prospects*, paper published for the Institut für Strategie – Politik – Sicherheits – und Wirtschaftsberatung (ISPSW), Berlin 2009, pp. 1–14.

<sup>34</sup> CNN International, television news broadcast on 23.03.2011.

<sup>35</sup> E. Haliżak, *Stosunki międzynarodowe w regionie Azji i Pacyfiku*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 20–27.

<sup>36</sup> R.A. Scalapino, *Northeast Asia Today – An Overview*, "Azja-Pacyfik" 2004, no. 4, p. 163.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 174.

<sup>38</sup> P. Morici, *U.S.-China Trade: Implications of U.S.-Asia-Pacific Trade and Investment Trends*, *Global Politician*, 13 March 2007, <http://www.globalpolitician.com/22536-china-economics>, accessed 19.03. 2011.

and 20 percent of its gas exports will go to Northeast Asia. This strategy coincides with Russian plans for diversifying its oil and gas markets, and expanding transportation and economic links to the region.<sup>39</sup> China seeks stability on the Korean Peninsula, and may see itself as a central arbitrator between the DPRK and the security triangle of the United States, the ROK and Japan. Beijing would like to see inter-Korean reconciliation, though reunification could present potential security problems for the Chinese, assuming that reunification would largely be on Seoul's terms. A unified Korea, with a vibrant democracy and a close relationship with the United States, could be perceived as being undesirable, or even destabilizing.<sup>40</sup> One desirable strategic goal, one that would be in China's interest, would be for the DPRK to reform economically along the China model,<sup>41</sup> as was the case starting in the 1970s during the Deng Xiaoping regime. This could create an ideologically compatible and dependable economic partner, and conceivably force Seoul to take a more neutral position between Beijing and Washington, thus enhancing China's regional power and influence.<sup>42</sup>

Regionally, the DPRK remains the primary centerpiece of strategic security concerns. Pyöngyang conducted its second nuclear weapons test on 25 May 2009. This was in defiance of the United Nations. Russia and China expressed serious concern, while the United States maintained that it would not accept a nuclear DPRK. The new conservative ROK government of Lee Myung Bak continues to signal a much harsher stance than the two previous administrations. In the past, Beijing and Moscow used their vetoes as permanent United Nations Security Council members to soften or block Western-backed sanctions against Pyöngyang, but approved new punitive measures in 2009 after expressing unusually strong concern over the DPRK's nuclear test and missile launches.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> E. Wishnick, *Russia in Inter-Korean Relations*, [in:] *Inter-Korean Relations, Problems and Prospects*, S.S. Kim (ed.), New York 2004, p. 127.

<sup>40</sup> Xiaoxiong Yi, *China's "Soft" Nationalist Strategy: Making North Korea a Neutralized and Stable Buffer State*, "Korean National Defense University Review" 2001, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 141–175.

<sup>41</sup> A. Scobell, *China and Inter-Korean Relations*, [in:] *Inter-Korean Relations, Problems and Prospects*, S.S. Kim (ed.), New York 2004, pp. 84–88.

<sup>42</sup> J. Bayer, W.J. Dziak, *Korea & Chiny...*, pp. 70–116.

<sup>43</sup> Global Security Newswire by The National Journal Group, *China, Russia Urges North Korea to Return to Nuclear Negotiations*, 18 June 2009, [http://gsn.nti.org/gsn/nw\\_20090618\\_5449.php](http://gsn.nti.org/gsn/nw_20090618_5449.php) (retrieved on 19.03.2011); A.D. Romberg, *The US-ROK-PRC Triangle: Managing the Future*, [in:] *Coping with Korea's Security Challenges*, Washington, D.C.: Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, 20004, pp. 147–167, <http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/research-pdfs/USPRCROKTriangle.pdf>, accessed 20.03. 2011.



In 2009 Chinese President Hu Jintao and Russian President Dmitry Medvedev tried to encourage the DPRK back to the Six-Party Talks. Hu's meetings with Medvedev and Prime Minister Vladimir Putin followed two days of international summits in Russia underscored common goals, but also pointed to conflicting economic interests and competition over the influence in the energy-rich Central Asian states they neighbor. Eager to counter the influence of the West, especially the United States, China and Russia forged what Hu called a "strategic partnership" after decades of tension during the Soviet era; however, China's trade with the United States far exceeds its trade with Russia.<sup>44</sup> In the next two years since the 2009 detonation, Russia and China have continuously called for the DPRK to return to the Six-Party Talks. In November 2010, the DPRK revealed it was operating a nuclear enrichment facility, thus heightening tensions both regionally and internationally. This time, Moscow's response to the revelation was highly critical of Pyöngyang, whereas China blocked the United Nations Security Council taking up discussions on the matter as Beijing believed that the issue at the Security Council level would inflame politics of the region.<sup>45</sup> China, Russia, Japan and the United States are all competing with one another for the influence in the region, within security and economic frameworks as important elements to that end. A skillful handling of inter-Korean relations, particularly by the United States and China will be important for the stability of East Asia. The ROK has taken up the DPRK's appeals for economic assistance; this has caused Seoul to increase leverage in the relationship, particularly while the dialogue between the DPRK and the United States is no longer conducted.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Global Security Newswire by The National Journal Group, *China, Russia Urges North Korea...*

<sup>45</sup> Yonhap News Agency, *Foreign Minister Rejects North Korea's Suggestion to Unconditionally Return to Nuclear Talks*, 17 March 2011, <http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/national/2011/03/17/74/0301000000AEN20110317009800315F.HTML>, accessed 21.03.2011.

