

# MYŚL EKONOMICZNA I POLITYCZNA

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# MYŚL EKONOMICZNA I POLITYCZNA

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# CONTENTS

Editorial . . . . .	11
---------------------	----

## ARTICLES AND STUDIES

### **Krzysztof Falkowski**

Institutional Weaknesses of Ukraine's National Innovation System and their Consequences for the Country's International Competitiveness. . . . .	17
--	----

### **Mieczysław Błoński**

Health Care Systems in Spain and Portugal – Economic Approach . . . . .	42
---	----

### **Grzegorz Kozłowski**

Contemporary Political and R&D Determinants of the Level of the United States Defence Spending . . . . .	62
--	----

### **Dagmara Mateja**

The Impact of New Media on Shaping Public Opinion in the Post-Industrial Era. Government Regulations in the Fight Against Disinformation . . . . .	85
--	----

### **Zaza Tavadze**

The Proportionality Analysis in the Georgian Constitutional Jurisprudence and the Prospects of Rationality Review . . . . .	104
---	-----

### **Daria Nałęcz**

The USSR in the Policy of the Government and President Wojciech Jaruzelski in 1989–1990 . . . . .	116
---	-----

### **Józef M. Fiszer**

The Thirtieth Anniversary of the Sejm and Senate Elections in 1989. Systemic Transformation in Poland and its Consequences for Europe and the World . . . . .	139
---	-----

## **Mateusz Czasak**

Difficult Perspectives for Polish Foreign Policy – A Report  
from the Fourth National Political Science Congress . . . . . 164

## **Aneta Dawidowicz**

Tradition and the Past in the Political Thought  
of the National Party (1928–1939) . . . . . 180

## **REVIEWS**

Józef M. Fiszler (ed.), *Gra o świat. W stronę nowej Jalty?*  
[*The Game to Win the World. Towards the New Yalta?*].  
Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, Warszawa 2018,  
ss. 266 (Mateusz Czasak) . . . . . 201

M. Michalski, A. Bolewski (ed.), *W trosce o bezpieczne jutro.*  
*Reminiscencje i zamierzenia* [*For the Sake of Secure Tomorrow.*  
*Reminiscences and Intentions*]. Wyższa Szkoła Bezpieczeństwa,  
Poznań 2017, ss. 442 (Beata Jagiełło) . . . . . 207

Notes on the authors . . . . . 211

# SPIS TREŚCI

Od Redakcji .....	11
-------------------	----

## **ARTYKUŁY I STUDIA**

### **Krzysztof Falkowski**

Instytucjonalne słabości Narodowego Systemu Innowacji na Ukrainie i ich konsekwencje dla jej międzynarodowej konkurencyjności . . .	17
--	----

### **Mieczysław Błoński**

Systemy ochrony zdrowia w Hiszpanii i Portugalii – podejście ekonomiczne .....	42
---	----

### **Grzegorz Kozłowski**

Współczesne uwarunkowania polityczne oraz badawczo-rozwojowe dla poziomu wydatków obronnych Stanów Zjednoczonych .....	62
---	----

### **Dagmara Mateja**

Wpływ nowych mediów na kształtowanie opinii publicznej w epoce postindustrialnej. Rządowe regulacje w zakresie walki z dezinformacją .....	85
--	----

### **Zaza Tavadze**

Analiza proporcjonalności w gruzińskim orzecznictwie konstytucyjnym i perspektywy przeglądu racjonalności prawodawstwa. ....	104
---	-----

### **Daria Nałęcz**

ZSRR w polityce rządu i prezydenta Wojciecha Jaruzelskiego w latach 1989–1990. ....	116
--	-----

### **Józef M. Fiszer**

Trzydziesta rocznica wyborów do Sejmu i Senatu w 1989 roku. Transformacja ustrojowa w Polsce i jej konsekwencje dla Europy i świata .....	139
---	-----

## **Mateusz Czasak**

Nielatwe perspektywy dla polskiej polityki zagranicznej  
– sprawozdanie z IV Ogólnopolskiego Kongresu Politologii . . . . . 164

## **Aneta Dawidowicz**

Tradycja i przeszłość w myśli politycznej Stronnictwa Narodowego  
(1928–1939) . . . . . 180

## **RECENZJE**

Józef M. Fiszer (red.), *Gra o świat. W stronę nowej Jalty?*  
[*The Game to Win the World. Towards the New Yalta?*].  
Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, Warszawa 2018,  
ss. 266 (Mateusz Czasak) . . . . . 201

M. Michalski, A. Bolewski (red.), *W trosce o bezpieczne jutro.*  
*Reminiscencje i zamierzenia* [For the Sake of Secure Tomorrow.  
*Reminiscences and Intentions*]. Wyższa Szkoła Bezpieczeństwa,  
Poznań 2017, ss. 442 (Beata Jagiełło) . . . . . 207

Noty o Autorach . . . . . 212



# СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

От редакции ..... 11

## СТАТЬИ И ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

### **Кшиштоф Фальковски**

Институциональные слабости Национальной инновационной системы Украины и их последствия для её международной конкурентоспособности ..... 17

### **Мечислав Блоньски**

Системы здравоохранения в Испании и Португалии  
– экономический подход ..... 42

### **Гжегож Козловски**

Современные политические и исследовательско-развивающие детерминанты уровня оборонных расходов США ..... 62

### **Дагмара Матэя**

Воздействие современных СМИ на формирование общественного мнения в постиндустриальную эпоху.  
Государственное координирование в борьбе против дезинформации ..... 85

### **Заза Тавадзе**

Анализ пропорциональности в конституционном судопроизводстве Грузии и перспективы рассмотрения рациональности законодательства ..... 104

### **Дария Налэнч**

СССР в политике правительства и президентства Войчеха Ярузельского в 1989–1990 годах ..... 116

### **Юзеф М. Фишер**

Тридцатая годовщина выборов в Сейм и Сенат в 1989 году.  
Политическая трансформация в Польше и её последствия для Европы и мира ..... 139

## **Матеуш Часак**

- Сложные перспективы польской внешней политики  
– отчет IV Всепольского конгресса политологов ..... 164

## **Анета Давидович**

- Традиции и прошлое в политической мысли Национальной партии  
(1928–1939) ..... 180

## **РЕЦЕНЗИИ**

- Юзеф М. Фишер (ред.), Józef M. Fiszer (red.), *Игра за мир. Навстречу  
новой Ялте*, Институт политических исследований ПАН  
(польск. Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN) Варшава 2018,  
стр. 266. (Матеуш Часак) ..... 201

- М. Михальски, А. Болевски (ред.), *Заботясь о безопасности  
завтрашнего дня. Воспоминания и планы*, Высшая школа  
безопасности (польск. Wyższa Szkoła Bezpieczeństwa),  
Познань 2017, стр. 442 (Беата Ягелло) ..... 207

- Сведения об Авторах ..... 213

## EDITORIAL

We are handing to our readers the third issue in 2019 of our academic quarterly which – as always – is not only extensive, but also interesting. We are publishing articles and studies of an economic and political nature, devoted to contemporary international relations and important socio-political and legal issues, all of them in the English language. The articles are the result of scientific research conducted by researcher in various scientific and research centres in Poland and abroad.

The presented quarterly should be of particular interest to economists and political scientists, researchers and experts in the field of international relations, as well as students, doctoral students, teachers and publicists. This quarterly contains many original academic texts devoted to current and important economic, social, political and international problems that many countries today, including Poland, are struggling with. It shows the complexity and dynamics of the modern world and the problems faced by individual countries. I would like to draw attention to the original theses and hypotheses formulated by individual authors, encouraging reflection and discussion. I hope that, like all volumes of “Myśl Ekonomiczna i Polityczna” [‘Economic and Political Thought’] published so far, also this one will be of interest to a wide range of readers and will be received with great attention.

The presented issue of the quarterly, according to our practice and rules adopted by the editorial office, consists of two parts: the first one which is devoted to broadly understood economic issues, and the second pertaining to social and political problems and international affairs in Europe and the world.

In the first, economic, part we are publishing three articles. It opens with Krzysztof Falkowski’s article entitled ‘Institutional Weaknesses of Ukraine’s National System and Their Consequences for the Country’s International Competitiveness’, in which the author shows institutional weaknesses of Ukraine’s National Innovation System and tries to determine their consequences for the competitiveness of the Ukrainian economy in terms of

international trade in high-technology and medium-high-technology goods, i.e. those created in industries based on knowledge and modern technologies. The author concludes his considerations with the statement that the carried out analysis of the dynamics of the revealed comparative advantages in Ukrainian exports in the years 2001–2016 clearly shows that the Ukrainian economy not only did not have any long-term comparative advantages in trade in high-technology and medium-high-technology goods in this period, but also its competitive position deteriorated in this respect.

The subject of the analysis in the next article by Mieczysław Błoński entitled ‘Health Care Systems in Spain and Portugal – Economic Approach’ are economic conditions of health care systems in Spain and Portugal. The article describes their organisational structures and entities operating in them. Portugal holds the 13<sup>th</sup> and Spain the 19<sup>th</sup> position in the European ranking of health systems – the Euro Health Consumer Index – examining these systems using fifty detailed criteria. In the author’s opinion, ‘a permanent prescription’, used in Spain for many years, is worthy of more thorough research and transfer to the Polish healthcare system as it significantly reduces doctors’ workload not directly related to treatment, and consequently their shortage.

The next, third article in this part of the quarterly is the article by Grzegorz Kozłowski entitled ‘Contemporary Political and R&D Determinants of the Level of the United States Defence Spending’. The author writes here, among others, that in the United States the debate on the level of defence expenditures necessary to ensure the state security is interminable. Capturing the state of threats to which an ‘adequate’ level of financing would be an answer is very difficult. The author writes that in such conditions two essential elements are crucial for determining defence spending. Firstly, internal political conditions (the Republicans are more willing to spend more money than the Democrats) and external ones (using military potential to maintain the hegemonistic position of the United States in relation to allies and adversaries); secondly, research and development conditions, focused on preserving the technological supremacy of the United States in the world and having beneficial implications for the development of innovation, both in the defence and civil sectors.

The second part devoted to political science opens with Dagmara Mateja’s article entitled ‘The Impact of New Media on Shaping Public Opinion in the Post-Industrial Era. Government Regulations in the Fight Against Disinformation’. The author analyses here the process of spreading false information on the Internet, its goals and conditions and methods of

combating these phenomena in individual countries. The article shows the changes and consequences that users of new media must face. As a result of the unprecedented development of technology and disinformation that is spreading thereby, the tendency to fix erroneous beliefs in society is becoming more and more visible. The author goes on to say that while traditional media are subject to institutional control, in the case of social media communication possibilities seem unlimited as they are subject only to social control, which in turn translates into the amount of rippling pernicious content.

I would also like to draw your attention to an interesting article with considerable theoretical and utilitarian merits by Zaza Tavadze devoted to various aspects of the parliament's activities in Georgia in the process of legislation and law-making.

The next article in this part is Daria Nałęcz's treatise on 'The USSR in the Policy of the Government and President Wojciech Jaruzelski in 1989–1990'. It is devoted to President Wojciech Jaruzelski and his attitude to the Soviet Union in 1989–1990, that is in the difficult period of political transformation and reorientation of foreign policy in Poland. The subsequent text by Józef M. Fiszer entitled 'The Thirtieth Anniversary of the Sejm and Senate Elections in 1989. Systemic Transformation in Poland and its Consequences for Europe and the World' corresponds to the above article. It is dedicated to the elections to the Sejm and Senate on 4 June 1989 about which historians and political scientists have argued to this day. The indisputable fact is that they were the result of negotiations and agreements reached at the 'round table', which inaugurated the process of radical changes in Europe, which went down in history under the name of the 'autumn of nations of 1989'.

Then there is the article by Mateusz Czasak under the title 'Difficult Perspectives for Polish Foreign Policy – A Report from the Fourth National Political Science Congress'. This article is in fact a report from the discussion panel on 'Poland's Foreign Policy in Times of Change in Europe and the World in the Twenty-First Century: Directions, Goals, Forms, Opportunities and Threats' organised on 18 September 2018 during the Fourth National Political Science Congress entitled 'The State in Times of Change'. During the discussion numerous interesting, theoretically and practically significant theses and hypotheses were formulated. They are presented and analysed in this article.

The last text in this part of the presented quarterly entitled 'Tradition and the Past in the Political Thought of the National Party (1928–1939)', authored by Aneta Dawidowicz, is devoted to political thought of the National Party which is enjoying a renaissance in Poland today. The author reminds us that

for the ideologues of the National Party the memory of the past was the main source of national identity and the sense of belonging to the nation. Getting to know the historical past of the nation was a guarantee of its comprehensive development in the future and understanding of reality.

The presented issue of the quarterly finishes with two reviews of the latest, recently published academic books, which are devoted to the theoretical and practical aspects of shaping the new global order and international security.

We wish all our readers interesting reading and we encourage everyone to cooperate with our editorial board and the Lazarski University in Warsaw, one of the best universities in Poland. This year's secondary school graduates are invited to take up interesting studies at our University, including also in the field of 'international relations'.

*Professor, Ph.D. Józef M. Fiszer*

**A R T I C L E S   A N D   S T U D I E S**

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**Krzysztof Falkowski\***

INSTITUTIONAL WEAKNESSES OF UKRAINE'S  
NATIONAL INNOVATION SYSTEM  
AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES  
FOR THE COUNTRY'S INTERNATIONAL  
COMPETITIVENESS

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INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, amid the growing internationalisation of economic activity and international cooperation, as well as the dynamically progressing ICT revolution, an increasingly important role in the economic growth and development of countries is played by factors which did not use to be so important only a few decades ago. These undoubtedly include the quality of human capital, the level of development and the quality of so-called soft infrastructure responsible for the creation and diffusion of knowledge, the efficiency and effectiveness of institutions, as well as the innovation of the economy (Miozzo, and Walsh 2010). In addition, due to the changing structure of global demand, goods and services characterised by high technological advancement are becoming more and more important (Weresa 2014).

In view of the state of the modern world economy as discussed above, including above all the aforesaid increase in the importance of innovation and innovativeness, more and more often both economists and politicians in charge of the pursued economic policy try to take a systemic and comprehensive approach to the issue of creating an appropriate institutional system, adapted

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to the economic, social and political realities of a given country, conducive to innovation and innovativeness. Therefore, so-called National Innovation Systems are being created and developed, whose efficient and effective operation is intended to effectively increase the international competitiveness of their countries' economies (Joly 2017; Roland 2016; Weresa 2014, Weresa 2012a; Lundvall 2007).

This term was used for the first time by Ch. Freeman in 1987. In his definition, the National Innovation System (NIS) is a network of public and private sector institutions whose activities and interactions initiate, import and disseminate new technologies (Freeman 1987). In turn, Ch. Edquist defines NIS as all important economic, sociological, political, organisational, institutional, and other factors that influence the development, diffusion, and use of innovation in a given country (Edquist 2004). A detailed review of various ways in which this concept was defined has been carried out, i.e. by Weresa (2012), OECD (1997) and Nelson (1993).

For the purposes of this article, the National Innovation System shall be understood, using the Triple Helix concept (Etzkowitz 2008; Ranga, and Etzkowitz 2013), as a system of three interrelated sectors, i.e. the science and education sector, the enterprise sector and the government sector, which cooperate to develop an effective innovative environment within which innovations will be created and implemented in an open economy.

The main aim of this article is to identify and briefly discuss the main institutional weaknesses (institutional bottlenecks) of Ukraine's National Innovation System and to try to determine their consequences for the international competitiveness of the Ukrainian economy in the field of trade in high-technology and medium-high-technology goods, i.e. those which are created in industries based on knowledge and modern technologies, in the scope of which the creation and commercialisation of knowledge and innovation depends to a large extent on the efficiency and effectiveness of the National Innovation System. In other words, to check whether and how the competitiveness of Ukraine in trade in these goods is changing in the face of the certain existing institutional weaknesses of the National Innovation System implemented there.

A general assumption has been made that the occurrence and improvement of long-term comparative advantages in the export of a given country, especially in technologically advanced goods created in industries based to a large extent on knowledge and modern technologies, are a direct result of the efficiency of the operation of the National Innovation System implemented in this country, significantly shaped by the institutional solutions present there. The lack of such comparative advantages or the loss of those already

possessed may indicate serious institutional weaknesses of the entire National Innovation System, effectively reducing the effectiveness of this system, which will have a negative impact on the ability of the economy of a given country to create and commercialise innovative production solutions, thus reducing its international competitiveness in the field of technologically advanced goods. Of course, one should be aware of the fact that the efficiency and effectiveness of operation of the National Innovation System may be one of many factors determining this competitiveness.

This article puts forward a thesis according to which the lack of long-term comparative advantages in foreign trade of Ukraine in the field of high-technology and medium-high-technology goods, created in industries based, to a large extent, on knowledge and modern technologies, should be attributed to the strong institutional weaknesses present within Ukraine's National Innovation System, which – by significantly lowering this system's effectiveness – also reduce the ability to create and commercialise knowledge and innovation, which has a negative impact on the competitiveness of the Ukrainian economy in the trade of technology advanced goods.

The choice of the Ukrainian economy as the subject of research was not accidental. Ukraine's economic potential, as well as its geostrategic location, especially the political and economic context of its neighbourhood with Russia and the EU, mean that Ukraine is increasingly subject to various types of economic research and analysis. However, there is a definite lack of in-depth research on the international competitiveness of the Ukrainian economy, both in Polish and international economic literature, from the point of view of its shaping by the existing, albeit highly dysfunctional National Innovation System, considering the existing institutional weaknesses of this system. This article is intended to fill this research gap.

Moreover, the results of the research conducted as well as the recommendations made are important from the point of view of both Ukraine and Poland, Ukraine's direct neighbour, who cannot be indifferent to the country's development, which is greatly influenced by the competitiveness of the Ukrainian economy on the international arena.

## 1. LITERATURE REVIEW

The issue of international competitiveness of the Ukrainian economy in the context of the country's National Innovation System, considering the existing institutional weaknesses of this system and their consequences

for the competitiveness of Ukraine's foreign trade, is *de facto* not present in economic literature (both Polish and international). Although, for example, Falkowski (2018b) analyses the impact of institutions on Ukraine's competitiveness, his analysis does not take into account aspects related to the competitive position of the Ukrainian economy in international trade. This does not mean, however, that these issues are not subject to analysis or economic research separately from each other; on the contrary, although unfortunately a large part of them is not published in English, which significantly reduces their dissemination in the international scientific community. Below is a summary of valuable, in-depth studies on this subject, referring to the entire Ukrainian economy, published in English in recent years.

A comprehensive assessment of the competitiveness of the Ukrainian economy is carried out annually by the World Economic Forum of Davos in its annually published Global Competitiveness Reports. In the issue of this report from 2017, Ukraine was ranked 81<sup>st</sup> among 137 economies in the world (WEF 2017). Ravi and Vnukov also pointed out that Ukraine has much lower competitiveness than its potential would suggest (2014). Skavronska (2017) also draws attention to insufficient use or even 'wasting' of its potential, especially intellectual potential, from the point of view of the possibility and need to create the so-called creative industries in Ukraine, which would ultimately also significantly increase the competitiveness of the entire economy. Kharlamova and Gumenna (2018) also emphasise the need for Ukraine to take advantage consciously of its resources in the conditions of the digitalising modern world in order to build a creative, knowledge-based economy, which will be able to compete effectively on the international arena. In a similar vein, the need to transform Ukraine's economy from factor-led economy to an efficiency-led economy, without which it is impossible to effectively increase the competitiveness of the country's economy in the modern world, resulting in an improvement in its position in the international division of labour, was very clearly highlighted by the OECD (2012). An interesting analysis of competitiveness of the information economy industry in Ukraine was conducted by Ponomarenko et al. (2018). They came to the conclusion that one cannot disagree with it, namely that the fact that the Ukrainian state does not support high-tech sectors of the economy, such as information technology, is a strategic mistake as such support is a precondition for further development of these industries in the country, and it is these sectors that could become a driver of Ukraine's development as a whole and could contribute to improving the long-term

competitiveness of its economy. One of the important, even crucial, reasons of low competitiveness of Ukrainian companies on international markets is highlighted by Kolosok and Trusova (2015), who emphasise that a relatively large part of Ukrainian companies still use obsolete technologies, which leads to their weaker competitive position internationally.

Turning to selected scientific studies on Ukraine's National Innovation System, it is worth mentioning first the results of the research presented in the report entitled 'Peer Review of the Ukrainian Research and Innovation System', commissioned by the European Commission (EC 2017b). Its authors (experts from various countries) carried out a thorough, critical analysis of Ukraine's NIS, pointing to a number of difficulties in the operation of this system, which should first be eliminated in order to effectively increase the innovativeness and, consequently, the competitiveness of the Ukrainian economy. This report even clearly states that it is necessary to re-orientate the country's National Innovation System towards higher socio-economic significance and effectiveness, as well as a stronger focus on innovation. Yegorov (2008) derives the origins of the current problems with development and the efficient and effective operation of the existing, at least formally, National Innovation System in Ukraine not so much from the Soviet times but from the slowness of the Ukrainian authorities in the first years after the regaining of independence and the complete ignorance of this issue in the then pursued economic policy of the state. Fedulova (2015), who explicitly states that in Ukraine the problems of scientific, technological and innovative development have been ignored lately, articulated this problem even more strongly. A similar diagnosis is made by Yegorov (2015), according to whom Ukraine is plagued by little innovation activities and the fact that the gap between the industry and research institutions is widening, both in state and higher education institutions. Very similar conclusions are also drawn by Kasych and Vochozek (2017), who additionally suggest that in order to improve Ukraine's NIS, it is imperative to launch 'bottom-up' processes of innovation creation and thus reduce the role of the state (central institutions) in this respect, as is the case with the National Innovation Systems in developed countries. An interesting analysis of Ukraine's NIS from the point of view of its functioning within the framework of innovation infrastructure in the context of the key role it plays in the effective operation of the entire system was carried out by Kniazevych et al. (2018), who state that in the situation of current serious weaknesses in this infrastructure it is necessary to develop management mechanisms for forming and running the National Innovation System that would be based on the effective innovation infrastructure of

the country. In turn, Martovoy and Gagliardi (2011) note that over the last decades Ukrainian sectors of science and technology have changed considerably in an attempt to shift its scientific resources away from military towards civilian purposes and to improve its domestic capacity for advancing innovations. Despite that, they conclude, the Ukrainian system of innovation has not done well while the failure of Ukraine's NIS has contributed to the low level of innovation among Ukrainian companies.