<sup>46</sup> Scott Snyder, *Shaky Restart for Inter-Korean Talks*, [in:] *Council on Foreign Relations* (Publications), 9 February 2011, <http://www.cfr.org/north-korea/shaky-restart-inter-korean-talks/p24043>, accessed 18.03. 2011.



## **IR THEORETICAL CONTEXTS, JAPANESE-KOREAN RELATIONS AND EAST ASIA**

Historically, within the field of IR theory there have been four so-called “great debates.” The first debate was between liberalism and classical realism during the 1940s and 1950s; the second was a continuation of the liberalism-realism debate and the emergence of the social or behavioral IR theories from the 1950s until the late 1970s; the third which began in the 1980s and continues includes the juxtaposition of neo-realism and neo-liberalism, as well as feminism and postmodernism; the fourth great debate in IR has been described as an oppositional discourse between positivism and post-positivism, or critical IR theory.<sup>47</sup>

Despite the proliferation of IR theory over time, in the last two decades two approaches have prevailed: neo-realism and neo-liberalism. The two have shared much of the discussions, both practical and academic. The debate between them is intra-paradigmatic; both theories are positivist and focus mainly on the state system as the primary unit of analysis. Additionally, both theories recognize that anarchy is the defining characteristic of the international environment. Neo-realism, also called structural realism, seeks to understand the dynamics of state power in the context of the international system.<sup>48</sup> Neo-liberalism is a response to neo-realism; neo-liberalists figure anarchy to be a central feature of the international order, but argue that its importance and effects have been exaggerated. The neo-liberal logic focuses on the neo-realist underestimation of the varieties of cooperative behavior, even within a decentralized and anarchic system. Neo-realists contend that states cooperate only if it is in their interest to do so.<sup>49</sup>

Neo-realism was born out of what was widely thought to be classical realism’s inadequacy in explaining the collapse of what had been perceived in the West as the “monolithic Communist structure,” and the withdrawal of much of the Soviet Union’s military from many of the zones of conflict with the United States.<sup>50</sup> Neo-liberalists suggest that globalization and increased global interconnectivity has the potential to enhance international relations. The Six-Party Talks involving the

<sup>47</sup> R. Zenderowski, *Stosunki międzynarodowe*, Wrocław 2005, p. 51.

<sup>48</sup> See: J. Kukułka, *Teoria Stosunków Międzynarodowych*, Warszawa 2000.

<sup>49</sup> J.E. Dougherty, R.L. Pfaltzgraff, *Contending Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey*, New York 2000, pp. 68–69; Andrew Jones, *Comparatively Assess Neo-realism and Neo-liberalism. Whose Argument Do You Find More Convincing and Why?*, E-International Relations, 21 December 2007, <http://www.e-ir.info/?p=147jLJames>, accessed 8.03.2011.

<sup>50</sup> J.E. Dougherty, R.L. Pfaltzgraff, *Contending Theories...*, p. 93.

United States, Russia, China, the ROK, the DPRK and Japan, over the DPRK's nuclear program seemed until recently to be capable of supporting both the contemporary theoretical visions of neo-realism and neo-liberalism: that is, structural leverage among state actors versus institutional structures as the focus of state actors' agendas.

Current Japanese-Korean relations reflect the complexities available for theoretical application of very different IR theories. Concerns over the DPRK nuclear capabilities are clearly central in understanding the region's security dynamics. Beyond that issue, there is the troubling domestic political discourse in Japan over revising the Constitution of Japan in order to formally restore the army. This debate in Tokyo has been fueled by P'yongyang's development of nuclear weapons and missile technology. At the same time, the current ROK administration has changed its rhetoric towards the DPRK, for the same reasons. The relationships between Japan and the ROK appear to exemplify neo-liberal views of state-centric economic integration and cooperation; Japan's relationships with the DPRK on the other hand, are eloquent of neo-realism's assumption of conflict and security concerns within the structures of international power politics.

Ironically, the DPRK has been a source of regional, indeed even global cooperation, especially since the signing of the Agreed Framework of 1994. At that time the United States, Japan, the ROK and the European Union attempted to provide energy alternatives to the DPRK by providing two light water reactors to Pyongyang in exchange for the DPRK giving up its heavy water nuclear program. KEDO ultimately failed in 2006, but continued to live on, more or less in spirit, within the Six-Party Talks which started in 2003.<sup>51</sup>

Within the context of the two previously discussed contending IR theories, on the surface neo-realism would evidently seem to render somewhat better insights into the nature of the DPRK's provocative politics, and the structural balance of neighboring actors. Neo-realism, however, has come under intense criticism for its limitations over the last decade. For example, neo-realism holds that external pressures will outweigh domestic ones as state leaders rationally choose foreign policy that will minimize security risk in an anarchical international system. In other words, the neo-realist approach presumes that elites, the empowered individuals shaping their nations' foreign policy, will be free of any domestic constraints

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<sup>51</sup> J.T. Laney, J.T. Shaplen, *How to Deal with North Korea*, <http://66.102.1.104/scholar?q=cache:CyK8upn9198J:scholar.google.com/&hl=en>, accessed 15.03.2011. This opinion piece appeared, in "Foreign Affairs" March/April 2003, vol. 82, issue 2, pp. 16–31.

that might sway their strategy for global interactions. National policy, international institutions, and ideological or cultural affinities among nations have little relevance. Evidently, the domestic policy has played a substantial role in moderating foreign policies of Japan, the ROK, and even the DPRK, with Kim Jong Il's transfer of power to his youngest son. Kim Jong Un is unfolding amidst struggles between economic reformists and regime power guardians.<sup>52</sup>

Liberal institutional or neo-liberal criticism of neo-realism places a limit on the neo-realist premise of fully rational and self-interested leaders seeking risk minimization. Its constraint, however, comes from binding political and ideological ties forged within and cemented by such international institutions as the United Nations.<sup>53</sup> Neo-liberal approaches posit that state attributes and societal conflicts will affect foreign policy choices, and will often render statesmen incapable of responding to the exigencies of the international environment.<sup>54</sup> Liberal theorists purport that neo-realism's emphasis on structural power is anachronistic, given the high degree of regulating and legitimating quality of international norms, internalized by most nations, which in turn, according to liberal theorists, moderates state actors' behaviours.<sup>55</sup> The continued exercise of destabilizing policy on the part of the DPRK amid its own issue of power succession appears to question both neo-realism's emphasis on the structural variables of international relations, not to mention neo-liberalism's elevating the power of normative behaviors and institutions.

It is neoclassical realism that may provide another interesting alternative. Neoclassical realism has reshaped classical realist and neorealist theories to include both domestic and international policies. Neoclassical realism advances the concept that explanations of state's actions in the international system can be found in three

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<sup>52</sup> M. Fisher, *Understanding North Korea's Succession Drama*, "The Atlantic Wire" 29.09.2010, <http://www.theatlanticwire.com/global/2010/09/understanding-north-korea-s-succession-drama/22857/>, accessed 18.03.2011.

<sup>53</sup> D. Lieb, *The Limits of Neorealism*, "Harvard International Review," Vol. 6, Issue 1, Spring 2004, <http://hir.harvard.edu/interventionism/the-limits-of-neorealism?page=0,2>, accessed 20.03.2011.

<sup>54</sup> T. Juneau, *Neoclassical Realist Strategic Analysis: A Statement*, paper prepared for the European Consortium on Political Research, Graduate Student Conference, in Dublin Ireland, 30 August-1 September 2010, pp. 1-27, <http://www.ecprnet.eu/databases/conferences/papers/308.pdf>, accessed 6.03.2011.

<sup>55</sup> Ch. Bluth, *Norms and International Relations: The Anachronistic Approach of Neo-Realist Approaches*, "POLIS Working Paper" 2004, no. 12, School of Politics and International Studies, University of Leeds, pp. 254-26, at <http://www.polis.leeds.ac.uk/assets/files/research/working-papers/wp12bluth.pdf>, accessed 8.03.2011.

variables: system variables, such as the distribution of power capabilities among states; cognitive variables, such as perceptions and misperceptions of systemic pressures; as well as the intentions and potential threats of other states; and domestic variables, such as state institutions, elites, social pressures and societal actors.<sup>56</sup> Neoclassical realism embraces the neorealist concept of the balance of power, but additionally examines the impact of power capabilities on foreign policy as indirect and complex, because ultimately systemic pressures must be translated through intervening unit-level variables such as decision-makers' perceptions and state structure.<sup>57</sup> Neoclassical realism suffers from immature internal logic and a tendency to be given sweeping generalizations.<sup>58</sup>

In recent years, a debate has emerged as to whether neoclassical realism as a foreign policy theory or as a "theory of mistakes"<sup>59</sup> is the states' mistrust and inability to perceive one another accurately, or state leaders' inability to mobilize state power, which can result in underexpansion or underbalancing behaviour leading to imbalances within the international system. Appropriate balancing occurs when a state correctly perceives another state's intentions and balances accordingly. Inappropriate balancing or overbalancing occurs when a state incorrectly perceives another state as threatening, and uses more resources than it needs in order to balance. Non-balancing occurs when a state avoids balancing through buck passing, bandwagoning, or other escapes.<sup>60</sup> It is these concepts of balancing derived from neo-realism with the added complex dimensions of state perceptions that may better capture the DPRK's power machinations and therefore, the current regional calculations of all nations whose interest converge in East Asia.

<sup>56</sup> G. Rose, *Neoclassical Realism...*, pp. 144–145.

<sup>57</sup> J.W. Taliaferro, S.E. Lobell, N.N. Ripsman, *Introduction: Neoclassical Realism, the State and Foreign Policy*, [in:] *Neoclassical Realism, the State and Foreign Policy*, S.E. Lobell, N.N. Ripsman, J.W. Taliaferro, eds., Cambridge 2009, pp. 4–5; J.E. Dougherty, R.L. Pfaltzgraff, *op.cit.*, pp. 88–89.

<sup>58</sup> T. Juneau, *Neoclassical Realist Strategic Analysis...*, pp. 2–3.

<sup>59</sup> R. Schweller, *Unanswered Threats: Political Constraints on the Balance of Power*, Princeton, NJ 2006, p. 10.