## 2. METHODOLOGY AND DATA

In order to determine the significance of the existing, previously identified so-called institutional bottlenecks in Ukraine's National Innovation System for the international competitiveness of the Ukrainian economy, a general assumption was made that the existence and, more importantly, the improvement of long-term comparative advantages in international trade in technologically advanced goods (i.e. high-technology and medium-high-technology goods), created in industries based to a large extent on knowledge and modern technologies, are a direct effect of the effectiveness of Ukraine's NIS, which is significantly shaped by the existing institutional solutions.

It is worth noting that the concept of international competitiveness itself, due to its multidimensional and complex nature, does not have a single definition commonly used in economic literature. This is mainly due to different approaches taken to the subjective scope of competition as a whole and to its sources, as well as to the diverse systems of values followed by economists in defining it (Bhawsar, and Chattopadhyay 2015; Delgado et al. 2012). The definition of international competition has been synthetically reviewed, i.e. by Bhawsar and Chattopadhyay (2015), Misala (2014), Balkyte and Tvaronavičiene (2010).

However, for the purposes of discussing the issue being the subject-matter of this article what needs to be defined is a particular aspect of international competitiveness, namely the competitiveness of an economy in international trade. According to Carbaugh (2017), and this definition is applied in the article, such competitiveness is limited to the ability to develop, manufacture and sell goods and services that are more attractive in terms of price and/or quality than the export offer of other countries, which will have a measurable effect on the growing share of a country in the sale of these goods to other countries on international markets.

In order to verify the research hypothesis put forth at the beginning, to determine the competitiveness of the Ukrainian economy in contemporary international trade, and above all to identify potential comparative advantages in Ukrainian exports and their possible changes over the analysed period, the method of analysing Balassa's revealed comparative advantages (RCAs) (1965, 1989) has been applied, using the following formula:

$$RCA_{ij}^K = \ln\left(\frac{x_{ij}^K / X_j^K}{x_i^j / X^j}\right)$$

where:

$RCA_{ij}^K$  – the revealed comparative advantages index of the  $K$  country for the  $i$  goods category in relation to the  $j$  country or a group of  $j$  countries

$x_{ij}^K$  – exports of the  $i$  goods category from the  $K$  country to the  $j$  country or a group of  $j$  countries

$X_j^K$  – total exports from the  $K$  country to the  $j$  country or a group of  $j$  countries

$x_i^j$  – exports of the  $i$  goods category from  $j$  country or a group of  $j$  countries

$X^j$  – total exports from  $j$  country or a group of  $j$  countries

$i$  – goods category

$K$  – the analysed country

$j$  – the rest of the world

By using the logarithmic form of the above formula, we obtain positive or negative values of the  $RCA_{ij}^K$  indicators, which greatly facilitates their interpretation. We can speak of a revealed comparative advantage in exports of a given goods category only when its share in total exports of a given country is higher than the share of that goods category in total global exports, so when the  $RCA_{ij}^K > 0$  (Falkowski 2018a).

With a view to testing the adopted research assumption, the competitiveness of Ukraine's exports of technologically advanced goods (i.e. high-technology and medium-high-technology goods) was analysed in detail. To this end, the OECD classification of basic goods categories based on their technological advancement was used (OECD 2011; Hatzichronoglou 1997). According to this classification, high-technology goods include the following subcategories: aircraft and spacecraft; medical, precision and optical instruments; office, accounting and computing machinery; pharmaceuticals; and radio, TV and communications equipment, whereas the subcategories of

the medium-high-technology goods category include: chemicals excluding pharmaceuticals; electrical machinery and apparatuses; machinery and equipment; motor vehicles, trailers and semi-trailers; and railroad equipment and transport equipment.

The analysed period covers the years 2001–2016 and all data used to analyse the subject-matter issue are derived from the United Nations Commodity Trade Statistics Database.

### 3. UKRAINE'S NATIONAL INNOVATION SYSTEM – AN ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY INSTITUTIONAL BOTTLENECKS

In the case of Ukraine, from a formal point of view, we can speak of the existence of an elaborate National Innovation System. The core of this system are three main elements (corresponding to the Triple Helix concept), that is the R&D sphere, together with the educational base, responsible for the creation of innovations; the industrial sphere, responsible for the commercialisation of innovations; and the sphere of public authority, responsible for the creation and efficient functioning of the institutional system of regulations and rules of cooperation between the individual elements of NIS, so that the process of creation and commercialisation of innovations is carried out efficiently and without interruptions.

In order to understand the present institutional conditions of the National Innovation System in Ukraine, it is necessary to be aware of the fact that all the time, despite the fact that almost 30 years have passed since the collapse of the USSR, the Ukrainian economic system is to a large extent a conglomerate of institutional solutions (both formal and informal) from the times of the USSR and those introduced with various results during the never-completed transformation of the system in the times of the already independent Ukrainian state. As a consequence, even Ukrainians themselves refer to this system not as a 'rule of law', but as a 'rule alongside the law'.

Undoubtedly, from the point of view of efficient and effective operation of the National Innovation System, which is supposed to translate into gradual improvement of the innovativeness and competitiveness of the economy of a given country, the quality and transparency of legislation and its effective enforcement play an extremely important role. When analysing the legal system in Ukraine, several of its characteristics should be emphasised. First of all, the enacted laws and regulations do not have the status of mandatory standards in practice. Moreover, legal regulations may be changed arbitrarily,



often by a specific 'order' of a particular economic lobby or a group of politicians. In addition, they are very often 'vague' and 'unspecified', which, combined with the frequent lack of uniform interpretation of legal regulations and the multitude of institutions enforcing this law, constitutes a serious obstacle to the creation of long-term projects of cooperation between the R&D sphere and the industrial sphere. In addition, it also increases the uncertainty of doing business, including investment activities, also in the scope of venture capital, which is so important for financing new, ambitious and innovative start-up projects. Interestingly, in 2016 the value of venture capital financing innovative R&D projects was only 2.1% of the European Union's respective total R&D venture capital expenditures (EC 2017a). Moreover, the low efficiency of Ukraine's judicial system is also a serious problem. The independence and efficiency of the judiciary in Ukraine was rated so poorly by economists from the World Economic Forum that among 137 economies from all over the world, Ukraine was ranked only 129<sup>th</sup> (!) in the Global Competitiveness Report (WEF 2017). The inability to effectively safeguard rights, defend them against official decisions or enforce claims is a serious barrier to the development of Ukraine's National Innovation System.

The situation in Ukraine described above reinforces, on the one hand, the very strong significance of various informal ties on both economic and socio-political levels, and on the other hand, the instrumentality in the application and observance of the existing law, very often in the name of particular interests and benefits of civil servants, entrepreneurs and ordinary citizens. A direct consequence of this is the huge scale of corruption in Ukraine. Suffice it to say that in the Corruption Perceptions Index 2017, rating 180 countries and territories from all over the world, Ukraine was ranked as low as 130<sup>th</sup> (Transparency International 2017).

Another very important problem is that the institutional bottleneck of Ukraine's NIS is the issue of protection (or rather lack thereof) of intellectual property. It is absolutely unquestionable that in order to think about the effective creation and implementation of new innovative solutions in industrial production, it is absolutely essential to effectively safeguard the rights of natural and legal persons to benefit from their own creative work. This still has not been achieved in Ukraine, as evidenced by the country's position in the latest Global Competitiveness Report in the area of property rights protection, where Ukraine was ranked 128<sup>th</sup> out of 137 world economies, while in the area of intellectual property rights protection it was ranked only slightly higher, i.e. 119<sup>th</sup> (WEF 2017). Due to such a dramatic situation,

the International Intellectual Property Alliance has placed Ukraine on the Priority Watch List due to persistent deficiencies in its legal and enforcement regime, paying special attention to:

- 1) denial of adequate and effective protection of intellectual property rights,
- 2) failure to implement effective and systemic means to fight widespread online infringement of copyright and related rights,
- 3) unfair, non-transparent administration of the system for collecting societies (International Intellectual Property Alliance 2018).

From the point of view of the functioning of Ukraine's NIS, the actual lack of effective protection of property, including intellectual property, not only significantly excludes the possibility of using foreign technological solutions, but also effectively limits the possibilities of creating own, domestic innovations.

Another important institutional problem of Ukraine's National Innovation System is the way it is managed by the state administration, both at the central and local level. Despite significant improvements in this area in recent years, there is still, to a relatively large extent, overlapping and, on the other hand, paradoxical blurring of competences of various institutions (including the government) in the area of supporting pro-innovative activities in practice, despite the existing formal regulations in this area (On scientific... 2016). This obviously reduces the effectiveness of the state's pro-innovation efforts in Ukraine.

As regards the R&D sphere in Ukraine, especially the educational base, from the point of view of the existing institutional weaknesses determining the efficiency of the entire NIS in that country, one should pay attention to the absence of a clear and properly articulated vision of the development of the higher education sector in general and individual universities (Nikolaiev 2017), as well as to the quality and profile of education in Ukrainian schools and universities. Despite these changes, they are still largely out of step with the challenges of today's digital world. Therefore, in 2017 the law on education was passed, which is supposed to improve the situation in this respect. Interestingly, the need for a new law was justified (in 2017) by the fact that the previous law on education has long become obsolete, like the Soviet system of education it represented. Moreover, according to Ukraine Crisis Media Centre, the issues of academic integrity, corruption and nepotism in education are becoming even more pressing, there is widespread plagiarism, results of educational and scientific activities are fabricated and falsified. Schoolchildren complain about teachers' biased evaluation of their progress. External data can often prove these complaints, in particular by comparing

school ratings with the results of external independent testing in the same subjects (Ukraine Crisis Media Center 2017). The consequence is an increase in demand for private education, which can, however, be afforded by few and even mass emigration of young Ukrainians, especially from Western Ukraine, to study abroad. Between 2009 and 2016 alone, the number of Ukrainians studying abroad increased by 129%, reaching, according to official statistics, nearly 60,000 students, most of whom study in Poland, Germany and Russia. From the point of view of the Ukrainian economy, however, the problem is that later these young educated, creative people, not seeing their future in Ukraine, take up employment outside its borders, thus not increasing the active, educated labour resources in the country, which significantly lowers the pro-innovative human potential of the country.

Another issue is that although the existing network of various institutions and research centres in Ukraine is impressive (some of them operate under the auspices of the National Academy of Sciences, which, by the way, 'consumes' more than half of the public funds allocated to the R&D sphere with little impact on its activities on the Ukrainian market innovation), it is not reflected in the number of commercially available new solutions and products (Yegorov 2015). One may even come across an allegation that the Ukrainian R&D sector still functions as if alongside the economy, which significantly reduces its innovative potential. Aware of the existing realities in this area and in order to change it, the Ukrainian authorities have assumed in their new development strategy that financial and organisational support will be concentrated only in several selected areas, i.e. nuclear science, new materials, IT technologies, physics and astronomy, engineering, biotechnology, agricultural technologies and aerospace technologies (On scientific... 2016). One can only wonder whether such a wide range of priority areas of research will not have a negative impact on their actual results.

Still another important institutional problem in the National Innovation System in Ukraine is the transfer of knowledge between the R&D sphere and the industrial sphere responsible for its commercialisation, which is largely determined by legal (lack of clear regulations on how and with whom such cooperation can be undertaken) and financial considerations. Definitely, knowledge transfer to industry would be faster and better if R&D projects were commissioned and financed by the industrial sector. In 2015, BERD (Business Expenditure on R&D) in Ukraine accounted for only 18.7% of total R&D expenditure (World Bank 2017), which most clearly shows its very strong dependence on public funds from the state budget. What is also extremely important, the expenditures of Ukrainian companies on

innovations (innovative products) to a very large extent concern the purchase of machines, devices or software, based on existing technology; what is more, they are often imported goods, and do not result from the awareness and need to finance completely new, domestic modern innovative solutions. Recognising this problem, some leading research institutes have taken matters into their own hands and have already transformed themselves into research-production companies, which have preserved some R&D activities while creating a dozen of spin-offs that conduct business activities, including manufacturing of goods, on the basis of formerly-existing institutes. However, there are not many such examples among technology-oriented institutes in Ukraine (Yegorov 2015).

This is also connected with another issue. It should be noted that the economic transformation desired in the new geopolitical conditions, the privatisation process initiated, and attempts made, with varying results, to dismantle the planned Soviet economic management system in the early 1990s resulted in the disassembly of the existing post-Soviet economic structures in Ukraine, but unfortunately very often without the construction of new ones (Falkowski 2017). As a result, to a large extent the ability to create own innovative production solutions (industrial innovations with high added value) and to commercialise them has been effectively replaced by almost exclusively reproductive activity. A very good example of this can be found in the Ukrainian automotive industry, which was developing very dynamically during the Soviet era and has become, in fact, an assembly plant for foreign car brands during the independent period of Ukraine. Companies such as ZAZ or Bogdan Corporation assemble foreign cars, mainly Chinese and Korean ones. It is worth mentioning here that one glorious but only exception in this respect is the manufacturer of huge construction and specialist trucks (still hailing from the communist era) called KrAZ, which for many years have been in high demand mainly in the countries of the former Soviet Union, but also in the Philippines, Cuba, Indonesia, and are even sold to the USA.

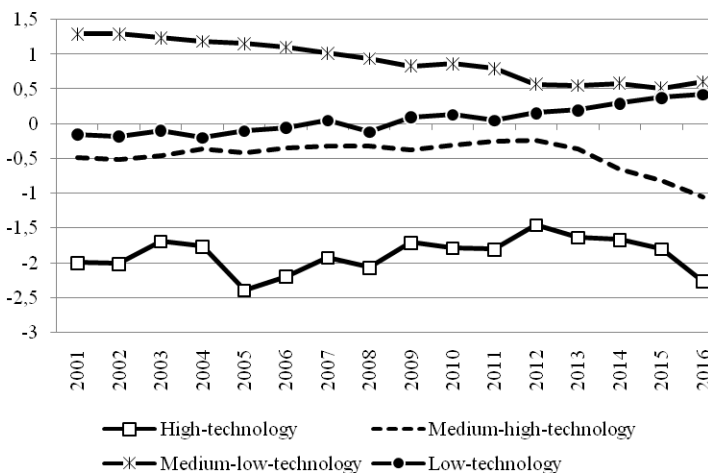
Taking into account all the institutional bottlenecks described above (institutional weaknesses), it is difficult to expect that the tried and tested solutions concerning the National Innovation Systems existing in the countries of Western or Central Europe and operating in diametrically different institutional conditions, will work in the same way in Ukraine, which would be reflected in the gradual improvement of innovativeness and, consequently, the competitiveness of its economy on the international arena.

#### 4. UKRAINE'S COMPETITIVENESS IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE OF HIGH- AND MEDIUM-HIGH-TECHNOLOGY GOODS IN THE YEARS 2001–2016

The detailed analysis of the development of the comparative advantages disclosed in Ukrainian exports in the years 2001–2016 clearly shows that the country is competitive on international markets in the area of trade in medium-low-technology and low-technology goods (Figure 1). Moreover, it should be added that in the case of Ukrainian exports of low technology goods a gradual improvement in the competitiveness was observed over the analysed period (including recording comparative advantages since 2009). This was due to a very significant increase in the competitiveness of Ukrainian products from the food, beverages and tobacco goods subcategory (in 2016, Revealed comparative advantages – RCAs for this subcategory was 1.36, as compared to 0.42 in 2001). In the case of the traditionally most competitive goods category in Ukraine's foreign trade, i.e. medium-low-technology goods, there was a very worrying trend of gradual deterioration of their competitiveness in international trade. Although Ukraine still holds comparative advantages in trade in these goods, they very clearly decreased (from 1.29 in 2001 to 0.61 in 2016).

Figure 1

Revealed comparative advantages in Ukraine's exports within the basic categories of goods according to the OECD classification in 2001–2016



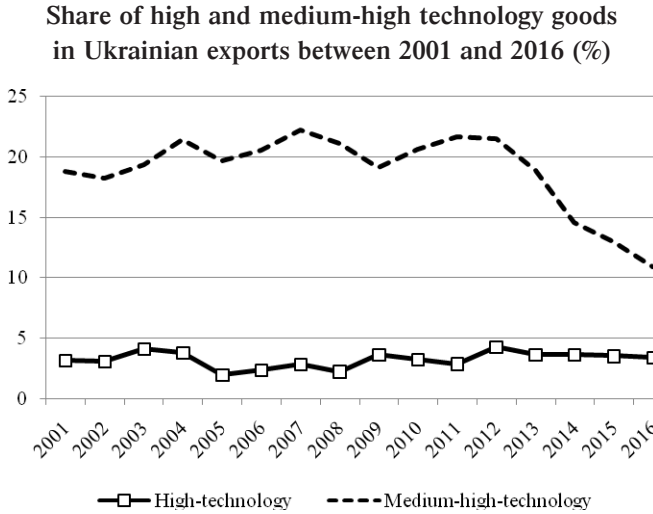
Source: Own elaboration based on data from the United Nations Commodity Trade Statistics Database.

This undesirable trend was the result of reduced international competitiveness of goods from Basic metals and fabricated metal and Coke, refined petroleum products and nuclear fuel subcategories (while in 2001 the RCAs for these subcategories were 1.81 and 0.81 respectively, in 2016 it stood at 1.12 and -1.59 respectively).

In turn, from the point of view of the research issue discussed in this article, particular attention should be given to the dynamics of the RCAs for high-technology and medium-high-technology goods (Figure 1). It appears that during the analysed period Ukraine did not have any comparative advantages in respect of goods from these two goods categories, which proves that the Ukrainian economy is not competitive in international trade in such goods. The situation is particularly bad in the case of trade in high-technology goods, for which the value of the RCA index in the analysed period ranged from -1.46 (in 2012) to -2.40 (in 2005). On the other hand, although the values of the RCA index were negative for medium-high-technology goods, in the years 2001–2012 they did not fall below -0.52 and were gradually improving (decreasing negative values of the RCA index). This was the case until 2013, when this trend was reversed and the RCA values for this goods category started to fall very sharply (an increase in the negative RCA values). Interestingly, a similar situation (in terms of direction and strength) was also observed in the case of high-technology goods. One of the main reasons for this was the collapse of trade with Russia in connection with the escalation of tensions in mutual relations, especially after the annexation of Crimea in March 2014 and accusations against Russia of supporting separatists in eastern Ukraine. It should be noted at this point that most Ukrainian goods, especially the medium-high-technology ones, were mainly exported to post-Soviet countries, mainly to Russia as they were not able to compete effectively on the demanding European markets because of both their quality and technological advancement.

In turn, if we look at the importance of high-technology and medium-high-technology goods in Ukrainian exports in the years 2001–2016, it will appear that in the case of the former ones it was rather minimal (Figure 2), with the share of this goods category in total exports ranging from 1.98% in 2005 to 4.26% in 2012. The importance of the latter ones in Ukrainian exports, on the other hand, was much greater, and their share in total exports over the years oscillated around 20% until 2013, when it began to decline dramatically. Suffice it to say that while medium-high-technology goods accounted for 21.58% of Ukrainian exports in 2012, in 2016 – only for 10.88%. The main reason for this has already been mentioned above.

**Figure 2**



Source: Own elaboration based on data from the United Nations Commodity Trade Statistics Database.

When analysing Ukraine’s competitiveness in the area of high-technology and medium-high-technology goods in international trade, it is worth exploring in more depth the development of the RCAs for the main subcategories of goods within each goods category in order to identify more precisely the level and scale of non-competitiveness of these goods in the international markets (Figure 3 and Figure 4).

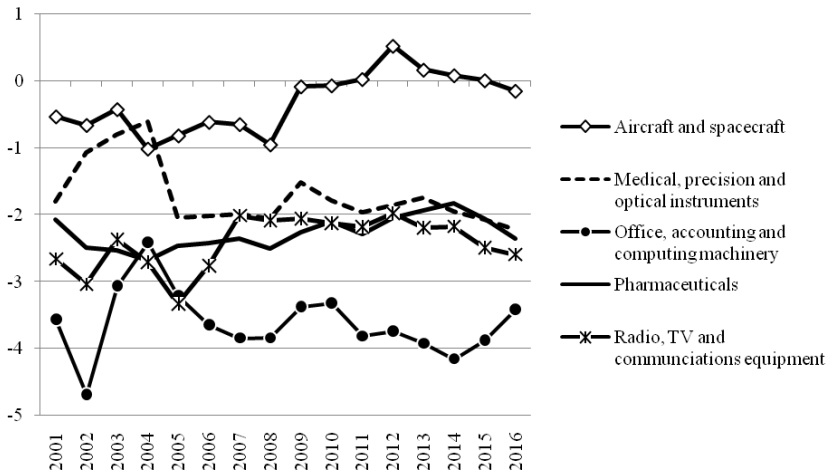
For the high-technology goods category, the trade in goods from the Aircraft and spacecraft subcategory looked relatively good during the analysed period, with Ukraine even recording comparative advantages in the years 2011–2015, which from 2012 onwards were markedly decreasing to reach a negative value in 2016 (RCA = -0.15). However, for all the other subcategories of this goods category, Ukraine has been very uncompetitive and has had practically nothing to offer on international markets for many years, as evidenced by the very high negative values of the RCA index for these goods subcategories (Figure 3). Ukraine is by far the most uncompetitive in the trade of goods from the Office, accounting and computing machinery subcategory (the average value of the RCA index for the years 2001–2016 is -3.62).

It is also worth noting that no improvement (with very few exceptions) has been observed in terms of the value of the RCA index for individual subcategories of goods within the high-technology goods category, which

proves that there has been no improvement in competitiveness within these goods, and partly also no improvement in the efficiency of NIS in Ukraine.

Figure 3

Revealed comparative advantages in Ukraine's exports within high-technology goods according to the OECD classification in 2001–2016



Source: Own elaboration based on data from the United Nations Commodity Trade Statistics Database.

In the case of the medium-high-technology goods category, Ukrainian exports of goods from the Railroad equipment and transport equipment subcategory is characterised by the highest competitiveness (Figure 4). This export specialisation of Ukraine and its strong position, especially in the former USSR, gradually strengthened year by year in the analysed period, as evidenced by the growing values of the RCA index, to deteriorate sharply from 2013 onwards for the reasons already stated above. With respect to the other three subcategories of the medium-high-technology goods category, i.e. Chemicals excluding pharmaceuticals; Electrical machinery and apparatus; and Machinery and equipment, Ukraine did not have any comparative advantages in international trade (with the exception of Chemicals excluding pharmaceuticals in the years 2001–2007) although the values of the RCA index for these goods subcategories were relatively stable (the goods remained uncompetitive all the time) and ranged from 0 to –1. By far the worst situation in this respect concerns the goods from the Motor vehicles, trailers and semi-trailers subcategory, with respect to which Ukraine not only does not have any comparative advantages, but also the values of the RCA

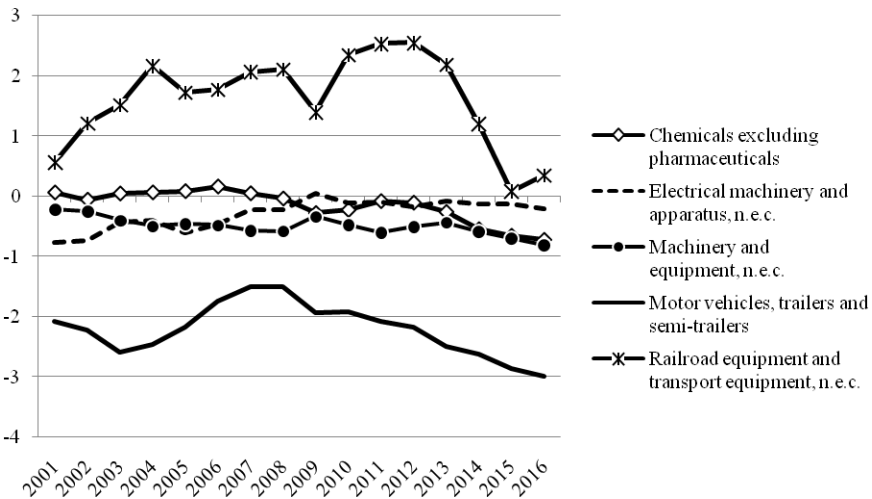


index for this subcategory have been very dramatically decreasing since 2009 (the negative RCA is growing), which proves their growing uncompetitiveness in international trade.

Like in the case of high-technology goods, the fact that there has been no improvement in the competitiveness of Ukrainian goods in international trade is also very clearly noticeable here, and such a situation can and should be connected with the ineffectiveness of NIS in Ukraine.

Figure 4

Revealed comparative advantages in Ukraine's exports within medium-high-technology goods according to the OECD classification in 2001–2016



Source: Own elaboration based on data from the United Nations Commodity Trade Statistics Database.

## CONCLUSION

The aim of this article was to identify the main institutional weaknesses of Ukraine's National Innovation System along with an attempt to determine their consequences for the competitiveness of the Ukrainian economy in the international trade in technologically advanced goods created in industries based, to a large extent, on knowledge and modern technologies, the development of which is strongly influenced by the efficiency and effectiveness of Ukraine's NIS.

The analysis of the development of the revealed comparative advantages in Ukraine's exports in the years 2001-2016 clearly shows that the country is competitive in the trade of medium-low-technology and low-technology goods, although – in the case of medium-low-technology goods – this competitiveness significantly decreased over the analysed period (as evidenced by the decrease in the relevant values of the RCA index). In the case of trade in high-technology and medium-high-technology goods, Ukraine proved not competitive on the international arena, which, from the point of view of the realities of the modern world economy and the ever-growing demand for goods with high and medium-high technology advancement, should be considered a clearly negative phenomenon. High-technology goods fared particularly badly in this respect. Moreover, for these two groups of goods in total, there was practically no improvement during the analysed period (except perhaps for the Aircraft and spacecraft subcategory); on the contrary, after 2013 the competitive gap in trade in these goods started to widen rapidly and substantially, which was also linked to the decrease of exports of these goods to the Russian market as a result of the deterioration of political relations between Kiev and Moscow.

All this leads to the conclusion that the strong institutional weaknesses present within Ukraine's National Innovation System, lowering the effectiveness of the entire system, effectively block the growth of the innovative capacity of the Ukrainian economy to create and commercialise knowledge and innovation, which translates into a lack of improvement in its competitiveness in international trade in technologically advanced goods, i.e. goods from the high-technology and medium-high-technology categories.

In this situation, it is fully justified to state that without the effective elimination of the existing (and identified in this article) 'institutional bottlenecks' in Ukraine's National Innovation System, it will not be possible to improve its economy's competitive position in international trade in technologically advanced goods, which is so desirable from the point of view of growth of the entire Ukrainian economy. Therefore, among the main recommendations for the Ukrainian authorities aimed to eliminate these institutional weaknesses and increase its economy's competitiveness in the afore-mentioned area, these should mainly be listed:

- (i) development and consistent implementation of a comprehensive and coherent long-term national innovation policy;
- (ii) creation of a transparent legal framework (including the elimination of inconsistencies) to ensure effective protection of intellectual property rights, as well as to secure the implementation of innovative projects at every stage, including their financing from private or public sources;

- (iii) development and implementation of policies to support long-term private innovation or start-up projects that require access to risk capital, an appropriate investment insurance scheme or the leasing of high-tech equipment;
- (iv) creation of efficient knowledge transfer mechanisms from research centres to industry, thus increasing the commercialisation of knowledge; and
- (v) undertaking an effective fight against corruption and bureaucracy in the country, both at the central and local levels.

Although at least some of these desirable measures will not be easy to implement, especially now, during the civil war in eastern Ukraine, amid the difficult macroeconomic situation and the lack of broad public support for the direction of political and economic changes in the current government formation, Ukraine, if it wants to become a more competitive economy in international trade, and thus more independent of the Russian economy, must make every effort to implement the above-listed measures to eliminate the institutional weaknesses that exist today in the National Innovation System implemented there.

From the point of view of further research on the international competitiveness of the Ukrainian economy in the context of institutional weaknesses of the country's National Innovation System, the need to determine the extent to which these institutional weaknesses are an important factor (as compared to others) shaping the ability and, consequently, the competitive position of the Ukrainian economy should be deemed fully justified. It should be checked whether this is the absolutely most important determinant or its importance in this context is not so crucial. This should be treated as a challenge and a direction for future, in-depth research on the competitiveness of the Ukrainian economy.

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## INSTITUTIONAL WEAKNESSES OF UKRAINE'S NATIONAL INNOVATION SYSTEM AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES FOR THE COUNTRY'S INTERNATIONAL COMPETITIVENESS

### Abstract

The aim of the article is to identify the main institutional weaknesses of Ukraine's National Innovation System and to try to determine their consequences for the competitiveness of the Ukrainian economy in terms of international trade in high-technology and medium-high-technology goods, i.e. those created in industries based on knowledge and modern technologies. In other words, to examine whether and how Ukraine's competitiveness in trade in these goods is changing in the face of the existing institutional weaknesses of its National Innovation System. In order to analyse the country competitiveness in international trade, B. Balassa's method of analysing revealed comparative advantages was applied.

The in-depth analysis of the dynamics of the revealed comparative advantages in Ukrainian exports in the years 2001–2016 clearly shows that the Ukrainian economy not only did not have any long-term comparative advantages in trade in high-technology and medium-high-technology goods in this period, but also its competitive position deteriorated in this respect. This should be attributed to strong institutional weaknesses within Ukraine's National Innovation System, which significantly lower the effectiveness of this system and also reduce the ability to create and commercialise knowledge and innovation, as reflected in the lack of competitiveness of its economy in trade in high-technology goods.

**Key words:** Ukraine, National Innovation System, institutions, international competitiveness

## INSTYTUCJONALNE SŁABOŚCI NARODOWEGO SYSTEMU INNOWACJI NA UKRAINIE I ICH KONSEKWENCJE DLA JEJ MIĘDZYNARODOWEJ KONKURENCYJNOŚCI

### Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest wskazanie głównych słabości instytucjonalnych ukraińskiego Narodowego Systemu Innowacji oraz próba określenia konsekwen-

cji ich występowania dla konkurencyjności gospodarki Ukrainy w zakresie międzynarodowego handlu towarami z grupy wysokiej oraz średnio-wysokiej techniki, a więc tymi, które powstają w przemysłach bazujących na wiedzy i nowoczesnych technologiach. Innymi słowy sprawdzenie, czy i jak zmienia się konkurencyjność Ukrainy w handlu tymi towarami w obliczu istniejących określonych słabości instytucjonalnych Narodowego Systemu Innowacji. W celu analizy poziomu konkurencyjności Ukrainy w handlu międzynarodowym zastosowano metodę analizy ujawnionych przewag komparatywnych B. Balassy.

Z dokonanej pogłębionej analizy kształtowania się ujawnionych przewag komparatywnych w ukraińskim eksporcie w latach 2001–2016 jasno wynika, iż ukraińska gospodarka nie dość, że nie posiadała w tym okresie praktycznie żadnych długookresowych przewag komparatywnych w handlu towarami z grupy wysokiej oraz średnio-wysokiej techniki, to jeszcze jej pozycja konkurencyjna w tym zakresie się pogorszyła. Wiązać to należy ze znacznymi słabościami instytucjonalnymi istniejącymi w ramach Narodowego Systemu Innowacji Ukrainy, które znacznie zmniejszając efektywność owego systemu, zmniejszają także zdolność do kreacji i komercjalizacji wiedzy oraz innowacji, co znajduje swoje odzwierciedlenie w braku konkurencyjności jej gospodarki w handlu dobrami zaawansowanymi technologicznie.

Słowa kluczowe: Ukraina, Narodowy System Innowacji, instytucje, konkurencyjność międzynarodowa

## ИНСТИТУЦИОНАЛЬНЫЕ СЛАБОСТИ НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ ИННОВАЦИОННОЙ СИСТЕМЫ УКРАИНЫ И ИХ ПОСЛЕДСТВИЯ ДЛЯ ЕЁ МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЙ КОНКУРЕНТОСПОСОБНОСТИ

### Резюме

Целью статьи является представление основных институциональных слабостей украинской Национальной инновационной системы, а также попытка определить последствия их возникновения для конкурентоспособности экономики Украины в сфере международной торговли высокотехнологичными и среднетехнологичными товарами, то есть теми, которые имеются в наличии в отраслях, основанных на знаниях и современных технологиях. Другими словами, статья содержит в себе попытку анализа и оценки того, изменяется ли и каким образом конкурентоспособность Украины в сфере



торговли этими товарами, перед лицом существующих специфических институциональных слабостей Национальной инновационной системы. Для определения уровня конкурентоспособности Украины в международной торговле был использован метод анализа выявленных сравнительных преимуществ, предложенный Б. Балассой.

Проведённый углубленный анализ формирования сравнительных преимуществ, выявленных в украинском экспорте в 2001–2016 гг., наглядно демонстрирует, что, кроме того, что украинская экономика практически не имела долгосрочных сравнительных преимуществ в сфере торговли высокотехнологичными и среднетехнологичными товарами, в этот период наблюдается дальнейшее ослабление ее конкурентной позиции в данной области. Это связано с серьёзными институциональными слабостями, имеющими место в Национальной инновационной системе Украины, которые значительно снижают как её эффективность, так и способность создавать и коммерциализировать знания и инновации, что отражается в недостаточной конкурентоспособности ее экономики в сфере торговли высокотехнологичными товарами.

Ключевые слова: Украина, Национальная инновационная система, институты, международная конкурентоспособность

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## HEALTH CARE SYSTEMS IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL – ECONOMIC APPROACH

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### INTRODUCTION

The observation of the Polish health care system leads to the conclusion that its already not sufficient condition is deteriorating or at least is not improving significantly. According to the latest Euro Health Consumer Index (which takes into account 50 criteria) Poland occupies the 32<sup>nd</sup> position, losing its 30<sup>th</sup> position in 2018 and 29<sup>th</sup> in 2017. It proves that increasing expenditures on the Polish health system (this year about PLN 90 milliard) do not change the situation in the proper direction. Poland dramatically needs a completely new health care system. The aim of the cycle of the articles on European countries' health care systems is to find and point out their outstanding organisational and economic arrangements, which make them effective and which may be used to build the fundamental features, arrangements and tools of a new efficient health care system for Poland.

The main hypothesis of the research is that in the existing health care systems of other European countries there are such outstanding solutions which may be transferred to the new Polish system and implemented in it without enormous difficulties. The cycle of articles was started with the description of health care systems in the Netherlands and Luxembourg and now proceeds to Portugal and Spain. Spain has the area of 506 thousand square

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kilometres and population of 46.5 million (2017) and Portugal 92 thousand square kilometres and population of 10.3 million (2015). According to the European Health Consumer Index, Portugal has the 13<sup>th</sup> most effective health system in Europe and Spain the 19<sup>th</sup> (Health Consumer Powerhouse 2019).

The Portuguese health care system consists of three parts: the general publicly financed National Health Service (*NHS*), insurance schemes for specific professions, occupations or companies (*the health subsystems*) and private voluntary health insurance entities (*VHI*). The National Health Service was envisaged in the new democratic Constitution (1976) and established in 1979. Its principle was that all citizens have access to health care regardless of their economic and social status. In the next years some changes were made in it. The most important one was the introduction of charges to be paid by users and social exemptions from the charges (Simoes et al. 2017: 17).

The Portuguese health policy was evolving from establishing the centralised NHS (late 1970s), through incentives to increase alternatives to public service (early 1980s), promotion of market mechanisms (mid 1990s), tools which took off the health care from the market oriented status (late 1990s) up to the mixed system with interaction of public and private sectors and combination of common coverage (guaranteed by the NHS) with efficiency (the beginning of 2000s) (Simoes et al. 2017: 17). The contemporary legal framework of the health care system was established by the 1990 Basic Law on Health (*Law No. 48/90 of 24th August 1990*). It introduced the following new arrangements:

- regionalisation of health service by creating (finally in 1993) five Regional Health Administrations (*RHAs*) which are responsible for strategic management of health of the citizens, supervision of hospitals, management of National Health Service primary care centres and fulfilment of the national health policy objectives;
- possibility of privatisation of sectors of health care by allowing the state to promote private suppliers of medical goods and services and private management of public health facilities;
- possibility of introducing private health care financing by promoting private voluntary health insurance firms (*VHI*) and other options of health insurance;
- integration of health care with simultaneous establishing of regional units which will gather local hospitals and care units (Simoes et al. 2017: 16–17).

Next significant modifications of the Portuguese health care system were connected with the aim of the country to overcome the international financial crisis which began in 2008. After a long period with low economic growth (the average Gross Domestic Product grew by 0.8% between the

years 2001 and 2010), the country's economy experienced severe recession in 2009, 2011 and 2012 (Perelman, Felix, and Santana 2015: 307–315). The economic decline was connected with a continued rise of unemployment and public debt. As a result of the simultaneous economic turmoil in other countries, Portugal had increasing difficulties with access to international financial markets. The country could not re-finance both private and public obligations. Consequently, Portugal asked the European Commission, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund for financial assistance. In May 2011, the three institutions and the Portuguese government agreed on the Economic and Financial Adjustment Programme and signed the Memorandum of Understanding (the MoU) that granted Portugal the Euro 78 milliard loan.

The MoU was connected with number of policy conditions (measures) which had to be fulfilled by Portugal. The most important among them were:

- austerity arrangements with a decrease in public spending and a rise in tax income to cut budget deficit;
- other measures to stabilise the financial sector;
- structural reforms in many areas including labour, goods, services and housing (Maresso et al. 2014).

The Memorandum of Understanding contained also thirty four measures which referred to the health sector. Major measures are listed in Table 1.

The most essential health measures, which influenced the other ones, were the strengthening of regulations and improving of health quality and safety and the National Health Plan 2012–2020. The National Health Plan underlined the principles of the desired health system i.e. the equity, the access to health care, health quality and the health policies. They should be implemented together with the continued austerity measures.

**Table 1**

**Major policy measures referring to the health sector**

<b>Policy measures</b>	<b>Goals</b>
<i>Regulation and governance</i>	
Reinforcement of the HRA's powers (2014)	Strengthen regulation; improve health quality and safety
Reorganization of the Ministry of Health structure, including merge/extinction of some entities (2012–2014)	Improve efficiency; cost-containment

<b>Policy measures</b>	<b>Goals</b>
<i>Health promotion</i>	
National Health Plan 2012–2020	Health gains, focusing on equity and access to health care, health citizenship, health quality and healthy policies
Priority Health Programmes (2012 onwards)	Health gains through prioritization of 11 health programmes: diabetes, cerebro-cardiovascular diseases, oncological diseases, mental health, tobacco control, respiratory diseases, healthy nutrition, physical activity, prevention and control of antimicrobial resistance and infections, viral hepatitis, and HIV/AIDS
<i>Pharmaceutical market</i>	
Changes to the structure of distribution margins (since 2012)	Reduce public pharmaceutical expenditure
Promotion of generic drugs (since 2012)	Reduce public pharmaceutical expenditure
Revision of chosen countries for setting reference price (since 2012)	Reduce public pharmaceutical expenditure
Revision of reimbursement rules in the NHS (2010–2015)	Cost-containment
Use of clinical guidelines for prescription (since 2010)	Improve effectiveness and efficiency
<i>Long-term and palliative care</i>	
Expansion of the National Network for Long-term Care (2012 onwards)	Expand long-term coverage through contracting with private and social providers; reduce the length of stay in acute care hospitals
Creation of the National Network of Palliative Care (2012)	Improve access to palliative care; more effective delivery of palliative care
<i>Primary and hospital care</i>	
Benchmarking analysis of hospitals (since 2013) and primary health care groups (since 2014)	Improve effectiveness and comparability of performance among providers
New rules for contracting both with primary health care and hospitals (since 2012)	Pay by results; cost-containment
‘Strategic Plan for Primary Healthcare Reform’ (2016)	Reprioritize 2005 primary care reform
Improved patient choice across NHS hospitals (2016)	Reduce waiting times; improve patient information

Source: Simoes, J., Augusto, G. F., Fronterria, I., and Hernandez-Ouevedo, C. (2017) *Portugal Health System Review 2017*. Health Systems in Transition, 139.

The Spanish health care system consists of public and private segments. The public one is divided into three subsystems: the common national health system (*Sistema Nacional de Salud, SNS*), Mutual Funds for civil servants, members of the army and judiciary (*MUFACE, MUGEJU, ISFAS*) and Mutualities specialised in accidents and professional illnesses (*Collaborating Mutualities with the Social Security*). The SNS is based on universality, free access and equity. It is financed by taxes. It has a country level and a regional level (*seventeen Autonomous Communities, AC*). The country level (*the Interterritorial Council*) is responsible for general coordination of the health system, some strategic areas and national monitoring of health performance.

The private part of the Spanish health care system is gradually growing. It provides dental, hospital, optical and pharmaceutical care, frequently in combination with the public sector.

Planning and regulation of health care on the national scale is done by the Ministry of Health and their local implementation, regional regulation and regional policies by the Departments of Health of the seventeen Autonomous Communities (Bernal-Delgado et al. 2018: XX). The most essential components of the Autonomous Communities dedicated to health care are the Departments of Health. Their roles consist of planning, budgeting and regulating. They are supported by a number of agencies (for example the health technology assessment agency).

The quasi-federal system with the seventeen Autonomous Communities which provide welfare state services to people was introduced by the Spanish Constitution of 1978. Since that time the significance of ACs has been growing. The financial tools incorporated in 2001 and 2009 increasing their autonomous status have resulted in the continued decentralisation of ACs and their growing role in planning, financing and provision of health care as well as education and services of social protection. In 2009, for example, the public spending done by Autonomous Communities on all their activities reached Euro 184.2 milliard, i.e. 17.1% of Spanish GDP. Since that year ACs have been balancing between adequate provision of welfare services and reduction of expenditures (Bernal-Delgado et al. 2017: 5–6).

The economic crisis of the country caused by the global economic recession resulted in policies which were reducing public spending on health. Between 2009 and 2015 they decreased by 5.3%. At the same time private expenditures on health were growing and amounted to 23.9% of the total health payments in 2015. Earlier, in 2012, new regulations were established to determine coverage conditions, the benefits package and the participation

of patient in SNS costs (Bernal-Delgado et al. 2017: XXI). There were also some small reforms (introduction of day-case care, increase of integrated care). The Public Health Policies have been modified intensely. For example, the General Law on Public Health implemented in 2013 increased taxes on alcohol and tobacco. It is worth noting that on 27 February 2018 Spanish government introduced an important decree in which it gave the right of free access to health care to all people living in the territory of the country no matter whether they have or do not have insurance cover and pay or do not pay the insurance premium. It restored the situation from before the year 2012 (PAP Rynek Zdrowia 2018).

## 1. ORGANISATION AND ECONOMICS OF HEALTH CARE IN PORTUGAL

The Portuguese health care system consists of three parts (*see Introduction*) and is headed by the Ministry of Health. The Ministry is responsible for developing health policies and watching their implementation. It plans, regulates and manages the state National Health Service and regulates, audits and inspects private health care suppliers. The implementation of health policy is the role of Regional Health Administrations.

The following central institutions support the Ministry of Health in its duties (Simoes et al. 2017: 18–21):

- 1) The Central Administration of the Health System (*Administracao Central de Sistema de Saude, ACSS*), which manages human and financial assets, equipment, facilities and IT of the NHS;
- 2) The National Authority on Drugs and Health Products (*Autoridade Nacional do Medicamento e Productos de Saude, INFARMED*), which controls and regulates quality, safety and efficiency of pharmaceuticals and health products;
- 3) The National Institute for Medical Emergencies (*Instituto Nacional de Emergencia Medica, INEM*), which coordinates the Integrated System of Medical Emergency;
- 4) The Portuguese Institute for Blood and Transplantation (*Instituto Portugues do Sangue e da Transplantacao*), which guarantees quality and safety of human blood and organs;
- 5) The Institute for Protection and Assistance in Illness (*Instituto de Proteccao e Assistencia na Doenca, ADSE*), which guarantees access to social and health services for employees of public administration and their families;

- 6) The National Institute of Health Doctor Ricardo Jorge (*Instituto Nacional de Saude Doutor Ricardo Jorge, INSA*), which is the reference laboratory of the health system of the country;
- 7) Regional Health Administrations (*Administracoes Regionais de Saude, RHAs*), which implement the national health policy and coordinate all participants of the health care system;
- 8) Hospitals belonging to the Public Administrative Sector (*Hospitais do Sector Publico Administrativo*), i.e. a small number of public institutions without a character of an enterprise;
- 9) Shared Services of the Ministry of Health (*Servicos Partilhados do Ministerio da Saude, SPMS*), which provide various services related to health care (logistics, human resources, financial management, communications, etc.) to entities which belong to the NHS or to other organisations connected with health care;
- 10) Local Health Units (*Unidades Locais de Saude*), created in 1999 to improve communication between primary care and hospitals and as a result integrate health care;
- 11) Hospital Centres and other Public Enterprise Hospitals (*Centros Hospitalares e Hospitais*), which have the character of public enterprises with a certain level of autonomy (Simoes et al. 2017: 22);
- 12) Private health insurance companies (VHIs), which were introduced in 1978 with group policies and from 1982 with individual ones. The number of people having individual policies grew from 500,000 in 1990 to 2,000,000 in 2015 (Portuguese Authority for Insurance and Pension Funds Supervision 2016);
- 13) Health subsystems (insurance schemes) for employees of various professions.