<sup>60</sup> B. Kunz, *Power, Vision and Order in World Politics: A Neoclassical Realist View*, paper prepared for the NISA Conference, Odense, University of Southern Denmark, Odense, 23–25 May 2007, pp. 1–28.

## CONCLUSIONS

The relationships between Japan and Korea are complicated by conflicting historical narratives and the post-Cold War era pressures towards both integration and fragmentation. The distant history of Japanese invasion and occupation of Korea continues to be a source of uneasiness. The Cold War is still very much alive on the Korean Peninsula, though this grows more ambiguous in what some term the post-Kim Jong Il era. Commenting on North Korean nuclear ambitions and their possible impact, both regional and global, Henry Kissinger, former US Secretary of State, said the following in a 2009 interview:

“It’s dangerous in a symbolic sense, that if we are really committed to preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, as the president has stated repeatedly and eloquently, and if we can’t manage it in a region in which the country that’s proliferating has such limited resources and is surrounded by countries that are hostile to its intentions and then the ability to do it and other regions will diminish all the more. And there will be an immediate impact on Japan and South Korea, and a longer-term impact in the Middle East. And so it is a very important issue for the world.”<sup>61</sup>

The relationships between Japan and two Koreas will continue to be a confluence of multiple security and economic agendas from individual actors in the region, as well as the sum total of global forces of integration. There are elements of the relationships in the region that suggest that some form of IR realism theory works best in terms of analysis of East Asian inter-state policies. The DPRK’s actions over time, however, have seemingly blunted the structural arguments of neo-realism, in particular. The DPRK, with its proximity to vital interests of powerful nations in a strategic locale, its calculated and often skillful policy of high-stakes brinkmanship and coercive leverage, and asymmetrical military capabilities, have brought power disproportionate to its aggregate structural power against the ROK/United States/Japan alliance.<sup>62</sup> This phenomenon can be explained by the structural vari-

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<sup>61</sup> Fox News, interview of Henry Kissinger transcript entitled, *Post Kim Jong Il North Korea May be Dangerous in a Symbolic Sense*, 15 July 2009, <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,532682,00.html>, accessed 13.03. 2011.

<sup>62</sup> S.S. Kim, *Northeast Asia in the Local-Regional-Global Nexus: Multiple Challenges and Contending Explanations*, [in]: *The International Relations of Northeast Asia*, S.S. Kim (ed.), Lanham 2004, pp. 21–27.

ables of the region, and the cognitive variables, that is, the perceived realities of foreign policy makers. The ROK/United States/Japan alliance well-exemplifies patron commitment as a variable in understanding alliance cohesion, not a function of external threat, but rather as a product of the perceptions of patron commitment. These two points, the DPRK's prowess in perception manipulation, and the cognitive variables through which the ROK/United States/Japan alliance is maintained, seem to suggest more than adequately the suitability of the neoclassical realist lens.<sup>63</sup> More generally, despite IR liberalism's demand for a world politics paradigm, not to speak of multilateral frameworks such as the Six-Party Talks, IR realism, in its various permutations, appears to better serve as a basis for foreign policy science, and not merely a theoretical activity, at least with respect to Japanese-Korean relations. Neoclassical realism's resurrection of the perceptual realities of human interest and self-interest articulate well the underpinnings of security relationships in East Asia in this moment in history.<sup>64</sup>

Japanese and Korean relations are at the center of East Asian relations, and there seems little possibility that the East Asian world order like that which disappeared at the end of nineteenth century will rise again. It is clear that Japanese and Korean relations will continue to be influenced by domestic considerations, and of course, regional, intraregional and global connections.<sup>65</sup> Despite rhetorical utterances of neo-liberalism, current events in East Asia, not to mention the Middle East and Southwest Asia, convince many that a form of realism such as neoclassical realism is somehow a better lens to see the unfolding relations between Japan and two Koreas, at least for now.

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<sup>63</sup> V.D. Cha, *Abandonment, Entrapment, and Neoclassical Realism in Asia: The United States, Japan, and Korea*, "International Studies Quarterly" 2000, vol. 44, no. 2, pp. 261–264.

<sup>64</sup> R.O. Keohane, *Theory of World Politics: Structural Realism and Beyond*, [in:] *International Relations Theory. Realism, Pluralism, Globalism, and Beyond*, P.R. Viotti, M.V. Kauppi (eds.), Needham Heights 1999, pp. 153–183.

<sup>65</sup> For more on the traditional East Asian political relations, see Key-Hiuk Kim, *The Last Phase of the East Asian World Order, Korea, Japan, and the Chinese Empire, 1860–1882*, Berkeley 1980.

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# **POLISH ABSTRACTS**

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MARIUSZ GULCZYŃSKI, *Zwiastuny cywilizacji racjonalnego dostatku* – Ekologiczne bariery wzrostu gospodarczego i Trzecia Wielka Depresja są postrzegane najczęściej tylko jako zagrożenie. Twierdzę, iż mogą i winny być traktowane jako szansa przezwyciężenia kryzysogennego modelu cywilizacji rozrzutności i militarnego ekspansjonizmu, przez wykreowanie i wdrażanie wyższego stadium postępu: cywilizacji racjonalnego dostatku. Są już zwiastuny takiego wygrywania kryzysu - nie tylko w wirtualnych pomysłach i projektach, lecz i w realu. Taki postęp wymaga zmian nie tylko w ekonomice, lecz także w politycznych stosunkach – demokratyzacji pojmowanej nie tylko jako prawo do współdecydowania, lecz także jako obowiązek współodpowiedzialności za społeczne i ekologiczne skutki decyzji ekonomicznych i politycznych.