In addition to health insurance provided by the NHS, 25.6% of the population (2015) were covered by individual or group private health insurance (Portuguese Authority for Insurance and Pension Funds Supervision 2016).

In Portugal there are also institutions connected with health which are not subordinated to the Ministry of Health and are free of its supervision. They are:

- The National Health Council (*Conselho Nacional de Saude*), which is a consultative entity for the Ministry;
- The Health Regulatory Agency (*Entidade Reguladora da Saude*), which is an independent regulator watchdog of health care market, controlling



- operating requirements, patients access to healthcare, defence of patient rights, quality of the health care service and promotion of competition;
- Professional associations in which membership is obligatory (*Ordem dos Medicos, Ordem dos Farmaceuticos, Ordem dos Medicos Dentistas, Ordem dos Enfermeiros, Ordem dos Psicologos, Ordem dos Nutricionistas*), which provide accreditation, certification and see to obeying disciplinary codes;
  - Professional unions (*Federacao Nacional dos Medicos FNAM, Sindicato Independente dos Medicos SIM, Associacao Nacional de Farmacias*), which advocate for the rights of certain professions;
  - Patient disease-based organised groups devoted to cancer, diabetes, haemophilia, hepatitis and other illnesses.

Three other ministries play certain roles in the Portuguese health care system. The Ministry of Finance prepares the government's annual budget and has to reconcile competing needs of the health system with expectations of other departments. It also accepts changes in the number of staff working in it. The Ministry of Labour, Solidarity and Social Security cooperates with the Ministry of Health in certification of sick leave, coordination of health care and social benefits, prolonging long-term care for elderly and disabled people and in other programmes. The Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education is responsible for preparing new professionals for the health system and for educating physicians, nurses and allied health specialists at undergraduate level and with academic degrees. However, the postgraduate medical training is provided by the Portuguese Medical Association (*Ordem dos Medicos*) and the Ministry of Health (Simoes et al. 2017: 22–23). The responsibilities of particular sectors and departments of government in the Portuguese health system are shown in Table 2.

The Portuguese health care system is financed by both public and private sources. The National Health Service is covered nearly totally from taxes. The health subsystems, which offer complete or partial health assistance to 20–25% of the country inhabitants, are financed by employees and employers. Private Voluntary Health Insurance companies provide health care to about 26% of the population and play supplementary role. Around one third of the total national outlays on health come from out-of-pocket payments of individual persons. They have a form of co-payments, full payments or premiums to private insurance schemes or mutualities. Patients pay a partial or full price for consultations, emergency and home visits, medical tests and therapeutics, but about 60% of inhabitants are exempted from these costs.

Table 2  
Responsibilities in the Portuguese health system by sector

Sector	Legislation	Planning	Licensing/accreditation	Pricing/ Tariff setting	Quality assurance	Purchasing/ Financing
Public health services	Ministry of Health	Ministry of Health	Ministry of Health and Health Regulatory Agency	Ministry of Health	Ministry of Health and Health Regulatory Agency	Ministry of Health
Ambulatory care (primary care and secondary care)	Ministry of Health	Ministry of Health (for the public sector)	Ministry of Health (for the public sector); Health Regulatory Agency (for the private sector)	Ministry of Health (for the public sector)	Ministry of Health and Health Regulatory Agency	Ministry of Health (for the public sector), patients
Inpatient care	Ministry of Health	Ministry of Health (for the public sector)	Ministry of Health (for the public sector); Health Regulatory Agency (for the private sector)	Ministry of Health (for the public sector)	Ministry of Health and Health Regulatory Agency	Ministry of Health (for the public sector), patients
Dental care	Ministry of Health	None	Health Regulatory Agency	Depends on the provider	Health Regulatory Agency and Portuguese Dental Association	Patients, VHI, health subsystems
Pharmaceuticals (ambulatory)	Ministry of Health	Legislation defines pharmacies' location	INFARMED	INFARMED	INFARMED	Patients, VHI, health subsystems
Long-term care	Ministry of Health; Ministry of Labour, Solidarity and Social Security	Ministry of Health; Ministry of Labour, Solidarity and Social Security	Ministry of Health; Ministry of Labour, Solidarity and Social Security	Ministry of Health; Ministry of Labour, Solidarity and Social Security	Ministry of Health; Ministry of Labour, Solidarity and Social Security	Ministry of Health; Ministry of Labour, Solidarity and Social Security; patients
University education of personnel	Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education	Public and private universities	Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education	Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education; universities	Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education; universities	Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education; students (fees)

Note: INFARMED: National Authority on Drugs and Health Products; VHI: voluntary health insurance.

Source: Simoes, J., Augusto, G. F., Fronterria, I., Hernandez-Ouevedo, C. (2017) *Portugal Health System Review 2017*. Health Systems in Transition, 37.

The Ministry of Finance prepares complete budget for the National Health Service and the Ministry of Health allocates it to all institutions of the NHS. It allocates funds to health regions taking into consideration past periods, their population and health programmes. Public hospitals are financed mainly from the budget, but more and more by health subsystems, private insuring companies and diagnosis-related groups (Simoes et al. 2017: 47).

The total health expenditure of Portuguese health system rose from 7.5% of Gross Domestic Product in 1995 to 9.0% in 2017 (OECD 2019b). The austerity caused by the global financial crisis led the country to the reduction of its spending on health care. Between 2010 and 2013 the Gross Domestic Product dropped by 5.4% and at the same time the total health expenditure went down by 12.4% (Simoes et al. 2017: 48). The country health spending per capita amounted to USD 2,888 in 2017 from which USD 1,924 were the government compulsory expenses and USD 964 the voluntary ones (OECD 2019a).

In 2014 Portugal had 225 hospitals. Half of them belonged to the National Health System. In the last years there was a decrease in the number of public hospitals, caused by their mergers, shorter time of individual hospital treatment and closing of the psychiatric ones. The essential government objective of that time was the involvement of private capital in building, maintaining and operating health facilities in the Private-Public scheme.

The number of physicians per 100,000 inhabitants amounted to 442.6 and was higher than the average of the European Union (349.6). The quantity of nurses amounted to 637.8 per the same amount of citizens and was lower than the EU average (864.3). The country has a significant problem with the distribution of health workers and evident shortages of health equipment (Simoes et al. 2017: 79).

## 2. ORGANISATION AND ECONOMICS OF HEALTH CARE IN SPAIN

The Spanish public health care systems consists also of three subsystems (*see Introduction*). The main one, the National Health System (*SNS*), covering almost the entire population, is financed predominantly from taxes and provides services by public hospitals and health centres. Medical goods and services provided by the *SNS* are free at the point of their delivery (with the exception of pharmaceuticals for non-patients and some orthopaedic items).

The National Health System is divided into seventeen health systems of Autonomous Communities (*ACs*), which are fully responsible for planning and provision of health services and goods to people living in their territories.

The second subsystem is composed of the Mutual Funds (MFs) of civil servants, armed forces and judiciary. The MFs were covering 2.2 million people in 2014 and were financing 3.4% of public health spending. Up to 85% of their funds come from the central government (as the employer) and at least 15% from the employees. The third subsystem dedicated to professional diseases and accidents is run by the Social Security System and works with Mutualities Cooperating with Social Security (*MCSS*). Their share in public health spending amounts to 2.4%. In addition to preventing and dealing with accidents and professional diseases, the Mutualities collect premiums and pay subsidies on behalf of Social Security and control sickness leave benefits (Bernal-Delgado et al. 2018: 18–19). The private part of health care system in Spain runs voluntary health insurance schemes for individuals. In spite of its slow growth its input into the total health spending of the country is relatively low. The expenditure (2015) on health according to the function and the type/source of financing is shown in Table 3.

The Ministry of Health, Consumer Affairs and Social Welfare (*Ministerio de Sanidad, Consumo y Bienestar Social*) and the Departments of Health in the seventeen Autonomous Communities are the main institutions of the Spanish health care system (*see Introduction*). The Minister of Health with the assistance of the Interterritorial Council (*Consejo Interterritorial del Sistema Nacional de Salud, CISNS*), composed of seventeen Regional Health Ministers, manages the SNS and coordinates the whole health system of the country. He is supported by the following institutions:

- 1) The Agency for Medicines and Medical Devices;
- 2) The National Transplants Organisation;
- 3) The Agency for Consumer Affairs, Food Safety and Nutrition;
- 4) The Institute of Health Carlos III (*Instituto de Salud Carlos III*), which is responsible for the assessment of health technology, health scientific centres and biomedical research;
- 5) The Institute of Health Care Management (*Instituto de Gestión Sanitaria*), which centrally purchases medical goods and services for the Autonomous Communities;
- 6) Primary Health Care and the Specialised Care Divisions;
- 7) The General Council of Physicians;
- 8) The General Council of Nursing;
- 9) The National System of Dependent People (*SAAD*);
- 10) The Ministry of Labour, which has an impact on partial financing of the three health subsystems;

- 11) The Ministry of Public Administration, Justice and Defence, which supervises the subsystem of health insurance for civil servants and the network of health services for military soldiers and prisoners;
- 12) The Ministry of Economy and Enterprise (*Ministerio de Economía y Empresa*);
- 13) The Ministry of Finance (*Ministerio de Hacienda*) (Bernal-Delgado et al. 2018: 20–22).

The distribution of competences in the Spanish health care system is shown in Table 4 (page 54).

Table 3

**Expenditure on health (as % of total health expenditure)  
according to function and type of financing, 2015**

<b>Function and type of financing</b>	<b>Inpatient care</b>	<b>Outpatient care</b>	<b>Long-term care</b>	<b>Pharmaceuticals<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>Other devices</b>	<b>Public health</b>	<b>Admin.</b>	<b>Other services<sup>b</sup></b>
General government	92.4	42.6	76	56.3	3.5	96.1	44.2	18.2
Mandatory health insurance	3	6.4	2.2	3	0.6	0	8	81.8
Private out-of-pocket	0.8	43.2	21.7	40.7	94.8	0	0	0
Private insurance	2.3	7.3	0	0	1	0	47.8	0
Other (e.g. non-profit institutions serving households)	1.4	0.4	0	0	0	3.9	0	0
Total expenditure (m€)	41 928	25 789	5 562	17 740	4 248	695	3 003	1 078

Note: <sup>a</sup> Includes outpatient prescriptions, as pharmaceutical expenditure in hospitals is included in inpatient care; <sup>b</sup> Social Security services provided in the household and other services provided by public institutions (not social security).

Source: Bernal-Delgado, E., Garcia-Armesto, S., Oliva, J., Sanchez Martinez, F. I., Repullo, J. R., Pena-Longobardo, L. M., Ridaio-Lopez, M., and Hernandez-Ouevedo, C. (2018) *Spain: Health System Review*. Health Systems in Transition, 51.

Table 4

## Competence distribution in the Spanish health care system

Category	Legislation	Planning	Licensing accreditation	Pricing tariff Setting	Quality assurance	Purchasing financing
Public health services	ACs (*)	ACs	ACs	ACs	ACs	ACs
Primary health care (and dental care)	ACs (*)	ACs	ACs	ACs	ACs	ACs
Hospital and specialized ambulatory centres	ACs (*)	ACs	ACs	ACs	ACs	ACs
Pharmaceuticals (ambulatory)	ACs (*)	ACs+CG	CG	CG	ACs (*)	ACs (*)
Long-term care	ACs (*)	ACs	ACs	ACs	ACs	ACs
University education of personnel	CG	ACs+CG	CG	ACs (*)	ACs	ACs

*Note:* ACs: Competence of the Autonomous Communities; ACs (\*): ACs role is mediated and framed by a national framework regulation common to all ACs; CG: Competence of the central government.

Source: Bernal-Delgado, E., Garcia-Armesto, S., Oliva, J., Sanchez Martinez, F. I., Repullo, J. R., Pena-Longobardo, L. M., Ridao-Lopez, M., and Hernandez-Ouevedo, C. (2018) *Spain: Health System Review*. Health Systems in Transition, 31.

The total expenditure of the Spanish health system reached 8.9% of Gross Domestic Product in 2017 (OECD 2019b) and amounted per capita to USD 3,370 in 2017 (from which USD 2,386 was the compulsory public expenditure and USD 984 the private one) (OECD *Health* 2019a).

In 2015 Spain had 765 hospitals. Less than half of them (around 45%) belonged to the public sector. Between 2000 and 2015 the number of hospitals per 1 million population fell from 19.2 to 16.5. The number of hospital beds also decreased from 368 per 100,000 inhabitants in 2000 to 298 in 2015 with the share of public beds staying nearly constant (79.5 in 2015). The number

of primary health care physicians per 100,000 assigned insurees amounted to 75 in 2010 and 76 in 2014 while the number of the same kind of nurses to 62 in 2010 and 65 in 2014. The similar tendency may be observed in the case of physicians working in hospitals or outpatient centres. Their number per 100,000 population increased from 176 in 2010 to 189 in 2014 (Bernal-Delgado et al. 2018: 78–85).

## CONCLUSION

Both health care systems, the Portuguese one and the Spanish one, contain a significant amount of solutions which make them effective. At the same time both apply measures that may be called dissolutions as they diminish their effectiveness. As a result (*see Introduction*) according to the European Health Consumer Index, Portugal has the 13<sup>th</sup> most effective health system in Europe and Spain the 19<sup>th</sup> (Health Consumer Powerhouse 2019). The most visible dissolution is the mixture of common and universal national health care systems with subsystems dedicated to privileged professional groups like civil servants, the judiciary and members of the army. This mixture has the roots in the former political systems that existed in both countries before the introduction of democratic changes in Spain and the Carnation Revolution in Portugal. The mentioned professional and occupational groups had had privileged positions before these big transformations and were able to transmit them to the new reality.

The mixtures of common and universal national health care systems with subsystems for different groups of the population (and companies) cause numerous interlockings and negative reciprocal feedbacks which complicate and cloud their transparency and efficiency. This is probably one of the main factors due to which the Portuguese and Spanish health care systems are classified much lower than the Swiss one (the first position) and the Dutch one (the second) in the Euro Health Consumer Index (Health Consumer Powerhouse 2019). This is why they are not the best systems to be benchmarked by other countries intending to improve their ones.

However, there is one organisational solution in the Spanish health care system (which is applied to various extents in some other systems) which is worth being noticed, examined in details and introduced to the foundations of Polish new health care regulations. It is a permanent prescription for medicines and drugs. It is not a bunch of prescriptions a person being treated can obtain in quite a complicated administrative procedure in the Polish health system

and not an electronic prescription which is its latest form and which requires some repeated activity from the physician. It is one prescription which is kept by the patient at home and only presented to the pharmacist when the next package of the same medicine is being purchased or it is bound to him in the electronic form. This prescription seems to be available to each person in treatment without a special administrative procedure and seems to be the solution which in the scale of the country spares thousands of working hours of physicians (10–25% according to author's estimation) and may decrease the deficit of physicians more and more evident in the Polish health care system.

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## HEALTH CARE SYSTEMS IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL – ECONOMIC APPROACH

### Abstract

The article is a preliminary analysis of the economic conditions of health systems in Spain and Portugal. It describes their organisational structures and lists entities functioning in them. It presents changes that have taken place in the economic situation of both countries in recent years (including the impact of the global financial crisis that began in 2008) and the consequences that these changes have had for their health policy. The article lists the basic numbers referring to both systems and describes some organisational solutions improving their effectiveness. It also presents elements derived from before the democratic transformation, lowering this efficiency. Probably the most important of them are separate ‘subsystems’ of health care for some professional groups (including, for example, administration, the judiciary and army employees), which collaborate with common health care, but also hinder its uniform and clear operation. Probably to a large extent, as a result of leaving these elements in both systems and the related lack of sufficient optimisation of their operation, Portugal holds the 13<sup>th</sup> and Spain the 19<sup>th</sup> position in the European ranking of health systems – the Euro Health Consumer Index – examining these systems using fifty detailed criteria. A permanent prescription, used in Spain for many years, is worthy of more thorough research and transfer to the Polish healthcare system as it significantly reduces doctors’ workload not directly related to treatment, and consequently their shortage.

Key words: health care systems, Portugal, Spain, economic approach, organisation, economics

## SYSTEMY OCHRONY ZDROWIA W HISZPANII I PORTUGALII – PODEJŚCIE EKONOMICZNE

### Streszczenie

Artykuł jest wstępną analizą uwarunkowań ekonomicznych systemów ochrony zdrowia w Hiszpanii i Portugalii. Opisane są w nim ich struktury organizacyjne oraz wymienione podmioty w nich funkcjonujące. Przedstawione

są zmiany na przestrzeni ostatnich lat w sytuacji gospodarczej obu krajów (w tym wpływu na nie światowego kryzysu finansowego, jaki rozpoczął się w roku 2008) oraz konsekwencje, jakie zmiany te miały dla polityki ochrony zdrowia. W artykule podane są podstawowe dane liczbowe odnoszące się do obu systemów oraz opisane są niektóre rozwiązania organizacyjne służące podnoszeniu ich efektywności. Przedstawione są również ich elementy wywodzące się sprzed transformacji demokratycznej, obniżające tę efektywność. Prawdopodobnie najważniejszy z nich to odrębne „podsystemy” ochrony zdrowia dla niektórych grup zawodowych (w tym dla przykładu pracowników administracji, sądownictwa i wojska), które współpracują z powszechną opieką zdrowotną, ale też utrudniają jej jednolite i klarowne działanie. Prawdopodobnie w dużej mierze, na skutek pozostawienia tych elementów w obu systemach i związanego z tym braku dostatecznej optymalizacji ich działania, Portugalia znajduje się dopiero na trzynastym miejscu, a Hiszpania aż na dziewiętnastym miejscu w europejskim rankingu systemów ochrony zdrowia Health Consumer Index (badającym te systemy przy użyciu pięćdziesięciu szczegółowych kryteriów). Godna dokładniejszych badań i przeniesienia do polskiego systemu ochrony zdrowia jest „stała recepta”, stosowana od lat w Hiszpanii, znacznie obniżająca obciążenie lekarzy pracą niezwiązaną bezpośrednio z leczeniem, a w konsekwencji ich niedobór.

Słowa kluczowe: systemy ochrony zdrowia, Portugalia, Hiszpania, uwarunkowania ekonomiczne, organizacja, ekonomia

## СИСТЕМЫ ЗДРАВООХРАНЕНИЯ В ИСПАНИИ И ПОРТУГАЛИИ – ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКИЙ ПОДХОД

### Резюме

Статья представляет собой предварительный анализ экономических детерминант систем здравоохранения в Испании и Португалии. Она содержит характеристику организационных структур и указание на функционирующие в них субъекты. Представлены изменения, произошедшие за последние годы в экономической ситуации обеих стран (в частности, в контексте воздействия на них мирового финансового кризиса с 2008 года), а также последствия этих изменений для политики здравоохранения. В статье представлены основные количественные показатели, касающиеся обеих систем, а также описаны некоторые организационные решения для повышения их

эффективности. Нашли своё отражение также их элементы, имеющие место до демократических преобразований и снижающие их эффективность. По всей вероятности, самый значительный из них – это отдельные «подсистемы» здравоохранения для некоторых профессиональных групп (включая, например, сотрудников администрации, судебной системы и армии), которые функционируют в рамках универсального здравоохранения, осложняя, однако, его равномерную и чёткую деятельность. Очевидно, в значительной степени, вследствие наличия этих элементов в обеих системах и связанного с этим отсутствия необходимой оптимизации их деятельности, Португалия занимает всего лишь тринадцатое место, а Испания – девятнадцатое место в европейском рейтинге здравоохранения *Health Consumer Index (Индекс здоровья потребителей)* (исследующий данные системы с использованием пятидесяти основательно разработанных критериев). Требуется более тщательного исследования и заимствования польской системой здравоохранения так называемый «постоянный рецепт», используемый в Испании в течение многих лет и значительно снижающий нагрузку врачей работой, непосредственно не связанной с лечением, что в результате приводит к их нехватке.

Ключевые слова: системы здравоохранения, Португалия, Испания, экономические детерминанты, организация, экономия

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**Grzegorz Kozłowski\***

# CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL AND R&D DETERMINANTS OF THE LEVEL OF THE UNITED STATES DEFENCE SPENDING

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## INTRODUCTION

The allocation of funds for defence does not raise controversy in the USA from the point of view of the functioning of the state. Its security (border protection, security of citizens, etc.) is one of the basic tasks that must and should be fulfilled by means of available means as it is constitutionally guaranteed. While there is no doubt as to the necessity of spending money on defence, the scale of the burdens to be borne, as well as the political and research-development determinants of decision-making in this area are open to dispute<sup>1</sup>.

The starting point for the author's work on the issue contained in the title was to carry out an analysis of the problem of the contemporary level of US defence spending, relatively rarely studied in the national literature on the subject, and to fill a cognitive gap in this field. The main goal of the publication was to determine the impact of political and R&D conditions on the level of US defence spending.

The key questions put here were as follows: Does the doctrine determine the 'adequate' level of defence spending? What are the main factors shaping the level of defence spending in the USA? How are decisions on the level of

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<sup>1</sup> The impact of defence spending on the economy will be discussed in a separate publication.

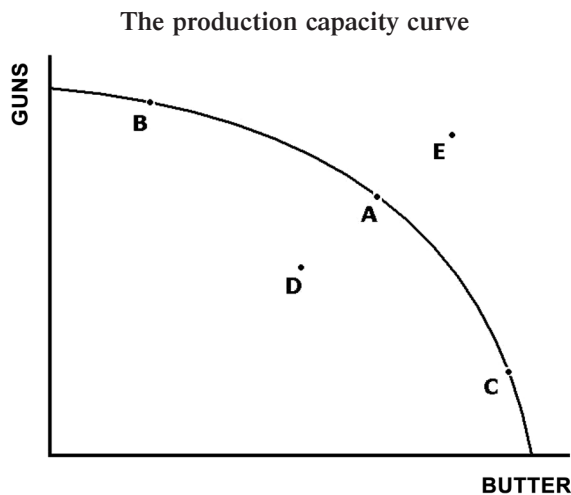
defence expenditures affected by political conditions, including both internal ones (disputes between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party) and external ones (to what degree is the level of defence spending present in US foreign policy)? What is the influence of research and development determinants on decisions about the level of outlays on defence?

In the process of preparation for carrying out the study the following research hypothesis was proposed: political and R&D considerations shape the level of US defence spending to a large extent. In the analysis carried out the materials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and literature on the subject were used (in this article the American system of numeration is used).

### 1. THEORETICAL APPROACH

The basic challenge for the security of the state is to ensure an appropriate level of defence expenditures. The term ‘appropriate level’ has been discussed for years by politicians, experts and economists and concerns the question of ‘how much is enough’ to guarantee state security. This debate is associated with the known dilemma of guns vs. butter, which in macroeconomic terms is defined as an example (a production capacity curve) – *vide* Figure 1 – of a simplified model of a combination of two goods using given production factors.

Figure 1



Source: Zieliński 2010.

The model confirms that the production capacity of the economy is limited; the production of one good (butter) can be increased only at the expense of the production of the other (guns). Increasing the production of a given good by each subsequent unit will lead to an increasingly serious diminution of the production of the other – it results from the impact of the law of diminishing returns. Points A, B and C on the curve show the maximum level of production of the two goods. Being on the curve, we cannot increase the production of one good without reducing the output of the other. If production reaches point D (the point under the curve), the economy does not fully use its production capabilities; it is possible to increase the production of one good without limiting the production of the other (or even to increase the production of both goods). Point E is a hypothetical level of production unachievable given the production used and the available factors (Zieliński 2010).

The ‘guns vs. butter’ dilemma can be seen in terms of the relationship between defence expenditure and spending on other (civilian) goods. It is a very simplified example of choosing the direction of allocating funds as part of the national income (Durham 2015: 147). This theory is attributable to William Jennings Bryan, the secretary of state in the administration of US President Woodrow Wilson, and in the history of the United States it is associated – it seems – with the person of President Lyndon Johnson, who – with the help of the majority of the Democratic Party in Congress (election of 1964) – began in the mid-1960s the implementation of the programme of the ‘Great Society’, the programme which was based on broad reforms of civil rights, education, health and transport policy, and was connected with significant budgetary expenditure. However, abandoning the ‘guns vs. butter’ alternative, Johnson also maintained the US’s intense involvement in the Vietnam war. As a consequence, this led to an economic and social crisis (the need to abandon the ‘Great Society’ programme) and a political turning point (Johnson’s resignation from applying for re-election) (Bernstein 1996)<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Bernstein speculates, among others, that the US’s refraining from the Vietnam War, in a very good economic situation (1965), would probably guarantee Johnson’s re-election and the success of the ‘Big Society’ programme.



## 2. FACTORS SHAPING THE LEVEL OF DEFENCE EXPENDITURES

The debate on the level of defence expenditures necessary to ensure state security is interminable (Enthoven, and Smith 1971). It results from the endless discourse on the level of needs of the armed forces in given threat conditions. American literature indicates at least four political and economic dimensions (Mercile 2007: 3), which may shape defence spending:

- 1) a geographic one – regional issues are of decisive importance for the distribution of defence spending (e.g. local politicians interested in generating an increase in defence spending in their constituencies);
- 2) an economic one – where the impact of defence spending on increasing aggregate demand in the economy is decisive;
- 3) a liberal one – defence expenditure is subject to pressure from various interest groups;
- 4) an action-reaction one – defence expenditures based on the arms race and the impact of shifts in the defence budget in the adversary countries.

Opinions on the scope and significance of the determining factors are divided among American experts. Enthoven and Smith supported the thesis that ‘foreign policy, military strategy, defence budgets, and the choice of (...) weapons and forces are all closely related matters of basic national security policy’ (Enthoven, and Smith 1971) and they should determine the level of expenditures; this also results from the logic of the current procedure of drawing up the US defence budget (the perception of the threat determines the defence strategy, which should shape the budget) and the approach of the American doctrine in this area (Boone, and Cohn 2016). For Collier and Hoeffler these are: the need for security (especially exposed during warfare), stakeholder lobbying (especially of military environments) and government financial resources (Collier, and Hoeffler 2002). On the other hand, Smith enumerates: the decision-making process in a given country, threat perception, structure and effectiveness of military responses to these threats, and the cost of these responses in relation to publicly available resources (Smith 2009: 46–51). In this context, rejecting the possibility of using ‘general explanations’ for the level of defence expenditures, it resembles some factors shaping (mainly increasing) the US defence budget in the past, such as: the way to reduce unemployment (the 30s of the twentieth century), artificial raising of the level of threats (the 50s of the twentieth century – common interests of the administration, army, armament manufacturers and some members of the Congress) or the ‘prisoner’s dilemma’ of the period of the Cold War arms race between the USA and the USSR when each party made decisions

regarding a low or a high level of defence expenditures. Although it would be a better solution to cooperate having a lower level of budgets, a sense of danger forced both parties to raise their spending, and since the rate of development of both countries' economies was different it was debilitating for the USSR in the long run (Smith 2009). The categorisation of the factors determining defence expenditures used by Smith, although relatively holistic, omits the question of military alliances (Bel, and Elias-Moreno 2009: 1)<sup>3</sup>.

Reference to historical premises is a constant element of the debate on the level of defence expenditures and may result from (even experts') difficulties in defining

‘the nation’s security needs or the proper mix of forces and capabilities to meet those needs. Alternative concepts of operation (...) can use different forces and capabilities to meet the same strategic objectives’ (Harrison 2016: 6).

This leads, as Harrison points out, to making the simplest comparison (comparing historical levels of defence spending), using three main indicators: (defensive expenditures after taking into account inflation, defence spending as a percentage of total federal spending, and defence spending as a percentage of gross domestic product).

### 3. POLITICAL DETERMINANTS

The comparative elements in the level of US defence spending also result from the internal conditions and differences in policy between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. The experiences of the last few decades allows us to claim that the reduction in defence spending was connected with the takeover of leadership by the president nominated by the Democratic Party (J. Carter 1977–1981, B. Clinton 1993–2001 and B. Obama 2009–2016; it is worth pointing out that during these periods the Democratic Party had – with the exception of 1995–2001 – a majority in both chambers of the Congress, which is important for the legislative process). This did not result so much from the fact that threats were perceived differently by the major US parties. It was rather a combination of two factors: the use of so-called ‘soft power’ present in the Democrats’ foreign policy and a greater emphasis

<sup>3</sup> From the point of view of the USA, as the main donor of potential for its own alliances, it is irrelevant; however, for a small country it may be an incentive to limit its own expenses and base its defence on the largest of the allies – so-called travelling without a ticket.

on solving the problems of the internal policy of the United States, in which economic issues were an important element. The weakening of the defence budget position in the hierarchy of federal spending was a consequence of the re-prioritisation of US policy.

An analysis of the level of US defence spending in 1977–2020 (*vide* Table 1) can prove the thesis about the reduction of defence expenditures in the analysed periods, and the indicator will be the share of defence expenditures in GDP (a commonly used measure for examining the so-called defence effort).

Table 1

The share of defence expenditures in GDP in 1977–2020 (values in %)

Years	President	Party	Share of defence expenditures in GDP – years 1977–2020
1977–1980	Jimmy Carter	Democratic	1977 – 4.8; 1978 – 4.6; 1979 – 4.5; 1980 – 4.8.
1981–1988	Ronald Reagan	Republican	1981 – 5.0; 1982 – 5.6; 1983 – 5.9; 1984 – 5.8; 1985 – 5.9; 1986 – 6.0; 1987 – 5.9; 1988 – 5.6.
1989–1992	George H. Bush	Republican	1989 – 5.4; 1990 – 5.1; 1991 – 4.5; 1992 – 4.6.
1993–2000	Bill Clinton	Democratic	1993 – 4.3; 1994 – 3.9; 1995 – 3.6; 1996 – 3.3; 1997 – 3.2; 1998 – 3.0; 1999 – 2.9; 2000 – 2.9.
2001–2008	George W. Bush	Republican	2001 – 2.9; 2002 – 3.2; 2003 – 3.6; 2004 – 3.8; 2005 – 3.8; 2006 – 3.6; 2007 – 3.8; 2008 – 4.2.
2009–2016	Barack Obama	Democratic	2009 – 4.6; 2010 – 4.7; 2011 – 4.6; 2012 – 4.2; 2013 – 3.8; 2014 – 3.5; 2015 – 3.3; 2016 – 3.2.
2017–2020	Donald Trump	Republican	2017 – 3.1; 2018 – 3.2; 2019 – 3.3; 2020 – 4.2.

Source: Office of the Under Secretary of Defense (2016 and 2019).

When a president nominated by the Democratic Party was the leader, a decrease in the share of defence expenditures in GDP was recorded. In the years 1977–1980 (J. Carter) their amount did not exceed 4.8%, while in the years 1981–1989 (R. Reagan) the indicator amounted to 6.0%. In 1993–2001 (B. Clinton), the share of defence expenditure in GDP fell from 4.6 (in 1992) to 2.9% (in 2001). Meanwhile, during the presidency of his successor (G. W. Bush), this ratio increased from 2.9 to 4.2, while in Obama’s term there was a decrease from 4.6 (4.7 in 2010) to 3.3% (2016). During Trump’s presidency, a gradual increase in defence spending, which can reach the level of over 4% of GDP in the financial year 2020, is again noted. The analysis of

defence expenditures in the examined period allows us to come to a conclusion about their different positioning by the Republicans and the Democrats.

Explaining the differences in the approach of both parties to defence spending, two factors should be borne in mind. First of all, external factors may influence the development of security policy (*vide* 11 September 2001 would imply an increase in expenses regardless of which party would form the government). Secondly, the demarcation line between the Democratic Party and the Republicans in terms of defence spending is not always the same; the position of individual congress politicians may be influenced by the interests of particular states and constituencies with a strong element of the Department of Defence as an employer, supported by the lobbying of the armaments industry.

The dispute over the level of defence financing revolves also around the doctrine and engages experts from American research and expert centres. Typical arguments of supporters and opponents of the reduction of the defence budget are presented in Table 2.

Table 2

**Arguments of supporters and opponents of the reduction  
of the defence budget (selected experts' opinions)**

<b>Supporters of cuts</b>	<b>Opponents of cuts</b>
The USA spends on defence more than the next seven countries combined	Defence spending has been falling for the last five years; The USA spends more than the next few countries combined not only on defence; The U.S. provides better training, equipment, and pay to its soldiers.
Defence spending has grown too much in the twenty-first century	Between 2001 and 2015, spending on social and economic programmes grew faster than the defence budget; Security spending is a small part of total federal spending (about 15% in 2015); National security is a small part of a percentage of GDP (about 3.3% in 2015).
The biggest security threat for the USA is public debt	Public debt is another type of threat; it hurts the economy just like a security threat; limiting (only) defence expenditures will not solve problems connected with public debt.
The armed forces do not optimally use their funds; Congress should reduce these funds	The Pentagon should first conduct an appropriate financial audit of the entire system; Every year the Government Accountability Office draws attention to sensitive (in terms of implementation) budget items; this is to protect against unjustified spending.

Source: Johnson (2015).

The data in Table 2 confirm that the disagreement about the level of defence expenditures in the USA takes place on the political plane (defence expenses of the main adversaries), the economic and financial one (amount of defence expenditures and their impact on limiting other expenses, or increasing public debt) or that of management (the Pentagon's investment policy). In the context of the last argument, it is worth noting the shortcomings of the Pentagon's investment policy, generally shared by both parties of the dispute. It was particularly significant during the economic and financial crisis in the USA in 2008–2010. In the opinion of the then defence secretary, Robert Gates, the key to the new philosophy of action within the US defence strategy should be to sustain the broadly understood balance (on several levels, including participation in current conflicts and preparation for other contingencies) and some temperateness in external activities ('not every outrage, every act of aggression, or every crisis can or should elicit a U.S. military response') and internal ones ('we should be modest about what our military force can accomplish and what our technology can accomplish') in accordance with the statement that 'the United States cannot eliminate national security risks through higher defence budgets, to do everything and buy everything'. This goal was to be achieved in two ways: re-prioritisation of expenses within the Department of Defence (as the secretary of defence said 'we will be forced to make difficult choices': the problem is not that funds are limited, but their proper use is essential) and the change of the investment policy of the Department of Defence based on tightening the fiscal discipline in defence expenditures, which (as evidenced by the experience of invalidating expensive tenders, or the implementation of excessively expensive projects) had not been sufficiently supervised before. This concerned, among others contracts for the purchase of CSAR-X helicopters, fighter planes, Osprey multirole vertical takeoff and landing planes, or airplanes equipped with air refuelling facilities (a USD 40 billions contract cancelled in 2008 as a result of a dispute between Northrop Grumman and Boeing).

#### 4. THE ROLE OF FOREIGN POLICY. A PLACE OF DEFENCE SPENDING IN DONALD TRUMP'S POLICY

It is widely believed that the USA's high-level defence spending also has its source in American foreign policy, which aims to maintain the hegemonist position of the United States in the post-Cold War conditions. As already mentioned, for example during George W. Bush's presidency the

'first objective of U.S. foreign policy (...) should be to prevent the re-emergence of a new rival'; high defence spending would enable the USA to maintain its superpower status and discourage other countries from seeking to rival it' (Schonberg 2009: 100).

This thesis seems to be particularly present in the current policy of the White House. President Donald Trump positions the issue of adequately high funding of defence as one of the priorities of his policy. In the currently valid National Security Strategy of the United States of America Trump directly points to the necessity to maintain such a level of defence funding that will allow us to

'secure our homeland, to respond to our enemies quickly and decisively, and (...) always win' (The White House 2017).

He critically assesses previous efforts to build defence capabilities during Obama's presidency, stressing that the acquisition of new weapon systems was 'severely limited'.

The scale of defence spending is also connected with the implementation of policy towards US allies. Washington has been putting pressure on them for years, noting the tendency of the majority of its European allies to base their NATO commitments on the United States. In many cases it gives rise to allegations of travelling without a ticket, and although it is not a new practise (Kozłowski 2016: 67–87), it was given high priority in the current president's campaign. The candidate for the office, Donald Trump, said:

'among others, that *'NATO is costing us a fortune, and yes, we're protecting Europe with NATO, but we're spending a lot of money'* (Rucker, and Costa 2016).

In accordance with the NATO guidelines agreed upon at the Alliance Summit in Wales in 2014 and confirmed at the summits in Warsaw in 2016 and in Brussels in 2018 (NATO 2018a), member states should allocate at least 2% of GDP to defence, including a minimum of 20% for investment expenditures. Only a part of the allies fulfil the accepted commitments (*vide* Table 3).

The insufficient state of the allocation of funds to defence in NATO leads to Washington's allegations of uneven distribution of burdens especially when the range of the allies' spending is compared directly (column 4 of Table 3). This is the central point of Trump's rhetoric, who requires European allies to adhere to the binding guidelines as soon as possible. It found its particular reflection during the last NATO summit in Brussels in 2018 where the US

president announced the need for a further increase in defence spending, even up to 4% of GDP (Kacprzyk 2018).

In the context of the level of US defence spending, however, it should be remembered that the position of the issue of burden-sharing in foreign policy is not a direct argument for increasing the amount of funds, but rather for their possible reallocation (e.g. to a greater extent for national security than for the security of the allies).

Table 3

## Defence expenditures in GDP of NATO countries (2017–2018)

	State	The level of defence expenditures in GDP (%)		The share of defence spending among all NATO countries (%)	
		2017e	2018e	2017e	2018e
1.	The USA	3.57	3.50	71.55	69.67
2.	Greece	2.38	2.27	0.49	0.49
3.	The United Kingdom	2.11	2.10	5.77	6.07
4.	Estonia	2.08	2.14	0.06	0.06
5.	Poland	1.89	1.98	1.04	1.19
6.	France	1.78	1.81	4.80	5.13
7.	Lithuania	1.73	1.96	0.08	0.11
8.	Romania	1.72	1.93	0.38	0.47
9.	Latvia	1.69	2.00	0.05	0.07
10.	Norway	1.55	1.61	0.67	0.72
11.	Turkey	1.52	1.68	1.35	1.50
12.	Montenegro	1.38	1.58	0.01	0.01
13.	Canada	1.36	1.23	2.34	2.13
14–15.	Bulgaria	1.27	1.56	0.07	0.10
	Croatia	1.27	1.30	0.07	0.08
16–17.	Germany	1.24	1.24	4.75	5.03
	Portugal	1.24	1.36	0.28	0.33

Table 3 (cont.)

	State	The level of defence expenditures in GDP (%)		The share of defence spending among all NATO countries (%)	
		2017e	2018e	2017e	2018e
18–19.	Denmark	1.16	1.21	0.39	0.43
	The Netherlands	1.16	1.35	1.02	1.28
20.	Italy	1.15	1.15	2.48	2.54
21.	Albania	1.11	1.19	0.01	0.02
22.	Slovakia	1.10	1.20	0.11	0.13
23.	Hungary	1.05	1.08	0.15	0.17
24.	The Czech Republic	1.04	1.11	0.24	0.28
25.	Slovenia	0.98	1.01	0.04	0.05
26.	Belgium	0.91	0.93	0.47	0.50
27.	Spain	0.90	0.93	1.23	1.37
28.	Luxemburg	0.52	0.55	0.03	0.04
29.	Island	n.a.*	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

\* n.a. – not applicable

Source: NATO (2018b).

## 5. R&D DETERMINANTS

The importance of defence spending for research and development has a multi-faceted dimension for the United States. First of all, it can be located in the USA's wide strategy of retaining technological dominance over the rest of the world and the strictly related competitiveness of American enterprises. Secondly, defence spending on innovation has specific implications for the US economy, not only for the military but also for the civilian sector. Thirdly, it results from the USA's need to dominate also in the area of R&D. It was of particular importance during the Cold War and the arms race, and it is still vital at present in the conditions of very rapid spread of threats related to the development of modern technologies.



### 5.1. Defence expenditures on research and development and maintaining the technological advantage of the USA

Innovation is of key importance for the development of the American economy. It is the foundation of maintaining the US technological advantage in all major spheres of life. Key documents of the White House confirm this. In Barack Obama's Strategy for American Innovation 2015 we read that

'America must continually innovate because our workers and firms are often operating at the technological frontier. Innovation is also a powerful tool for addressing our most pressing challenges as a nation and American society' (The White House 2015).

In the currently binding National Security Strategy of the USA maintaining supremacy in 'research, technology, invention, and innovation' is one of the priorities of the military and economic dimensions (The White House 2017).

The high position of innovativeness in the hierarchy of objectives of the American government is reflected in the amount of funds earmarked for research and development. In 2017–2019, the United States was still a leader among countries allocating money to research and development, spending about 25% of the total world value in this area (about USD 570 billions, of which about ¼ was generated from the federal budget). It is also worth noting that, according to experts, the position of the USA may be taken over by China in 2024 (2019 Global R&D Funding Forecast). This is one of the reasons why Beijing is perceived by Washington as one of the greatest threats (The White House 2017).

Defence expenditures on research and development accounted for around half of all federal spending in this area in the last decade (*vide* Table 4).

Table 4

Spending on military and non-military research and development in the USA in 2008–2018 (in USD million – current prices)

Year	Spending on R&D in total	Military spending	Share	Non-military spending	Share
2008	167,726	98,848	58.9	68,878	41.1
2009	167,126	97,917	58.6	69,208	41.4
2010	170,208	98,710	58.0	71,498	42.0
2011	160,989	92,770	57.6	68,219	42.4

Table 4 (cont.)

Year	Spending on R&D in total	Military spending	Share	Non-military spending	Share
2012	156,079	86,205	55.2	69,874	44.8
2013	141,599	75,134	53.1	66,465	46.9
2014	144,443	75,592	52.3	68,851	47.7
2015	144,562	75,998	52.5	68,564	47.5
2016	154,211	81,729	53.0	72,482	47.0
2017	130,553	58,347	44.7	72,207	55.3
2018	142,888	66,132	46.3	76,757	53.7

Source: Hourihan (2015).

The annual financial upper limit of military expenditure on research and development ranged between USD billions 98 (in 2008) and 58 (in 2017) in the United States in 2008–2018, one of the reasons for the decline in the last two years are methodological changes; since 2017 programmes of late development, testing and evaluation have been excluded from the category of defensive expenses.

## 5.2. Economic aspects of defence spending on research and development

Although military expenditures on research and development are not motivated (mainly) by economic goals, they are

‘the most important *de facto* industrial policy used by the federal government to affect the speed and direction of innovation in the economy’ (Moretti, Steinwender, and Van Reenen 2016: 1).

The dominance of the United States in the field of the arms industry is so great that the term ‘globalisation in defence’ means ‘Americanisation’ to a large extent. This results mainly from the predominance of defence-related R&D expenditures, but also from the developed arms market (Reppy 2017: 17). Newly developed military technologies cannot always be used in other (non-military) areas but they are particularly important for basic sciences and for supporting technologies at their initial stage and without a market built for them. The private sector is often not willing to get involved in high-risk

investments (Mazzucato 2013). Many research projects are risky and may require long-term financing, which often leads to a deficit of funding from the private sector (focused on low-risk projects with a short-term return period). This is why, as Hourihan stresses, American industry

‘spends 80 cents of every R&D dollar on development, and only 20 cents on basic and applied research (for civilian science agencies, the ratio is reversed). In this sense, public funds, including those on defence, lay a foundation of knowledge, tools, and skills, forming an ecosystem based on industry (including arms industry) and universities’ (Hourihan 2015).

The degree of the relationship between defence-related R&D expenditures on innovativeness and the economic development of the private sector has been the subject of many analyses (Lichtenberg 2015). Supporters of positive correlation emphasise the importance of many inventions, the sources of which should be sought in defence-related R&D expenditures, e.g. laser technology, semiconductors, or nuclear energy (Bernanke, O’Hanlon, and Muro 2015). These technologies confirm that defence spending on research and development has been crucial for the development of civilian technologies. Some analysts stress that

‘an important reason why US manufacturing became so dominant in the second half of the twentieth century was that during the Cold War the Pentagon became the world’s most generous investor (...), which ultimately resulted in superior technologies for American companies and long lasting gains in their competitiveness’ (Moretti, Steinwender, and Van Rennen 2016).

In this context, it is worth reaching for research by Moretti, Steinwender and Van Reenen in which it was noted that (in addition to the fact that changes in defence expenditures are motivated by political and military factors, while remaining resistant to external productivity shocks) the amount of defence expenditures on research and development varies considerably depending on the industry (e.g. a high level in the aviation sector and low in the automotive sector). The conducted analyses confirmed that

‘increases in government funded R&D generated by increases in defence R&D translate into significant increases in privately funded R&D expenditures, with the most reliable estimates of the long run elasticity between 0.2 and 0.5’ (Moretti, Steinwender, and Van Reenen 2016: 2).