DANUTA KABAT-RUDNICKA, *Państwo w pułapce przeobrażeń postmodernistycznych* – Dynamiczny charakter procesów przemian jaki obserwujemy we współczesnym świecie skłaniać musi do refleksji nad kondycją jednej z najtrwalszych instytucji jaką jest państwo, które stanowiło dotąd centralną jednostkę w systemie międzynarodowym. Przywykliśmy do niekwestionowania, dominującej roli państwa jako głównego architekta i arbitra w sprawach zarówno wewnętrznych jak i międzynarodowych. Dominującej pozycji państwa nie zniszczyły ani wojny światowe ani światowy kryzys gospodarczy. Obecnie porządek międzynarodowy oparty na systemie państw narodowych zwany powszechnie jako westfalski zdaje się jednak odchodzić w przeszłość za sprawą potężnych transformacji międzynarodowych utożsamianych w pierwszym rzędzie z globalizacją. Wielopłaszczyznowy charakter przemian dotyka podstawowych sfer współdziałania międzynarodowego i odbija się w coraz większym stopniu na państwie, które traci stopniowo swoją omnipo-

tentną pozycję. Artykuł ukazuje jak pod wpływem wspomnianych procesów przemian kształtują się nowe warunki funkcjonowania państwa i ulegają erozji fundamentalne podstawy jego bytu narodowego, które tradycyjnie sprowadzały się do przestrzeganych w stosunkach międzypaństwowych zasad: terytorialności władzy państwowej, suwerenności państwa i jego zasadniczo laickiego charakteru. Wszystkie one pod wpływem przemian ostatniego ćwierćwiecza napotykają znaczne przeszkody w realizacji. Państwo ponowoczesne jest w związku z tym coraz mniej autonomiczne w swoich działaniach i wystawione na trudności związane z funkcjonowaniem w warunkach zmieniającego otoczenia i niepewnej przyszłości. Nie tylko złożony charakter komplikującego się systemu międzynarodowego ale także fragmentaryzacja społeczeństwa narodowego sprawiają, że w czasach rosnących zagrożeń zmniejsza się stabilność tradycyjnego oparcia jakie państwo miało zazwyczaj w bardziej homogenicznym zapleczu narodowym. W tej sytuacji pytanie o przyszłość państwa narodowego staje się podstawą dla dociekań naukowych.

**MARTA DORENDA-ZABOROWICZ, *Wpływ globalnych nierówności na stabilność społeczeństwa globalnego*** – Artykuł porusza zagadnienie wpływu, jaki wywierają globalne nierówności na stabilność społeczeństwa globalnego. Autorka stawia pytanie o przyczyny zaistnienia globalnych nierówności, przedstawia związek między globalizacją a istnieniem globalnych nierówności, a także związki między funkcjonowaniem reguł wolnego rynku a powiększającą się nierównością między Północą a Południem. Autorka sugeruje ponadto pewne rozwiązania problemu.

**JAKUB POTULSKI, *Kierunki ewolucji współczesnej koncepcji państwa*** – Procesy charakterystyczne dla przełomu XX i XXI w., a zwłaszcza proces globalizacji, zmieniają istotę procesów społeczno-politycznych. Era globalizacji oznacza konieczność wykreowania nowego typu dyskursywnych interpretacji i zastosowania nowych sposobów podejścia do współczesności, które stworzą możliwości jej wyjaśniania czy zrozumienia. Dotychczasowe formy rzeczywistości społeczno-politycznej stanowiące przedmiot tradycyjnej refleksji poznawczej ulegają erozji a wraz z nią nasza dotychczasowa wiedza o świecie traci na Z uwagi na zachodzące zmiany w naukach społecznych postuluje się rewizję myślenia i podejść badawczych, tak, aby można było poddać analizie zjawiska związane z tak zwaną późną nowoczesnością. W badaniach politologicznych ważną rolę zawsze odgrywało państwo uznawane za ważny podmiot polityki, który kształtuje w istotnym stopniu określoną rzeczywistość społeczno-polityczną, przeobrażając ją w kierunku zgodnym z własnym interesem i potrzebami. Część badaczy zwraca uwagę, iż obowią-

zujące we współczesnej nauce pojmowanie państwa zostało ukształtowane w epoce przemysłowej i odnosi się do specyficznego typu organizacji państwowej jakim było nowoczesne państwo narodowe. Zmiany cywilizacyjne powodują, iż dotychczasowe definicje nie są już w stanie adekwatnie oddać rzeczywistej istoty współczesnej organizacji państwowej. Dlatego też postuluje się odejście od dotychczasowych koncepcji i poszukiwanie nowych koncepcji służących do wyjaśniania roli i znaczenia państwa w życiu społecznym. Teoria państwa ewoluuje starając się nadążyć za gwałtownymi przemianami cywilizacyjnymi gdyż zmieniająca się rzeczywistość społeczna domaga się nowej conceptualizacji. Ramy współczesnych dyskusji o przemianach organizacji państwowej wyznaczają prace takich badaczy jak Pierre Bourdieu, Ulrich Beck, Manuel Castells, czy John Urry, które są dość odległe od „ortodoksyjnych” sposobów definiowania i rozumienia istoty państwa.