Defence expenditures on research and development influence – in some sectors – generating a significant part of private sector development spending; e.g. in the aviation sector, approximately USD 36.9 billions (2003, 2016

prices) translated into additional USD 7.1–7.8 billions investment in research and development in the private sector (Moretti, Steinwender, and Van Reenen 2016: 3–4). Other experts share this opinion; according to Ben Bernanke, former Federal Reserve Chair:

‘every dollar on research and development in the defence sector brings additional 20–30 cents in the private sector’ (Bernanke, O’Hanlon, and Muro 2015).

In a wider historical perspective, the essential impact of defence spending on the innovativeness of the United States has been noted. Bracken emphasises, e. g. that the early development of the Silicon Valley in the 1950s and 1960s came largely through defence expenditures. Defence investments in the ICT sector facilitated the creation of a series of inventions, such as integrated circuits, that opened the way to the creation of a computer or satellites (Bracken 2015); while in the period after the terrorist attack of 11 September 2001 an increased wave of defence spending on research and development led

‘to building a second Silicon Valley. A Silicon Valley of defence created in northern Virginia – the Dulles Corridor’ (Bracken 2015).

Bracken notes that funds flow mainly to smaller companies, which may pose some risks, also the area of security (for example a spying program, revealed by Edward Snowden, created on the basis of the cooperation of the National Security Agency with small enterprises).

Sapolsky, Friedman and Green (2009) wrote extensively on military innovations in the Cold War period. They noted that a negative element of defence expenditures on research and development can be their classified (implicit) nature. It limits the possibility of using some of the ideas by the civilian sector. However, this type of information is mostly unconfirmed and is not based on analyses using econometric models.

### 5.3. Defence expenditures on innovation. Threats and research and development. DARPA as a special example of the activities of the US administration in the field of R&D

Washington is aware of the fact that technological development in the world directly affects the nature of threats, encouraging their multiplication. As a result, the USA’s policy should provide for ‘the best ability to adapt and integrate new technologies’ including, inter alia, in the areas of: artificial

intelligence, autonomous and hypersonic systems (Office of Management and Budget 2018). This is not a new phenomenon; the dynamic development of technology during the Cold War was determined by political and military imperatives; the priority objective was to use technological advantages over the Soviet Union (in the face of challenges related to the rising costs of armaments, especially felt in the conditions of the arms race). During that period, the most dynamic development of communication systems, radars, aviation, submarines and nuclear energy was recorded in the American army.

As China's and Russia's (seen as the biggest threat to Washington's position in the world) defence outlays (including on R&D) gradually increase, the USA realises that it must sustain its technological advantage in the military sector (or, more broadly, the area of security, including the energy sector). It becomes more and more necessary due to the proliferation of modern technologies and easy access to them of non-state actors, in particular terrorist groups. One of the keys to resisting threats is to maintain the position of the industrial and defence complex DIB – Defence Industrial Base

‘as a priority element of the position of the United States and its research and development base’ (Lord 2017).

Washington is undertaking various types of ventures to stimulate innovation in the defence sector to the largest possible extent. It is aware, as former defence secretary Chuck Hagel noted that

‘American dominance in key warfighting domains is eroding and requires new counter-measures’ (Hagel 2014).

This requires special responses. In this context, an example of effective action is the operation of DARPA – Defence Advanced Research Projects Agency, an American government agency in the structures of the Department of Defence, which is responsible for the development of military technology. The agency (originally ARPA – Advanced Research Projects Agency) was set up in 1958 in reaction to the fact that the USSR put Sputnik 1 satellite into orbit (the flight of Sputnik 1 in 1957 initiated the space race between the USSR and the US and fuelled the arms race, the agency's task was to contribute to gaining US technological advantage over the USSR).

DARPA is focused on searching for breakthrough defence solutions that improve US security; the agency serves as a research and development unit of the Department of Defence, whose main task is ‘to maintain the US technological pre-eminence’. DARPA's success is associated with a unique

agency management model and approach to research. It develops particular fields of science, while at the same time looking for applications for its discoveries by setting specific goals. It carries out its projects by financing of research conducted by scientists employed at universities, commercial institutions and other entities. Due to the importance and intellectual potential of the agency, DARPA is commonly referred to as ‘the Pentagon’s brain’. The Agency is an entity which provides the American army with innovative tools that raise the effectiveness of war operations and increase the level of national security. Therefore, DARPA performs – despite its extensive autonomy – a service function in relation the Pentagon. Thanks to DARPA’s efforts, many groundbreaking solutions and technologies have been developed for the use of the army, such as drones, platforms for drones, stealth technology used in the production of aircraft not detectable by radars, gauging body blasts, modern maps for mobile devices, or underwater unmanned vehicles (Walker 2017).

A successful R&D endeavour in recent years was the third offset strategy, the main aim of which was the development of a long-term research and development programme that would support the maintenance of the technological advantage of America and the introduction of new innovative operational concepts to counter new threats.

## CONCLUSION

The debate on the level of defence expenditures necessary to ensure state security is interminable because it is impossible to capture the state of threats to which an ‘adequate’ level of financing would be an answer. The obligations of member states operating in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation to allocate at least 2% of their GDP to defence is a guideline and refers only to the so-called minimum needs.

One of the basic factors determining the amount of expenses are internal political conditions (the Republicans are more willing to spend more money than the Democrats) and external ones (using military potential to maintain the hegemonistic position of the United States in relation to allies and adversaries). They are subject to certain technical (budgetary) restrictions; changes in the one-year level of spending on defence are usually (unless external factors interfere – an armed conflict) gradual, and are subject to historical extrapolation.

Research and development expenditure is an important factor in shaping the defence budget. It affects the maintenance of the US technological pre-eminence in the world and has very beneficial implications for the economy.

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## CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL AND R&D DETERMINANTS OF THE LEVEL OF THE UNITED STATES DEFENCE SPENDING

### Abstract

The aim of the publication was to analyse political and research and development conditions for the level of defense spending in the USA. They are of key importance for shaping the Pentagon military budget in conditions in which it seems very difficult to grasp the state of threats to which an 'adequate' level of financing would be an answer.

The debate on the level of defense expenditures required to ensure the security of the state is everlasting. There are two decisive elements for determining defense expenditures. First, political circumstances, both of internal ones (the Republicans are more inclined to spend more on defense than the Democrats) and external ones (using military capabilities to keep hegemonistic position of the United States, including *vis-à-vis* allies and adversaries); second, research and development circumstances aimed at ensuring technological supremacy of the United States in the world and having positive implications for military and civilian sectors.

Key words: defence expenditures, guns vs. butter, the United States, the Democrats, the Republicans, R&D, DARPA

## WSPÓŁCZESNE UWARUNKOWANIA POLITYCZNE ORAZ BADAWCZO-ROZWOJOWE DLA POZIOMU WYDATKÓW OBRONNYCH STANÓW ZJEDNOCZONYCH

### Streszczenie

Celem publikacji była analiza uwarunkowań politycznych oraz badawczo-rozwojowych dla poziomu wydatków obronnych w USA. Mają one kluczowe znaczenie dla kształtowania budżetu wojskowego Pentagonu w warunkach, w których uchwycenie stanu zagrożeń, na które odpowiedzią byłby „adekwatny” poziom finansowania, wydaje się bardzo trudne.

Debata nad poziomem wydatków obronnych niezbędnych do zapewnienia bezpieczeństwa państwa ma trwały charakter. Kluczowe znaczenie dla określenia wydatków obronnych mają dwa elementy. Po pierwsze, uwarunkowania polityczne o charakterze wewnętrznym (republikanie są bardziej skłonni do wydatkowania większej ilości środków niż demokraci) oraz zewnętrznym (wykorzystywania potencjału militarnego dla utrzymywania hegemonistycznej pozycji Stanów Zjednoczonych wobec sojuszników, jak i adwersarzy); po drugie, uwarunkowania badawczo-rozwojowe, ukierunkowane na zachowanie supremacji technologicznej USA na świecie oraz mające korzystne implikacje dla rozwoju innowacyjności, zarówno w sektorze obronnym, jak też cywilnym.

Słowa kluczowe: wydatki obronne, armaty vs. masło, Stany Zjednoczone, demokraci, republikanie, R&D, DARPA

## СОВРЕМЕННЫЕ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ И ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬСКО-РАЗВИВАЮЩИЕ ДЕТЕРМИНАНТЫ УРОВНЯ ОБОРОННЫХ РАСХОДОВ США

### Резюме

Цель статьи – анализ политических и исследовательско-развивающих детерминантов для уровня оборонных расходов в США. Они очень важны для формирования военного бюджета Пентагона в условиях, при которых выявление состояния угроз, для которых уровень финансирования был бы «адекватен», представляется достаточно сложным.

Дискуссия об уровне оборонных расходов, необходимых для обеспечения безопасности государства, имеет перманентный характер. Ключевое значение для определения оборонных расходов имеют два элемента. Во-первых, внутривластные детерминанты (республиканцы отличаются большей склонностью к расходованию средств, чем демократы) и внешнеполитические детерминанты (использование милитаристского потенциала для сохранения у Соединённых Штатов позиции лидера как среди союзников, так и среди противников); во-вторых, исследовательско-развивающие детерминанты, направленные на сохранение технологического превосходства США в мире и дающие положительные результаты в сфере развития инновационности как в оборонном, так и гражданском секторе.

Ключевые слова: оборонные расходы, пушки вместо масла, Соединенные Штаты, демократы, республиканцы, R&D, DARPA

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**Dagmara Mateja\***

**THE IMPACT OF NEW MEDIA ON SHAPING  
PUBLIC OPINION IN THE POST-INDUSTRIAL ERA.  
GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS  
IN THE FIGHT AGAINST DISINFORMATION**

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**INTRODUCTION**

The aim of this article is an attempt to distinguish features of electronic publications and motives on the basis of which one can speak about the phenomenon of post-truth. An important element is also the indication of tools used by modern media administrators, but also creators – prosumers. The media, which are now closer to the postmodern idea of aestheticisation of life, seem to effectively redefine the concept of truth. The presentation and analysis of several selected examples of false information will let us understand the essence of the functioning of mediated messages. The formulation of trivial content saturated with emphasis and sensationalism is an essential feature of media discourse. As a result of the excess and inflation of messages, it becomes impossible to differentiate between reliable and true news and lies. In other words, new media make it possible for almost all of us to participate in the creation of (collective) culture. Cyberspace, in which the information society currently operates, enforces changes in the use of digital media, but also creates numerous threats for the modern recipient – it causes changes in the behaviour, but also in the awareness of new media users.

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The processes of globalisation and technological development determine the consumption of the media and affect the relationship between technology and social life. The visible expansion of new communication space seems to redefine the term 'fake news' though they should still be considered in the context 'of news that is intentionally false' (Center for Information Technology and Society 2018). Electronic resources, which are presently almost a basic source of information, pose a threat of a shortage of an information stream received by people, but also intensify the desire to manipulate this stream (Gogołek 2007: 346–347).

## 1. POST-TRUTH AS A KIND OF SOCIAL ACTIVITY

One of the basic means of communication in today's culture is speech, which has significantly contributed to the development of humanity and to the creation of new cultural content, and consequently has led to changes in many spheres of social life. Using this skill also brought about the emergence of new means of communication, starting from writing and ending with the Internet. According to J. Ong, the basic features of orality are its connections with: memory: 'I know what I can recall, I can recall what I remember' (Ong 1992: 77), in addition, the association with social experience and practice, the role of additivity and redundancy, conservatism, psychological and social homeostasis, unity of the auditorium, and at the same time antagonistic coloration, lack of distance, commitment and empathy, lack of self-analysis and abstraction in thinking due to a strong relationship with the immediate situation in which speech is taking place (Ong 2009: 62–88).

In contrast to speech, writing separates such spheres as: 1) cognition from the cogniser, 2) interpretation from data, 3) the word from the sound, 4) the source of communication (writer) from the recipient (the reader, both in time and space), 5) the word from space filled with existence, 6) the past from the present, 7) administration from other sorts of social activity, 8) logic from rhetoric, 9) academic science from wisdom, 10) 'high' language from dialects, 11) abstract concepts from specific ones (Ong 2009: 159–169).

Sumerian cuneiform 3500 years BC is recognised as the beginning of writing. Of course, at this point one should reject other ways of development of writing – including Egyptian hieroglyphs, i.e. a system of pictograms, ideographs (codes) or phonograms (sound) as well as the Chinese alphabet. The Semitic peoples about 1500 years BC contributed to the invention of the syllabic alphabet. However, the Greeks in the eighth century BC created

a phonetic alphabet. Initially, in the fifth century, this alphabet contained 24 letters, and it was in this form that it was handed over to the West, which supplemented the alphabet so that all sounds can be written in a given language (Welsh 1998: 68).

In this context it seems the most important to notice certain rules and changes that have taken place over the centuries. Writing has become a democratic medium, although initially it was reserved for elites. Today, almost everyone can use it. Moreover, this medium has contributed to the development of culture and the emergence of civilization. Today, this role is performed by new media, mainly the Internet, operating with digital algorithms, which effectively build a new communication situation. Therefore, it is important to distinguish socio-cultural, psychological and ontological consequences of this phenomenon. As far as the latter is concerned, in 1998 German philosopher Wolfgang Iser rightly pointed out that there is no difference between being and a phenomenon, and a phenomenon and essence. The result of these considerations is the fact that instead of looking for depth – we are satisfied with shallowness, instead of stability – volatility, and real reality is more and more often replaced with virtuality, along with the possibilities offered to users (Welsh 1998: 69). It can be noticed more and more often that the changes that occur within the media are only a response to the needs and complexity of the modern world, to omnipresent multiculturalism, hybridisation and globalisation. It allows a person who is searching to find the answer to the question that bothers him. And while the path that the user has to follow is short, it requires certain skills. A person using Internet resources should take into account dangerous consequences of subordination to content appearing in the media and the lack of selection of information. This exposes society to risk of succumbing to dominating messages that may contribute to the adoption of a certain worldview, a sense of alienation, shyness, and so-called information metabolism, that is, the excess of information flowing into a human being and not going out from him (Golka 2008: 28).

## 2. A LIE IN PUBLIC DISCOURSE

Terminological problems concerning the phenomenon of post-truth and fake news have appeared since the popularity of the phenomenon increased. The widespreadness of this phenomenon was confirmed when on 16 November 2016 publishers of Oxford Dictionaries announced the

decision to recognise the term 'post-truth' as the Word of the Year (Oxford Dictionaries 2016). Of course, this fact is nothing new, but the inclusion of the term in public discourse has encouraged some to sort out and properly name the dangerous phenomena (functioning even in politics). A lie is not *novum*. On the other hand, it has become important to assign specific functions to relevant organisations, i.e. to online media. It turns out that the term was used in public space by Steve Tesich in the magazine *Nation* as early as the 1990s (Kreitner 2019). In turn, 2004 set the course for the popularisation of the phenomenon of post-truth. What was important was the indication of the reasons for the appearance of the term and the identification of this appearance with the birth of television in Ralph Keyes's book *The Post-Truth Era: Dishonesty and Deception in Contemporary Life* (Keyes 2004: 212). The author believes that the mass medium has contributed to the change in the way in which messages are distributed. Nowadays, the role of simplifying and creating a certain vision of reality can be attributed to social media. The online environment is a space where we can observe a continuous information flow. Messages that are adapted to digital requirements have little in common with facts. The term fake news itself can connote not only changes caused by new technological solutions. As M. Castells noted, the use of Internet resources and the treatment of the Web as a communication platform had led to the emergence of a new phenomenon of 'mass self-communication' (Castells 2013: 19). The selectivity and bias of false content is particularly dangerous in the case of shaping public opinion and political views. This unidentified message is able to effectively dethrone all kinds of appearing objections which do not suit the user, additionally reinforcing his deeply held view. Therefore, spreading false messages is nowadays identified with lying. Talking about post-truth, it is worth referring to the definition of a lie proposed by Saint Augustine. According to him, a lie is a false statement, the purpose of which to mislead the recipient.

Bearing in mind the above premises, a statement is a lie, when it is false, and also if it has been formulated with the intention of deceiving the recipient (Piechowicz 2009: 32). The largest broadcasters, online publishing houses, institutions or independent bloggers seem to be included in the mechanism of distributing garbled messages. The reason for this phenomenon is the desire to be noticed in the media world, which could contribute to maximising profit in a significant way. An entity which becomes a part of virtual reality is able to programme and distribute fake news often for economic and commercial purposes. The broadcasters of these messages realise that there is a target group that is not immune to this type of action and can be easily affected,



which in consequence may lead to a situation in which the ability to decide on many important, often socio-political issues depends on knowledge (or fact manipulation). Post-truth is simply information

‘relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief’ (Oxford Dictionaries 2016).

Producing and disseminating false messages is dangerous because, despite being later denied and corrected, they can permanently change individuals’ perception of the world. The artificially generated image is the result of unreflective and emotional diagnosis of content on the Web. Society, which is devoid of an element of reflexivity, follows everything that is (not physically) available, and can be guided by specific discursive lines leading to the same thing.

Wojciech Chudy is right when he notes that the phenomenon of post-truth dominating in culture can lead to a situation in which a confused man, having no idea about reality, cannot make decisions himself. The author distinguishes six consequences of social lies, which nowadays can be associated with the phenomenon of post-truth (Chudy 2003b, 212–218).

A lie contributes significantly to a dysfunction which is the lack of ability to make decisions. Man is deprived of the possibility of making a rational choice. He sticks to what he believed in, often thanks to deliberate misinformation. Every recipient of mass media makes selections and follows the imposed schemes, attitudes, value systems and patterns presented by the chosen medium. The fact that in the era of democracy it may be the cause of numerous conflicts should be taken into account.

The second result of a social lie is the division of society into organised, opposing camps. Distrust is the cause of forming completely contradictory images of the world. The lack of coherence in representing the same values can lead to the atomisation of society.

Another consequence is more and more visible commercialisation of democracy resulting from the subordination of social truth to the principle of maximising profit and market laws (Filipowicz 2016: 59–71). In the context of post-truth, the phenomenon becomes even more apparent. The individual who represents his worldview is able to deny it and reject it in order to obtain benefits and maximise profit. Pursuing his own interest he tries to ignore the measures that are necessary to achieve an established goal.

The fourth outcome is the violation of communication rules. Communication allows a community to exist and to some extent creates

it, however, when the society experiences lies, communication is disturbed and the community breaks down. It is worth noting that the mechanism of post-truth is identical. Post-truth creates conditions for the development of new communities within existing ones, and at the same time for the decay of higher-order communities. Constructing the artificial image of the world is conducive to building a strong community and maintains social bonds. Certainly, various types of socio-professional movements are a manifestation and a kind of proof of the commitment of individuals participating in social life, testifying to the validity of values and ideas representing them.

The next effect is a violation of the right to truth and the deconstruction of the individual's reality (Chudy 1990: 398). A lie becomes the cause of enslavement of the other person and domination over the person being lied to. The development of new media contributes to shaping the image of reality. In the society of post-truth, partial knowledge predominates, which is the result of the erroneously perceived reality. Simply speaking, it results from modern man's lack of willingness to verify the source and from his inability to think critically.

The last result of post-truth is aggression (Chudy 2003b: 55–56). The climax comes when the lie is exposed. Both the person being lied to and the liar can observe their aggressive behaviours. They appear in the person being lied to when he realises that he has been cheated, in turn in the liar through experiencing prolonged anxiety and stress caused by fear of the disclosure of the lie and its potential consequences. The deceived person becomes internally ambivalent – he loses any desire to know the truth. He surrenders to a comfortable, shaped vision of the world.

In the context of the phenomenon of post-truth, it is important to notice certain similarities within communities based on alternative truth and beliefs. These communities adopt, as their own, such attitudes which confirm their deeply held worldview, but negate those assessments which are contradictory to their (often mendacious) image of reality. Thus, it is worth emphasising at this point that post-truth is a continuation, and in a sense, a modern form of social deception, caused by the development of new media that easily falsify our identity and divide society. As McLuhan stated,

'the electric media constitutes a total and near- instantaneous transformation of culture, values and attitudes' (Zingrone 2001: 336).

### 3. DISINFORMATION AS A PART OF MEDIA CULTURE. A RUSSIAN TROLL FACTORY

Disputes around fake news are full of findings and predictions about the direction of the evolution of contemporary culture. Models of the operation of online platforms are responsible for the spread of disinformation in society. The mechanism of content personalisation, i.e. a filter bubble is the result of a personalised search on the Web. The term filter bubble was introduced in 2010 by activist Eli Pariser (*Fundacja Wolność i Demokracja* 2018). The phenomenon is dangerous in the sense that the user does not see all the results, but only those that have been selected for him. Undoubtedly, it becomes the reason for the assessment of the credibility of information by stakeholders because users have at their disposal only these elements in the virtual space that are quite attractive to them. This process depends on algorithms which, on the basis of recent activities on the Web – including responses, likes, search history or location, match the content to the recipients. As a result of content personalisation the user's chances for consuming all kinds of distinctive content are obscured. Algorithms effectively prevent and discourage from a further search for alternative sources of information. Due to the adjustment of information channels to users, recipients become less active and live in the space in which the previously established point of view dominates. Despite open access to various types of information, users are isolated from democratic decision-making. The issue of the possibility of potential use of the media by senders of alternative facts is one of the key problems that can be observed in connection with unlimited access to the Internet. Despite the possibility of confronting their own convictions with the opinions of others, explorers of new media are, however, inclined to search for content close to their views. This leads to the echo chambers effect. The use and reproduction of one content can also contribute to numerous distortions of reality (Kowalski 2017: 7).

It turns out that medicine is one of the most dangerous areas in which the dynamic spread of a well-crafted lie can lead to negative consequences. An example is a scientific article published in 1998 by a (former) doctor, Andrew Wakefield, in which the author pointed to the relationship between autism and the MMR vaccine against measles, mumps and rubella. Although the publication was officially withdrawn, and the author was removed from the doctors' register, the myth of vaccines causing autism went viral.

Currently, new media are an additional tool for people who propagate incorrect information. These people are active on the Web, make their voice heard and are recognised in social media. Using a tool such as Facebook and the possibility of an immediate reaction, setting up closed groups in which the followers of a given theory gather, they have an opportunity to strengthen the worldview that is close to them and other like-minded people.

The most popular anti-vaccine entries were posted by the Russians on Twitter. Russian trolls were responsible for promoting false information about the quality of vaccines used in the United States. They disseminated statements that only American elites have access to 'pure' vaccines and the rest of society would receive worse quality inocula. This doctrine was spread to force society to start a debate on increasing inequalities in the United States. The Russians were aware that dissemination of such content might lead to many misunderstandings, which would eventually result in social, political and economic conflicts. It turns out that a Russian troll factory is to blame for the diffusion of the false ideas. Researchers at the University of Washington in a published report said that the accounts that participated in the digital debate were linked to the Internet Research Agency (IRA), consolidated in turn with Russian military intelligence and dealing with the production and dissemination of fake content on the Web.

The Internet Research Agency employs currently about a hundred people (Fundacja Wolność i Demokracja 2018). In 2014–2017, bots and IRA-dependent accounts posted a lot more entries on Twitter than natural persons. In addition, accounts registered in Russia started conversations with other users under entries. The messages contained voices 'for' and 'against' inoculation, which aimed to trigger a discussion among public opinion. They used easily recognisable hash tags, i.e. #antivax or #learntherisk, which greatly facilitated faster identification of the topic and thus reaching even more recipients.

The tweets of the Russian trolls were also characterised by much smaller polarisation in relation to entries posted by individuals. It was possible to distinguish 19% of extreme posts, while 47% of entries were antivaccine (Broniatowski et al. 2018). The results shown in the 'American Journal of Public Health' prove that Russia uses the #VaccinateUS hash tag to send messages that propagate the wrong theories about vaccines. Social media, including Twitter, effectively support the process of misinforming society and the dissemination of false messages. Researchers analysed motives that were willingly used by pro-Russian trolls.

Messages with the #VaccinateUS hash tag also refer to all kinds of conspiracy theories and they primarily attack the activities of the American government. Interestingly, users of #VaccinateUS try to avoid detailed information about vaccines. They formulate their messages in such a way that the recipient does not feel attacked by aggressive senders. Unconventional, open dialogues stimulate a discussion, which may trigger specific social activities.

The application of such a strategy can effectively influence the undermining of authorities in the field of health and medicine and turning away from these institutions and spreading pseudoscience. The effect of the discourse is the questioning of the effectiveness of the vaccine and the introduction of chaos in society, which in turn leads to numerous divisions of groups and undermining confidence in health care in the United States and Europe. Citizens become more and more ignorant, which facilitates further spread of disinformation and is conducive to the deconstruction of the social framework. Environments more and more willingly subordinate their cognitive capabilities to digital media transmissions.

#### 4. GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST DISINFORMATION

In the era of the more and more prevalent phenomenon of fake news, the governments of individual countries have decided to join the action against the spread of disinformation in the world.

##### 4.1. Germany

The first country to make attempts to fight against harmful information was Germany, whose government passed a law on hate speech *Netzwerkdurchsetzungsgesetz (NetzDG)* in 2017 (Rogalewicz, and Zakrzewski 2018). The purpose of the Act is to combat hate speech, which more and more frequently appears on the Web. The legislator obliged portals, such as Facebook, Twitter or YouTube, to remove illegal posts within 24 hours of receiving information about their existence. In exceptional situations requiring the implementation of changes, portals have 7 days to respond appropriately. Disregarding or failure to comply with the obligation imposed by the legislator entails a fine of up to EUR 50 million (Rogalewicz, and Zakrzewski 2018). It turns out that already in January 2018, the Twitter

account of the satirical magazine *Titanic* was blocked. The direct reason for the removal of the profile was the publication by *Titanic* of a post parodying an anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant commentary of a member of the right-wing party *Alternative für Deutschland*. The German government also obliged social media platforms to report information about blocked content and the reasons for removing it. In July, such a report was presented, among others by Facebook (Rogalewicz, and Zakrzewski 2018).

#### 4.2. Italy

In Italy, the problem of the dissemination of alternative messages effectively activated the Italian government to try to prevent the spread of news fake. On 18 January 2018, former interior minister Marco Minniti announced the creation of an internet portal where citizens were able to report false information to the police. The content is verified by *Polizia Postale* (a department of the Italian police dealing with cybercrime), which checks whether the law has been violated and in the case of infringement, may proceed to initiate legal proceedings (Rogalewicz, and Zakrzewski 2018).

#### 4.3. France

As far as France is concerned, at the beginning of July 2018, the National Assembly of France passed a law that would enable the fight against false information mainly during election campaigns. As the French president stressed, the aim of the new law will be the protection of democracy. False messages broadcast on social media can be deleted, while websites that have published them – blocked. The body responsible for media control in France, that is *Conseil supérieur de l'audiovisuel* (CSA) will also be able to fight with every attempt at disinformation on the part of the media funded or controlled by foreign countries. In addition, the platforms: Facebook, Twitter and YouTube are obliged to report who and for what price financed ads that are part of election campaigns (Rogalewicz, and Zakrzewski 2018).

#### 4.4. India

The government of India, in turn, is working on the creation of a database containing false information circulating in social media. In one of the states in India, a list of false messages has already been made. The database contains data of people who in the past committed a crime related to

disinformation. Today, regulations do not allow for penalising people who spread false information. The Indian government is planning, however, to introduce provisions that will envisage punishing people publishing false content on the Internet, especially processed photographs. The motive will be the key element in the assessment. And thus, it will be possible to distinguish the following criteria: crimes committed intentionally; in order to achieve a specific profit; unintentionally or as a joke. At this point it is worth quoting an example of the negative consequences of distributing fake messages by means of WhatsApp. At the turn of May and June 2018, false information began to be disseminated, accusing innocent people of trading in human organs and abductions of children. The application enabled sending messages to 256 additional recipients, which significantly contributed to the promulgation of false messages. WhatsApp introduced new technological solutions. In July 2018, it significantly lowered the sending limit and minimised it to 20 recipients. In turn, in India, the WhatsApp application allows transmitting information to no more than 5 new people. India is the largest market for Facebook-owned WhatsApp with over 200 million users. The company, however, tries to constantly react to and prevent the spread of disinformation. Importantly, on 11 April 2019, parliamentary elections will begin in India, the outcome of which may depend on the problematic content sent and appearing on the Internet in large quantities. Therefore, WhatsApp uses artificial intelligence to clean up the platform in the country in which more than 800 million citizens have the right to vote. It also warns India's political parties against the spread of politically-motivated materials. The Facebook application uses artificial intelligence (AI) tools to detect and block accounts that spread untrue content on a large scale. These automated systems of WhatsApp blocked more than six million accounts globally in the last three months (Iyengar 2019).

Another example of good practises was the campaign 'Share Joy, Not Rumours', launched by WhatsApp in 2018, aimed at raising social awareness about disinformation.

#### 4.5. Indonesia

Currently, also in Indonesia there are attempts to combat disinformation, as evidenced by the establishment of the Indonesia National Cyber and Encryption Agency, which is responsible for the protection of the government, private companies and society in cyberspace. The organisation cooperates with the police, army and institutions fighting with cybercrime. In January 2018,

nine companies, including Google, Facebook and Twitter, also entered into an agreement initiated by the government. The main goal is to combat fake news and hate speech and protect society against unverified and manipulated content. Another solution that the government has introduced is a tool based on artificial intelligence that verifies false content on the Web. The tool searches websites by following keywords found on them. If false content is identified, the tool automatically notifies the Association of Indonesian Internet Providers (APJI) which can remove the website (Rogalewicz, and Zakrzewski 2018).

## 5. ALTERNATIVE POSITION OF SWEDEN IN THE FIGHT AGAINST DISINFORMATION

Analysing attempts to stop disinformation spreading in the world, we can observe the implementation of ever newer means and methods, the purpose of which is the recognition of misleading content and its effective eradication. Increasingly the verification of the truthfulness of messages is conducted by independent NGOs to avoid bias. Publishers, such as Facebook, Google, or Twitter have also joined the fight against false messages. Their tasks include first of all locating and removing fake accounts, adjusting search engine algorithms to promote valuable content, reducing the profitability of publishing fake news and strengthening cooperation with organisations providing proven messages (Balcewicz 2018).

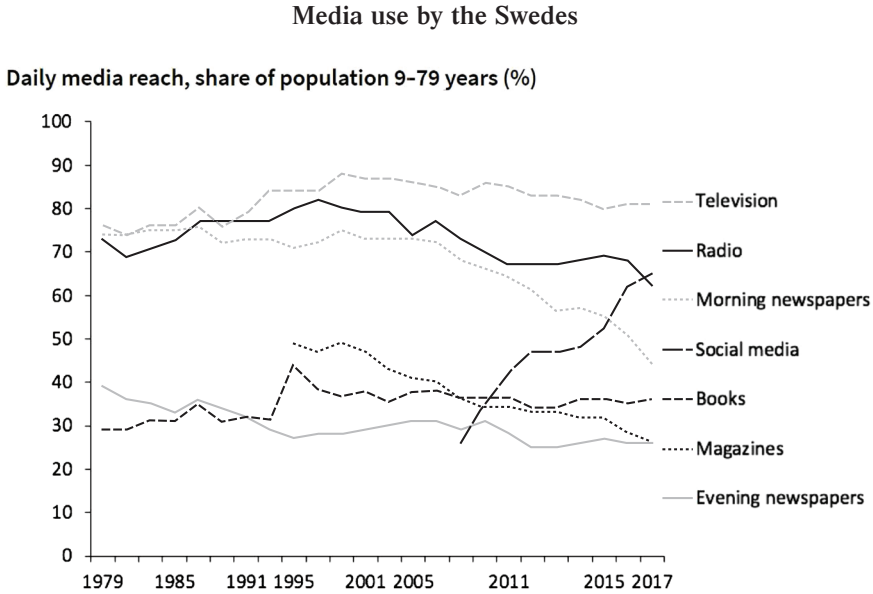
Nowadays less profitable, analogue media seem to subordinate themselves to new digital instruments. Social life also seems to be regulated by a series of changes that take place within technology. The form of information transfer is an important component of the current broadcasting culture. Sweden is an exception, as there television is still an important point of reference in the context of the daily use of news media.

The graph illustrates changes that have taken place in the frequency of using traditional and digital media by the Swedes over several decades. An increase of activity in the area of social media is particularly important. Especially the last years are characterised by a large upsurge in the use of these media.

In 2017, 65% of the Swedes used social networking platforms every day (*vide* Figure 1). On the other hand, the stable position of television, that is a traditional medium, which remained at the level of 80%, may indicate the dissemination of good practices and active support of the activity of the media



Figure 1



Source: <https://nordicom.gu.se/en/media-barometer-2019> [11.03.2019].

market. From the position of this indicator it can be inferred that the message that comes through traditional communication channels is one of the most frequent sources of information for the Swedes. Thus, responsibility falls on journalists who, while preparing the material, should use appropriate tools to be able to verify the ‘transmitted’ content. In Sweden, media education at the early school stage plays an important role in recognising fake news. It turns out that children have a chance to learn about dangers resulting from unskilled use of Internet resources. Bamse Bear is a hero of a popular comic book for children. One of the issues of this comic contains a story in which Bamse teaches and makes the readers aware that they should always check the sources of information available on the Internet (Ceglińska 2017).

## CONCLUSION

Information is a form of commercialisation of the world and constitutes a dichotomy between randomness and necessity. The role of information can also boil down to decision-making strategies that regulate the political and economic sectors, but also to some extent characterise the contemporary user

of new media. Today, users are able to distribute and disseminate a range of alternative content via the Internet. The media seem to be a place not only for social but also political activity. Many, as it seems, distinct environments are able to participate in a global exchange of thoughts, manifestation of their own views or implementation of deeper ideas.

The 1990s were a period when the Internet became widespread. It has become the dominant mass medium, and above all contributed to changes in many areas and segments of human activity. Therefore, an important element in the fight against false information is striving to maintain the greatest possible objectivity and the ability to filter information. An in-depth analysis, a lack of simplification and an impartial attitude to the information heard will allow people to effectively establish the framework of the surrounding world. While in the real world we are able to decipher the interlocutor, the virtual world builds our false identities. It creates the right conditions for us to be who we want to be. In Goffman's understanding of this word: as each of us is an actor and can put on any mask, manipulation and creation of our image is something inevitable (Goffman 2000: 99). The Internet is a perfect tool for adopting distinctive values, attitudes and behaviours. Multimedia transmissions pose a real challenge for today's consumers. Thanks to the use of appropriate tools, the sender of the message is able to create a completely new phenomenon in a verbal-visual way, but also to shape our perception. Despite information overload, man accepts a set of fragmented and disorganised message contents appearing in various types of channels. At this point the question should be asked: who disseminates false pieces of information and who repeats them? The user of new media seems to know after all that repeated information becomes a fact and enters media discourse as a mediatised fact. This in turn contributes to the creation of false content, while often shaping the negative image of a given entity.

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## THE IMPACT OF NEW MEDIA ON SHAPING PUBLIC OPINION IN THE POST-INDUSTRIAL ERA. GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST DISINFORMATION

### Abstract

This article focuses on the process of spreading fake news on the Internet. Today, by means of the media, users are able to distribute and disseminate a range of alternative content. The article shows the changes and consequences that users of new media must face. As a result of the unprecedented development of technology and disinformation that is spreading thereby, the tendency to fix erroneous beliefs in society is becoming more and more visible. The Internet creates perfect conditions to give autonomous cells an opportunity to quickly exchange information and confirm their beliefs. While traditional media are subject to institutional control, in the case of social media communication possibilities seem unlimited as they are subject only to social control, which in turn translates into the amount of rippling pernicious content.

Dynamic development of technological solutions directly affects the placement of disinformation in another dimension. Fake news has become such an important problem in the media and social discourse that initiatives have been taken in many countries to combat the spread of disinformation on the Web. The key element is, above all, building public awareness and identifying false messages and sources that publish 'fake news'.

Key words: post-truth, fake news, information, disinformation, information society, social media

## WPLYW NOWYCH MEDIÓW NA KSZTAŁTOWANIE OPINII PUBLICZNEJ W EPOCE POSTINDUSTRIALNEJ. RZĄDOWE REGULACJE W ZAKRESIE WALKI Z DEZINFORMACJĄ

### Streszczenie

Niniejszy artykuł koncentruje się na procesie rozprzestrzeniania się fałszywych wiadomości w Internecie. Współcześnie za pośrednictwem mediów użytkownicy są w stanie dystrybuować i upowszechniać wiele alternatywnych

treści. Tekst pokazuje, z jakimi zmianami i konsekwencjami muszą zmierzyć się użytkownicy nowych mediów. W wyniku bezprecedensowego rozwoju technologii i szerzącej się przez to dezinformacji, coraz bardziej wyraźna staje się tendencja do utrwalania się błędnych przekonań w społeczeństwie. Internet stwarza doskonałe warunki do tego, aby dać autonomicznym komórkom możliwość szybkiej wymiany informacji i utwierdzić się we własnych przekonaniach. O ile media tradycyjne podlegają kontroli instytucjonalnej, tak w przypadku mediów społecznościowych możliwości komunikacyjne wydają się nieograniczone. Podlegają one bowiem tylko kontroli społecznej, co w rezultacie przekłada się na ilość rozprzestrzeniania szkodliwych treści.

Dynamiczny rozwój w obrębie rozwiązań technologicznych bezpośrednio wpływa na umieszczenie dezinformacji w innym wymiarze. Tak zwane fake newsy stały się na tyle istotnym problemem w dyskursie medialnym i społecznym, że w wielu krajach podjęto inicjatywy mające na celu walkę z rozprzestrzenianiem się dezinformacji w Sieci. Kluczowym elementem jest przede wszystkim budowanie świadomości społecznej oraz identyfikowanie fałszywych wiadomości oraz źródeł publikujących „fake newsy”.

Słowa kluczowe: post-prawda, fake news, informacja, dezinformacja, społeczeństwo informacyjne, media społecznościowe

## ВОЗДЕЙСТВИЕ СОВРЕМЕННЫХ СМИ НА ФОРМИРОВАНИЕ ОБЩЕСТВЕННОГО МНЕНИЯ В ПОСТИНДУСТРИАЛЬНУЮ ЭПОХУ. ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ КООРДИНИРОВАНИЕ В БОРЬБЕ ПРОТИВ ДЕЗИНФОРМАЦИИ

### Резюме

Настоящая статья посвящена исследованию процесса распространения фальшивых информации в Интернете. В настоящее время через средства массовой информации пользователи могут распределять и распространять огромное количество альтернативных материалов. В статье продемонстрировано, с какими реорганизациями и последствиями могут иметь дело пользователи современных средств массовой информации. В результате беспрецедентного развития технологий и связанного с ним распространения дезинформации, тенденция к фиксации ошибочных представлений в обществе становится все более заметной. Интернет создает идеальные условия для того, чтобы дать автономным источникам возможность мобильного обмена

информацией и формирования собственных убеждений. Если традиционные средства массовой информации подлежат институциональному контролю, то в случае социальных сетей коммуникационные возможности представляются неограниченными. Они подлежат только социальному контролю, что в результате приводит к распространению вредоносного контента.

Динамичное развитие в области технологических решений непосредственно влияет на размещение дезинформации в другом измерении. Так называемые «фейк-ньюсы» представляют собой настолько серьёзную проблему в медийном и общественном дискурсе, что во многих странах принимаются инициативы по борьбе с распространением дезинформации в Интернете. К ключевым задачам относятся прежде всего формирование общественного сознания и выявление фальшивых новостей и источников, публикующих «фейк-ньюсы».

Ключевые слова: пост-правда, «фейк-ньюс», информация, дезинформация, информационное общество, социальные сети

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**Zaza Tavadze\***

# THE PROPORTIONALITY ANALYSIS IN THE GEORGIAN CONSTITUTIONAL JURISPRUDENCE AND THE PROSPECTS OF RATIONALITY REVIEW

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## INTRODUCTION

The Georgian Parliament has recently adopted changes into legislation, which aims to institutionalise a regulatory impact assessment (RIA) as an element of the legislative process. It is part of the regulatory reform agenda intended to facilitate the implementation of evidence-based policymaking in Georgia and is expected to come into force in 2020. Under the proposed system, in certain circumstances, the draft law must be accompanied by an impact assessment, which would contain factual information in order to measure effects of the proposed law on individuals and the wider community, whereas the legislature should take this assessment into consideration when legislating on the matter.

It thus becomes a procedural requirement for the legislature to take necessary evidence into account and pass on the laws that are informed by reality. Evidence-based lawmaking is believed to increase the substantive quality of legislation. It is thereby of considerable interest how the constitutional court should conduct the review in such cases and to what extent it should assess the procedural requirements of legislation.

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This paper aims to analyse the judicial review of rational lawmaking by focusing on the development of its concept in the European context. It further intends to investigate the criteria of judicial assessment and decision-making methodology applied *vis-à-vis* procedural requirements of lawmaking in order to test the idea whether the Georgian constitutional case-law is ready to move towards rationality review of legislation.

Initially, the paper briefly discusses the concept of rationality in legislation only to explain the argumentative similarity of legislative justification with judicial assessment methodology. The next part of the piece focuses on the proportionality test as the guiding decision-making strategy for constitutional courts and as a key methodological tool to check conduct rationality review. Lastly, the paper switches to analyse the development of the proportionality test in the practice of the Constitutional Court of Georgia (CCG) in an effort to demonstrate its firm institutionalisation in constitutional case-law, which opens prospects for rationality review of legislation in Georgia.

## 1. JUDICIAL REVIEW OF RATIONAL LAWMAKING

It is argued that constitutional control mainly comprises substantive or procedural review (Meßerschmidt 2015: 350), which serves as a basis for the judiciary to check the quality of lawmaking. The latter thereby implies both the procedure applied in the legislature for the adoption of a legal act, as well as its consistency, coherence and effects in practice. The procedural review is viewed to solve the counter-majoritarian dilemma of judicial review (Ely 1980), yet there are no clearly identifiable criteria in European judicial case-law, which would make the procedural check stand as a separate adjudicative category. Instead, courts – especially, the German Constitutional Court (FCC) – tend to conduct ‘semiprocedural review’ (Bar-Siman-Tov 2011), whereby judges review the legislative procedure as part of its substantive check of legislation and if only the content of a disputed law violates fundamental rights or other constitutional values, then does the court look into the legislative process to see whether certain procedural requirements are met (Meßerschmidt 2015: 352).

In German constitutional tradition, procedural review is closely linked to the legislator’s obligation of rational decision-making, which, *inter alia*, includes duty to deliberate (Hoffmann 1990: 97) and to apply an optimal method of legislation (Schwerdtfeger 1977: 173). However, any judicial action intended to review parliamentary business is inherently problematic,

because it may be perceived as abridging legislative supremacy. In this context, two competing views of legitimacy need to be weighed: the input-oriented approach, meaning that law will be constitutional if it is passed by the sovereign democratic body; and the output-oriented approach, which combines three criteria and argues that a law is constitutional because it (a) does not violate fundamental rights, (b) serves sound objectives, and (c) benefits outweigh the implementation costs (Meßerschmidt 2015: 352). It is fair to say that these two views of legitimacy go at the heart of constitutional democracy and it is for the constitutional court to respect and reconcile the foregoing values where appropriate.

Modern thinking on legislation embodies the ideas of legal realism and a law is no longer seen as a mere product of representative political authority, but is a key tool of good governance oriented towards efficiency (Aeken 2005: 67). It is accepted that law may have social and economic consequences and that a lawmaker should be guided by factual data/assessment in order to judge whether to adopt, maintain, change or invalidate a given regulation (Raz 2009: 104). This is what rationality basically implies the idea that regulatory decisions need to be justified by facts via measuring their prospective effects on individuals and a wider society.

If the idea of rational lawmaking is accepted and entrenched in a legal system, judicial review of laws needs to adopt assessment criteria and an argumentative methodology, which would correctly judge on the quality of legislation. Although the elements of good lawmaking are a relative novelty, judicial standards of assessment rooted in the protection of fundamental rights are still applicable (Popelier 2012: 257). It is also interesting to observe that tools of better legislation, especially, impact assessments, set requirements that are similar to the proportionality method. Namely, they consist of (a) a problem analysis, (b) determination of objectives and (c) a comparison of alternative options (European Commission 2009: 92). There is a striking resemblance (or convergence) between this methodology and the proportionality analysis applied by courts. Correspondingly, the proportionality serves as a key assessment framework for rational legislation.

## 2. PROPORTIONALITY PRINCIPLE AND RATIONALITY REVIEW

It should be borne in mind that a legislative process is political by nature and thereby subject to lesser judicial scrutiny. In case parliamentary procedures are not strictly observed in a given case, yet the adopted law

is substantively sound and produces good results, it would not seem to be plausible or practicable by a constitutional court to invalidate such legal act. This is an approach developed by FCC, which implies that when the content of law is flawed, procedural requirements are triggered (Meßerschmidt 2015: 365). Substantively, constitutional adjudication increasingly relies on proportionality to assess the quality of a disputed law.