**IWONA MASSAKA, *Muzyka jako narzędzie polityki pamięci*** – Polityka pamięci jako operacja socjotechniczna polega na oddziaływaniu na pamięć zbiorową w taki sposób, by określone treści związane z historią i wizerunkiem zbiorowości zostały w niej ugruntowane, przedefiniowane lub usunięte. W ramach polityki tego rodzaju rozpowszechniana jest taka wiedza i schematy interpretacyjne, które zgodne są z wierzeniami lub/i zespołem idei odnoszących się do państwa, narodu i władzy państwowej. Polityka pamięci ma na celu integrację społeczności wokół naczelných przyjętych w państwie wartości, a także wzmocnienie legitymacji władzy, a tym samym uzyskania jak największego poparcia społecznego dla istniejącego porządku politycznego. Wśród narzędzi polityki pamięci rozróżniono dźwiękowe, werbalne i wizualne. Za pośrednictwem dźwięku, słowa (pisanego, mówionego i naddanego muzyce) konstruowane są symbole, szeroko stosowane w politykach pamięci. Symbole, jak i mity są typowym tworzywem rytuałów, które w politykach pamięci odgrywają rolę kluczową celując w emocje zbiorowe. W ramach zabiegów socjotechnicznych przekształcają się w akty tożsamościowe i oznaczniki trwałości struktury społecznej. Rytuały służą integracji i mobilizacji zbiorowości w nich uczestniczącej jak również demonstracji władzy i ferowanego przez nią porządku społecznego i politycznego. Wśród wszystkich narzędzi polityki pamięci wyróżniono muzykę jako fenomen o wartości silnie ematywnej, nastrojotwórczej, o wysokim stopniu abstrakcyjności. Ta ostatnia cecha nadaje jej zdolność oznaczania (symbolizowania) dowolnie wybranych treści. Naturalne właściwości, bogactwo stylistyczno-gatunkowe i sposób oddziaływania muzyki połączony z wiedzą i doświadczeniem systemów sterujących czyni z niej wysoce efektywne narzędzie polityki pamięci.

**STANISŁAW KONOPACKI, *Turcja i Unia Europejska – nowy etap wzajemnych stosunków?*** – Turcja może przystąpić do Unii Europejskiej gdy tylko spełni wymóg dostosowania się do europejskich zasad i prawa. Wedle władz tureckich, Ankara jest gotowa w pełni przyjąć *acquis communautaire* do 2014 roku. Celem artykułu jest uzasadnienie tezy, iż w tym kontekście gazociąg Nabucco, który ma doprowadzić kaspijski gaz przez Turcję do Bułgarii, Rumunii, Węgier i Austrii, ma niezwykle istotne znaczenie. Przez zbudowanie tego gazociągu Turcja może stać się czwartym krajem tranzytowym dostawy tego surowca do Zachodniej Europy. Ponadto, przystępując do Traktatu o Wspólnocie Energetycznej, jako równy partner i ze wszystkimi z tego tytułu wynikającymi uprawnieniami, Ankara zyskuje możliwość wzmocnienia swej pozycji i zaangażowania na swej drodze do członkostwa w UE.

**JUSTYNA MISIĄGIEWICZ, *Bezpieczeństwo Turcji w późnowestfalskim systemie międzynarodowym*** – Celem pracy jest przedstawienie specyfiki systemu późnowestfalskiego oraz analiza bezpieczeństwa Turcji w kontekście adaptacji do nowej rzeczywistości międzynarodowej. Specyficzna pozycja tego państwa na arenie międzynarodowej stanowi wyzwanie dla jego bezpieczeństwa nie tylko w wymiarze militarnym, ale również politycznym, kulturowym i gospodarczym.

Późnowestfalski system międzynarodowy jest ściśle związany z procesami globalizacji. W wyniku intensywnych przemian zachodzących w środowisku międzynarodowym, zmieniła się tradycyjna rola państwa. Podmioty niesuwerenne stają się coraz bardziej aktywne i wpływowe. Organizacje terrorystyczne, czy korporacje transnarodowe bez problemu przenikają granice państw będąc wyzwaniem dla ich bezpieczeństwa. Państwo nie jest w stanie działać niezależnie, by stawić czoła takim zjawiskom, jak nielegalna migracja, przestępczość zorganizowana, proliferacja broni masowego rażenia, globalny kryzys międzynarodowy, czy brak bezpieczeństwa energetycznego. W tak nieprzewidywalnym i turbulentnym środowisku, zmienia się również znaczenie pojęcia suwerenności. Uczestnictwo w organizacjach międzynarodowych wynika z potrzeby współpracy między państwami oraz jest odzwierciedleniem narastających współzależności międzynarodowych. Unia Europejska jest specyficzną organizacją, która powoduje transformację funkcjonowania państw, które przekazują część swojej suwerenności na rzecz struktury ponadnarodowej.

Turcja znajdując się w bardzo newralgicznym miejscu na mapie, jest szczególnie wrażliwa na wszelkie zmiany zachodzące w jej środowisku zewnętrznym. Państwo to bardzo wyraźnie doświadczyło przemian międzynarodowych związanych



z przejściem od zimnowojennego systemu bipolarnego do współczesnego, późnowestfalskiego. Turcja jest kluczowym elementem bezpieczeństwa międzynarodowego w Eurazji. Jest to państwo od wielu lat walczące z międzynarodowym terroryzmem, nielegalną migracją oraz zorganizowaną przestępczością. Prowadząc zrównoważoną politykę zagraniczną, zgodnie z zasadą: „pokój w domu, pokój za granicą,” Turcja próbuje utrzymywać i rozwijać poprawne stosunki ze swoimi sąsiadami bliskowschodnimi i kaukaskimi. Państwo to ma ogromne znaczenie strategiczne dla Europy i z tego powodu, może być bardzo wartościowym elementem tworzącej się Europejskiej Polityki Bezpieczeństwa i Obrony (ESDP).

**BARTŁOMIEJ MICHALAK, *Przydatność metody indeksowej dla analizy relewancji partii politycznych*** – Celem artykułu jest krytyczny przegląd popularnych technik badawczych (tzw. indeksów) wykorzystywanych do pomiaru różnych parametrów systemów partyjnych pod kątem ich użyteczności w badaniu relewancji partii politycznych. Punktem wyjścia dla dalszych rozważań jest nominalna koncepcja relewancji zaproponowana przez G. Sartoriego. W dalszej części podjęta zostanie próba odpowiedzi na pytanie czy ta jakościowa metoda może zostać w jakikolwiek sposób skwantyfikowana? W tym kontekście analizie poddane zostaną takie wskaźniki jak: indeks efektywnej liczby partii, indeksy siły i relewancji rządowej. Artykuł wykazuje, że wbrew obawom wielu badaczy, politologia dysponuje rozbudowanym zbiorem narzędzi umożliwiających dokonywanie precyzyjnych i komparatystycznie przydatnych pomiarów danych empirycznych. Teoretyczna koncepcja relewancji, wraz z jej jakościowym „testem”, w połączeniu z odpowiednio dobranymi i skonfigurowanymi technikami ilościowymi gwarantują skuteczny pomiar relewancji również na poziomie porządkowym, a nawet interwałowym. Można zatem podejść to z powodzeniem nazwać „metodą indeksową”.

**ELŻBIETA KUŻELEWSKA, *Holandia wobec problemu demokracji bezpośredniej – casus Konstytucji dla Europy*** – System polityczny Holandii wyraźnie faworyzuje demokrację przedstawicielską nad demokracją bezpośrednią. Głosowanie ludowe w 2005 r. w sprawie ratyfikacji Konstytucji dla Europy było pierwszym (i ostatnim) referendum ogólnokrajowym w Holandii. Decyzja o przyjęciu Traktatu konstytucyjnego w drodze referendum podyktowana była różnymi czynnikami, lecz wynikała głównie z przekonania, że wyborcy podzielają stanowisko polityków wobec potrzeby przyjęcia Konstytucji dla Europy. Tymczasem w referendum Holendrzy odrzucili traktat. Celem artykułu jest ukazanie powodów odrzucenia Traktatu konstytucyjnego Unii Europejskiej, a także próba odpowiedzi czy

o wyniku referendum zdecydowały postawy wyborców wobec Europy, czy raczej postawy wobec partii politycznych i rządu.

**MAGDALENA MUSIAŁ-KARG, *Głosowanie internetowe w ujęciu teoretycznym i praktycznym. Przykład Estonii (wybrane zagadnienia)*** – Głosowanie elektroniczne wzbudza w ostatnich latach duże zainteresowanie badaczy. Jednym z europejskich, a nawet światowych, liderów w zakresie wykorzystania e-głosowania w procedurach wyborczych jest Estonia. Obywatele tego niewielkiego państwa od 2005 r. mają możliwość głosowania za pośrednictwem internetu przy okazji kolejnych państwowych wyborów. Celem podejmowanych rozważań jest ujęcie teoretyczne i empiryczne wykorzystania głosowania elektronicznego (które jest jednym z instrumentów e-demokracji) w Estonii. Niniejszy tekst nie koncentruje się na wszystkich aspektach związanych z doświadczeniami zastosowania e-voting, a jedynie ogranicza się do analizy danych dotyczących frekwencji w poszczególnych głosowaniach i odpowiedzi na pytanie o konsekwencje zastosowania e-głosowania dla poziomu finalnej partycypacji w wyborach. W szczególności, analiza ma na celu ustalenie, czy nowa forma głosowania może zwiększyć frekwencję wyborczą w kolejnych elekcjach.

**BEATA MASTER, *Uwarunkowania polskiej prezydencji w Unii Europejskiej w 2011 r.*** – Prezydencja w Unii Europejskiej podkreśla i wyróżnia znaczenie państwa w zintegrowanej Europie. Niemniej, ostatnie zmiany traktatowe pociągnęły za sobą dość istotne zmiany w funkcjonowaniu tej instytucji. Zmianie uległo samo rozumienie tego pojęcia, jej funkcje i metody działania, a to także wpłynęło bezpośrednio na kształt modeli. Jest to szczególnie ważne dla Polski, która w lipcu 2011 roku przejmie na pół roku przewodnictwo w Radzie. Nowe warunki działania stanowią zarówno szansę, jak i wyzwanie. Artykuł przybliży oblicze prezydencji i jej roli zarówno przed Traktatem z Lizbony, jak i bezpośrednio po nim oraz bada możliwości działania, jakie po tych zmianach stoją przed państwami sprawującymi prezydencję, w tym przede wszystkim Polską. Autorka analizuje uwarunkowania, mocne i słabe strony tego państwa oraz ocenia proces przygotowań do sprawowania tej funkcji.

**WALDEMAR PARUCH, MARCIN RYDEL, *Założenia strategiczne w koncepcji polityki zagranicznej RP*** – analiza myśli politycznej Prawa i Sprawiedliwości – Artykuł jest opracowaniem z zakresu myśli politycznej, polityki zagranicznej i stosunków międzynarodowych. Przedmiotem badań były założenia strategiczne, przyjęte

przez PiS w koncepcji polityki zagranicznej Polski w pierwszej dekadzie XXI wieku, realizowanej przez rząd Jarosława Kaczyńskiego w latach 2006–2007 oraz przez prezydenta Lecha Kaczyńskiego w okresie 2005–2010. Zajęto się trzema kwestiami. Po pierwsze – parydygmatem analizowania środowiska międzynarodowego, właściwym dla myśli politycznej PiS. Po drugie – przesłankami oceny Niemiec i Rosji, przy jednoczesnym wskazaniu na ich realistyczny charakter. Po trzecie – celami strategicznymi w polityce zagranicznej Polski wyznaczonymi przez PiS.

**KATARZYNA MARZĘDA-MŁYNARSKA, *Agencje ratingowe i ich rola w procesie wielopoziomowego zarządzania problemem globalizacji rynków finansowych*** – Przedmiotem artykułu jest rola agencji ratingowych w zarządzaniu problemami związanymi z globalizacją rynków finansowych, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem modelu zarządzania wielopoziomowego. Agencje ratingowe stały się ważnym elementem procesu zarządzania problemami związanymi z globalizacją rynków finansowych. Specyfika przedmiotu ich działania oraz funkcji regulacyjnych wskazuje kierunek, w którym zmierzają poszukiwania nowych metod radzenia sobie z wyzwaniami ery globalizacji. Rozszerzanie pola inicjatyw regulacyjnych na nowych aktorów i nowe formy działania, jak np. działalność samoregulacyjną, zasadniczo zwiększają elastyczność systemu międzynarodowego i jego dopasowanie do nowych wyzwań. A to z kolei prowadzi do wypracowywania w praktyce nowego modelu zarządzania problemami kreowanymi przez procesy globalizacji – modelu zarządzania wielopoziomowego.

**GRAŻYNA STRNAD, *Rozważania nad stosunkami japońsko-koreańskimi w kontekście historycznym, regionalnym i teorii stosunków międzynarodowych*** – Podejmując problematykę stosunków japońsko-koreańskich starano się przedstawić je w trzech kontekstach: historycznym, bezpieczeństwa regionalnego w Azji Wschodniej po zimnej wojnie i teorii stosunków międzynarodowych. Od najdawniejszych czasów historia stosunków między Japonią a Koreą naznaczona była aktami agresji i przemocy ze strony Japonii. W wyniku najazdu dokonanego przez Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1592–1598) Korea na długie lata popadła w zapaść gospodarczą. Japońska okupacja Korei (1910–1945) zapisała się w świadomości narodu koreańskiego jako okres prześladowań i eksterminacji. Pamięć o próbach wykorzenienia tożsamości narodowej w okresie japońskich rządów kolonialnych jest ciągle obecna wśród Koreańczyków. W 1948 roku na mapie politycznej świata pojawiły się dwa państwa koreańskie, komunistyczna Północ i mające demokratyczne aspiracje Południe. Wybuch wojny koreańskiej (1950–1953) był symbolem globalnego

konfliktu ideologicznego zimnej wojny. Podzielona Korea stała się głównym źródłem zagrożenia dla bezpieczeństwa regionalnego w Azji Wschodniej. Na skutek mediacji Stanów Zjednoczonych doszło do podpisania w 1965 roku traktatu normalizującego stosunki japońsko-koreańskie. Traktat ten umożliwił nawiązanie stosunków dyplomatycznych między Japonią a Republiką Korei. Pomimo, że nie zostały nawiązane oficjalne stosunki dyplomatyczne między Japonią a Koreańską Republiką Ludowo Demokratyczną, w Japonii w 1955 roku zezwolono na utworzenie Związku Rezydentów Koreańskich. Jednakże antyjapońskie uprzedzenia wynikające z negatywnych doświadczeń historycznych nadal stanowią źródło napięć i kontrowersji między trzema państwami. W stosunkach Japonii z państwami koreańskimi miejsce szczególne zajmuje problem denuklearyzacji Półwyspu Koreańskiego. Istnieje bowiem realne niebezpieczeństwo wynikające z posiadania broni atomowej przez reżim północnokoreański. Prowadzone z przerwami rozmowy sześciostronne nie przyniosły oczekiwanych efektów. Półwysep Koreański ciągle pozostaje miejscem regionalnego zagrożenia bezpieczeństwa. W niniejszym artykule stosunki japońsko-koreańskie są także rozpatrywane przez trzy podejścia teoretyczne: neorealizm, neoliberalizm i neoklasyczny realizm.

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