The proportionality test is normally applied through a three-stage analysis. Once the state has demonstrated that its action, restricting the fundamental right(s) in question, had a legitimate objective, the judicial decision-making strategy across the globe would warrant a proportionality scrutiny. The first element of the test checks whether the means that were applied, in fact, promote the legitimate goal (suitability); subsequently, it is assessed whether the state opted for the least restrictive means to advance its regulatory objective (necessity); finally, a careful analysis is carried out to evaluate whether benefits of the state's objective are strictly proportionate to the infringement of the constitutional right(s) (balancing) (Cohen-Eliya, and IddoPorat 2011: 464).

There are important differentiations between each of the foregoing elements, which in practice require meticulous factual and normative consideration. Initially, the proportionality test looks into the legitimate aim of a regulation at hand, namely, the court attempts to identify the state's regulatory objective (Stone Sweet, and Mathews 2008: 75–77). This may sometimes prove to be difficult, since the aim might not always be obvious or there can be manifold aims or implicit ones, whereas the law would not normally provide for a clear interpretative rule to deal with such matters of ambiguity. Nonetheless, in practical terms, this requirement of proportionality is widely regarded as an auxiliary element, which although mandating formal check of legitimate aim(s), hardly operates as a filter for the substantive constitutionality review.

The next element of proportionality checks the suitability of the regulatory means (Alexy 2014: 51–53). In particular, the courts would normally assess the suitability of a given measure in terms of its capability to promote, but not to achieve, the pursued objective. This requirement thereby renders it not difficult to meet, because the threshold of needed effectiveness is considerably low. Moreover, the effectiveness of the measure is intrinsic to its suitability, which would often depend upon a legislative prognosis. It is fair to note that whilst reviewing such prognostic assessments, the courts are likely to accord great deference to the respective lawmaking authority (Alexy 2014: 51–53).

As regards the necessity requirement, a given regulation will be deemed necessary provided there is no alternative measure that would be less onerous

but equally effective. The said element of proportionality is inherently related to the idea of constitutional democracy, which is based on the presumption of individual liberty and implies the idea that any infringement of individual rights by public authority must be least restrictive (minimal impairment rule). Thus, should there be a less burdensome measure available, the state has the obligation to opt for such a measure to achieve its regulatory goal. It should be noted again that evaluation of the effects of the measure at hand and the entailed burden would often require a prognostic assessment by the legislature, to which constitutional courts are expected to grant considerable leeway (Alexy 2014: 53–56).

Finally, proportionality involves balancing the goal(s) pursued by the measure *vis-à-vis* the burden they entail (Alexy 2014: 51–53). This element of the test is the most problematic since it would often require a plain value judgement by the courts, which raises the question of legitimacy of judicial intervention in the province of policy-making. For this reason, constitutional judges ought to institutionalise the criteria for proportionality to make the judicial decision-making more discernible and transparent. In this context, the courts identify and weigh from the outset the constitutional status of the interests involved in a given case. For example, if a fundamental right cannot be restricted or only under specific circumstances, or a legitimate objective(s) of the state benefit from explicit constitutional recognition, this would indicate increased importance. Furthermore, the balancing requirement typically involves measuring intensity of the restriction in a given case against other conceivable measures of restrictive nature of the same right(s). This would imply comparisons to similar situations, the process in which many different variables can gain relevance, yet the choice of a pertinent variable(s) rests with the court.

It seems fair to say that proportionality offers judges a useful analytical platform to evaluate competing societal interests, which is likely to involve tensions between several constitutional values (Kumm 2004: 579–581) and, though it is supposed to narrow down the scope of unfettered judicial value judgements, it can hardly predetermine the potential outcome of a judicial process in a clear-cut fashion. Hence, proportionality allows judicial review with varying degrees of scrutiny, and the choice of the appropriate standard depends both on legal and factual criteria of a given case. The former implies the scope of a constitutional right and the intensity of the infringement, and the latter has to do with the difficulty of a legislative prognosis, which varies in each field of legislation (Brünneck 1988: 256–257). Although the intensity of review may differ, proportionality as a constitutional decision-

making strategy can certainly mitigate the problem of arbitrary judicial intervention into legislative policy-making and, thereby, it is widely regarded to be a legitimate instrument for reviewing infringements of fundamental rights (Cohen-Eliya, and Porat 2011: 463).

### 3. PROPORTIONALITY PRINCIPLE IN GEORGIAN CONSTITUTIONAL JURISPRUDENCE: A WAY TOWARDS RATIONALITY REVIEW

As indicated above, this paper aims to focus on proportionality in the context of rationality review by CCG within its human rights adjudicative mandate. In particular, the application of proportionality in relation to certain civil and political rights by CCG will be presented to showcase the embodiment of this principle in Georgian case-law.

The Georgian Constitution does not contain an explicit provision on proportionality and it has been interpreted by the Constitutional Court as a major analytical framework for resolving constitutional disputes and extensively applied in practice. Importantly, CCG has formulated varying proportionality criteria for dealing with civil and political rights.

The case-law on the right to privacy serves as a good example to showcase application of proportionality in Georgian constitutional adjudication. Similarly to European constitutional jurisprudence, initially, CCG attempts to identify a legitimate aim(s), which should, in principle, correspond with the weight of the basic right (CCG 2016, p. 17). Further, a given legitimate objective must be suitable and the limitation of the right minimal (necessity) (CCG 2016, p. 16). The last stage is balancing where CCG looks at whether the limitation of the right is justified. There are different variables that may influence the value judgement of the Constitutional Court, such as, the nature of the limitation (blanket or indefinite time) (CCG 2014, p. 76). Simultaneously, the notion of 'private life' has been given a broad interpretation as to cover all similar areas of life (CCG 2009, p. 17). It should be noted that as part of the proportionality check, should a disputed regulation unduly interferes with the private sphere of an individual, the Court would also assess the qualitative criteria of law, i.e. foreseeability and accessibility. In this context, case-law is consistent in stressing the need for clear and unambiguous procedural rules of restrictive character (CCG 2009, p. 14). Provided the legal provision can be interpreted in practice differently, out of which a single reading unduly restricts the constitutional right, the Court would deem such a regulation unconstitutional (CCG 2012, p. 30).

In relation to the equality clause, CCG assesses differentiated treatment between two or more groups and subsequently checks reasons for such differentiation. The Court follows the traditional assessment criteria, whereby various interests are considered and ultimately balanced in the framework of proportionality. Normally, disparate treatment can be based either on the grounds explicitly provided in the constitution or any other identifiable reasons (CCG 2008, p. 2).

It is worth emphasising that the proportionality test is an integral part of constitutionality review in Georgia. Yet, subject to contextual modalities of a given case, manifold variables, both legal and factual, play a role at the balancing stage of judicial evaluation.

### 3.1. Rationale behind the Institutionalisation of Proportionality

CCG has been in existence for a little more than two decades, the period which was marked by the transition from post-Soviet rule to democracy. Certainly, in the process of democratic changes, which have consistently seen solid ruling majorities of a day in power, the functioning of the constitutional judiciary has never been easy. It is perhaps an invariable characteristic of every constitutional court, due to its institutional mandate of constitutional review, to always remain in somewhat tense relations with political institutions of the state. Not surprisingly, by eliminating normative acts issued by inherently political organs of the state, the constitutional court confronts with the will of a decision-making majority, which may well be conceived as having a negative connotation of a political character.

Apart from hurdles associated with the political configuration, CCG had to overcome challenges of institutional incapacity, to amass professional competence and to help strengthen the scholarship in the field of constitutional law, which was barely existent in Georgia before. Indeed, to cope with these salient issues, CCG needed support from the wider public, from people who could directly benefit from constitutional adjudication. In theory, everyone in society can be seen as beneficiaries of constitutional jurisprudence, because it is addressed to every individual and whilst declaring a provision unconstitutional, the effects of a changed legal framework may go well beyond the litigation at hand. Although in practice, CCG needed to sharpen the awareness of its mandate and try to win the trust of the public. One of the ways to do that was to produce consistent case-law, which would be substantiated by rational reasons and give parties and population at large clear understanding of constitutional decision-making. The proportionality analysis is believed to serve this purpose well.

It seems an inherent element of legal reason to invite ambiguity. Apart from the substance of normative acts, which can be uncertain at times, judicial case-law is also far from being fully unambiguous. Against this backdrop, the judiciary is in constant need of legitimacy. The proportionality doctrine acts to complement the wider institutional framework of judicial architecture by establishing a formidable structure of analytical reason within which judicial value judgements are to be justified. More specifically, by splitting a given constitutional issue into a set of clear and standardised questions, proportionality helps to reduce the scope for arbitrariness and facilitates a rational exchange on potentially ambiguous points of law.

This pervading problem of ambiguity is particularly salient when it comes to norms at a high level of abstraction and generality. The constitutional provisions on fundamental rights belong to that category, since they tend to be framed as open-textured principles rather than concise rules. Therefore, a legal system that aims at the strong protection of fundamental rights is, by definition, inclined to confront with the challenges of ambiguity to a greater extent.

In the Georgian context, the problem of ambiguity of constitutional text was prevalent and, to a certain extent, still has not been fully remedied by CCG, which is vividly reflected in the reluctance of common courts to invoke fundamental constitutional rights whilst resolving actual cases. It is generally argued that the question of judicial legitimacy can be confined to rationality and reasoning of the constitutional court (Lachmayer 2013: 1490), which, among others, calls for structured and transparent reasoning (Jackson 2015: 3142). Through entrenching the proportionality test in its decision-making strategy, CCG has made significant progress in that direction. Admittedly, after defining proportionality as a general principle of the constitution despite the absence of an explicit constitutional recognition, as well as adopting it as the main assessment tool of human rights cases in the late 2000s, both the number of constitutional complaints and case referrals from common courts has surged considerably. This, in turn, resulted in the increase of application of constitutional jurisprudence in real cases before ordinary courts and has helped CCG to emerge as an effective remedial mechanism in Georgia.

In short, the institutionalisation of the proportionality principle has provided both a stable doctrinal framework in Georgia, which clearly indicates to litigating parties the manner and sequence of arguments that ought to be made before the court and the path through which the constitutional judges are going to substantiate their reasoning. It also gives clarity to the legislature that it is under the duty to justify a law, especially restrictive

legislation, with rational reasons. The indispensable place of proportionality in the case-law of CCG with varying degrees of scrutiny is likely to serve as the basis for the Constitutional Court in Georgia to judge on the procedural obligation of the lawmaker and examine the reasons that motivated the parliamentary decision.

## CONCLUSION

The paper attempted to demonstrate that the proportionality principle is firmly entrenched in the Georgian constitutional jurisprudence, which could become a valid analytical platform for CCG to conduct rationality review of legislation. By deconstructing inherent elements of proportionality, it becomes clear that it intrinsically invites justification of legislative action and any evidence that supports the law or lack thereof may be subject to judicial scrutiny while assessing the substantive quality of a legal norm.

The institutionalisation of proportionality in Georgia has gone a sufficiently long way to conclude that the Constitutional Court could rely on its case-law and expound the duty of rationality of legislation by conducting the review with varying degree of scrutiny. Provided CCG remains reasonably active in constitutional adjudication and reluctant not to needlessly defer the political choices of the legislature, a strong argumentative framework of proportionality in Georgian constitutional practice mandates the view that the Constitutional Court is likely to move towards the review of the rationality of legislation, especially against the backdrop of emerging regulatory reform. Nevertheless, it is fair to note that only the future constitutional jurisprudence has the potential to shed the light on the prospects of rationality review in Georgia.

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## THE PROPORTIONALITY ANALYSIS IN THE GEORGIAN CONSTITUTIONAL JURISPRUDENCE AND THE PROSPECTS OF RATIONALITY REVIEW

### Abstract

The proposed regulatory reform in Georgia introduces impact assessment tool as part of the legislative process. While the lawmaker is accountable to the public and has a general duty to justify their actions, the political nature of parliamentary procedures makes it difficult to formally scrutinise legislature. This paper looks into the argumentative strategy of constitutional adjudication to showcase that the Georgian Constitutional Court possesses appropriate analytical framework to move towards realisation of rationality review of legislation.

Key words: judicial review, rationality, proportionality, legal reasoning, impact assessment

## ANALIZA PROPORCJONALNOŚCI W GRUZIŃSKIM ORZECZNICTWIE KONSTITUCYJNYM I PERSPEKTYWY PRZEGLĄDU RACJONALNOŚCI PRAWODAWSTWA

### Streszczenie

Proponowana reforma regulacyjna w Gruzji wprowadza narzędzie oceny wpływu do procesu legislacyjnego. Podczas gdy ustawodawca jest odpowiedzialny przed społeczeństwem i ma ogólny obowiązek uzasadniania swoich działań, polityczny charakter procedur parlamentarnych utrudnia formalne kontrolowanie władzy ustawodawczej. Niniejszy artykuł analizuje argumentacyjną strategię orzekania konstytucyjnego, aby wykazać, że gruziński Trybunał Konstytucyjny posiada odpowiednie ramy analityczne, aby przejść do realizacji przeglądu racjonalności prawodawstwa.

Słowa kluczowe: przegląd sądowy, racjonalność, proporcjonalność, uzasadnienie prawne, ocena wpływu

## АНАЛИЗ ПРОПОРЦИОНАЛЬНОСТИ В КОНСТИТУЦИОННОМ СУДОПРОИЗВОДСТВЕ ГРУЗИИ И ПЕРСПЕКТИВЫ РАССМОТРЕНИЯ РАЦИОНАЛЬНОСТИ ЗАКОНОДАТЕЛЬСТВА

### Резюме

Предлагаемая нормативная реформа в Грузии предполагает введение инструмента анализа воздействия в законодательный процесс. В то время как законодательный орган несёт ответственность перед государством и принимает на себя обязательство обосновывания своих действий, политический характер парламентских процедур затрудняет формальный контроль над законодательной властью. В настоящей статье анализу подвергается аргументативная стратегия конституционного судопроизводства с целью выявления того, что грузинский Конституционный суд обладает соответствующими аналитическими рамками, которые позволяют перейти к реализации рассмотрения рациональности законодательства.

Ключевые слова: обзор судебной практики, рациональность, пропорциональность, правовое обоснование, анализ воздействия

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**Daria Nałęcz\***

# THE USSR IN THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PRESIDENT WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI IN 1989–1990

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## INTRODUCTION

The outcome of the parliamentary elections of 4 June 1989 and the subsequent decision of the United People's Party and the Democratic Party to abandon allegiance to the Polish United Workers' Party and to form a coalition with the Citizen's Parliamentary Club, opened many new perspectives and questions. Among them were the most important ones about the direction, scope and scale of political changes and foreign policy goals. The victory of the Solidarity camp did not mean an easy way to changes. For several months, Poland was the only country in the Eastern bloc in which the communists lost their monopoly on the exercise of power. The geopolitical environment was not prepared for it, which was exemplified by Nicolae Ceausescu's proposal, repeated on various occasions, to intervene in Poland on the basis of Brezhnev's doctrine. In the USSR struggling with a crisis, Gorbachev, however, was not inclined to accept this motion. He had another idea for getting out of trouble, he developed a wide range of his own reforms, he tried to communicate with the West, especially the USA. He was rather winding up the fronts of confrontation than was ready to open new ones. When Ceausescu wanted intervention, Gorbachev declared the right of nations to self-determination and the twilight of spheres of influence. The

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rigid bipolar division of the world was losing its sharpness. Gorbachev was systematically informed about Polish matters by Wojciech Jaruzelski, the then head of the Polish United Workers' Party and the chairman of the Council of State. He gave his consent to the Round Table talks and he was informed about their results (Kowal, and Cieřlik 2015: 283, Strzelczyk 2002: 20). And although the result of the Polish elections surprised him, he lived believing that these changes would not overturn either the mutual relations or the socialist system of the state.

In addition to the already known literature and published documents and memoirs, the article is based on the files from the Presidential Archives and the PPR Historical Records Archive Foundation, not used so far in analyses of international relations. It focuses attention on the president's views and activities, which are less known than the government's actions. It shows a complicated process of reducing dependence on the USSR, of the government's determination as well as caution, argues with the thesis about the government's policy of Finlandisation. The government's actions are juxtaposed with the communists' and the president's activity. It puts forward a thesis that in spite of differences in attitudes to the USSR and systemic issues, the president got into the chariot that carried Poland to the West. The communists' influence gradually weakened, which Jaruzelski was well aware of.

## 1. THE STARTING POINT

A clear thaw in international relations opened up chances for reforms in Poland. People wanted to live more easily. They were fed up with shortages, queues and rationing of goods. However, the results of the public opinion poll of the Public Opinion Research Centre announced on 10 May 1989 prove the significant inertia of citizens' views and the effectiveness of previous propaganda, which in general did not make it easier for the new authorities to take sensitive political decisions. Over 60% of the respondents had a positive attitude to the USSR. Negative – less than 10%. Nearly 80% had a liking for Gorbachev. No liking – 5%. Nearly 70% supported the reforms he was carrying out. Opponents constituted only 1%. Almost 60% thought that their effect would be a thorough reconstruction of the USSR. Polish-Soviet relations were positively assessed by almost 64% of the respondents, fewer than in 1987, when there were over 75% of such responses. Almost 66% opted for maintaining the membership of the Warsaw Pact, but this

percentage dropped in comparison to the previous year, when it exceeded 70%. Almost 32% were against the membership. In this group, over 81% declared that Poland should remain a neutral state, and only slightly over 13% that it should be associated with NATO. On the list of allied states the USSR dominated – over 39%. Among hostile countries – the FRG – over 35%. 16% of the respondents regarded the USSR as a hostile state (Public Opinion Research Center CBOS 1989).

Thus, new Poland had to create itself anew in conflict with strong views but in symbiosis with the hopes for improving the lot. Tasks that the first non-communist government, headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, faced were neither easy nor banal. They had to take into account the interests of voters and current and future foreign allies, divergent intentions of parties forming the government coalition. The Polish United Workers' Party manned four ministries, victorious Solidarity – twelve. Among these four were the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The Communists failed to obtain the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, despite the fight. The prime minister appointed Krzysztof Skubiszewski, a professor of international law at the University of Poznań, to the ministerial post (Mazowiecki 2012: 52, Torańska 2004)<sup>1</sup>. It was another failure of the communists. Jaruzelski's election to the office of president by a majority of just one vote was also a crippled victory (FADH G I/23, k. 64)<sup>2</sup>. Jaruzelski was quickly made to realise that despite huge powers that the constitution of the Polish People's Republic, amended in April 1989, gave him there was no chance for a proprietary policy, that he was a hostage to the contract, from which he would be freed only by a desperate counterattack involving physical violence. However, it was not what he wanted for many reasons and after some time he was incapable of carrying it out. He clearly sought to replace the image of the person responsible for martial law or the massacre at the Coast in 1970 with the image of a reformer meeting the expectations of Poles. But that was not what his associates from the Polish United Workers' Party wanted (Ciosek 2014: 44, 47, Dudek 2010: 228–231, Koseski, Szaflik, and Turkowski: 2004, 375). The state of tear between the 'in-group' and 'outsiders' became an additional element weakening the position of the president. The removal of communists from power successively in all countries of the eastern camp until the end of 1989 made Jaruzelski a more and more distinctive relic of the past.

<sup>1</sup> The more Jaruzelski and Rakowski pressed for manning the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the more Mazowiecki realised that he would not be able to move Poland from the East to the West with the help of communist officials.

<sup>2</sup> On doubts in the ranks of Solidarity.

His weakening position was noticed by his immediate surrounding (FADH G I/24, k. 16, 31–32, 124, Rakowski 2005: 575). From the spring of 1990 this was reflected in talks with foreign guests and increasingly clear declarations of the readiness to resign from office.

Hence, if not on his own accord, but under the pressure of events, he ascertained that:

‘My main task was to guarantee security, the evolutionary character of changes, a kind of “soft landing”. The direction of the reforms has already become irreversible’ (Jaruzelski 2001: 100).

Thus, he adopted a passive attitude, which other participants of the political game saw (Geremek and Żakowski 1990: 252). The prime minister remarked:

‘I saw in him a man who safeguards changes on the part of old structures, primarily the army. I had good contacts with President Jaruzelski, especially when the Polish United Workers’ Party still existed. When there were difficulties within the club, when problems arose, General Jaruzelski had a toning-down effect. In international matters, especially in relation to the USSR, in talks with Gorbachev he acted in the right direction, enabling me to make contact’ (Balcerowicz 2014: 176, Mazowiecki 2012: 68).

It can be inferred from Mazowiecki’s words that Jaruzelski certainly did not interfere with the implementation of the government’s programme, he supported it in international contacts, which does not mean that he had the same convictions. This article is devoted to these differences in the president’s and the government’s views on basic political goals.

## 2. THE GOALS OF THE SOLIDARITY GOVERNMENT

The head of advisers to the Prime Minister, Waldemar Kuczyński, clearly stated the intentions of the solidarity team:

‘The main goal was clear to us from the beginning – to dismantle communism to the end, but safely, so that this red star would not explode in our hands’.

Defining the perspective, however, was not sufficient. The methods of the plan implementation were equally important: Mazowiecki wanted to set the course clearly but avoiding words that could produce a bad echo both in the Polish United Workers’ Party, which had all the power in its hands, and in the Kremlin, where a fuss could be made because the most important country in the communist bloc announced a return to ‘capitalism’ (Kuczyński 1992: 36).

This scenario found its expression in Mazowiecki's inaugural address given in the Sejm on 12 September 1989. In matters of international relations, he presented the idea of a sovereign state, building its relations on a partner basis, excluding dominance and the use of force. He announced the opening of the economy especially to the European Communities. The programme of internal reforms, which focused on democratisation and the rule of law, ended the era of the political monopoly of communists (Sprawozdania Stenograficzne z posiedzeń Sejmu PRL, 1989 r., 7<sup>th</sup> session, September 12, 6–23). Against this background the assurance about respecting the existing allied commitments did not sound very convincing. It also resulted from a lack of alternative propositions. It was not a good time for turning over the existing security systems. The West focused on ending disarmament talks with the USSR. The vision of chaos and abrupt changes in the East suppressed hasty decisions.

The implementation of the government's plans was reflected in the amendment to the constitution of 29 December 1989 (Ustawa o zmianie Konstytucji PRL z dnia 29 grudnia 1989 r.). Provisions saying that Poland is a socialist state, the Polish United Workers' Party – the 'guiding political force' and friendship and cooperation with the USSR – a determinant of international position were removed. The Polish United Workers' Party deputies also voted for this change, and the president signed it quickly, a few hours after its adoption.

Therefore, in his next speech in the parliament, on 18 January 1990, Mazowiecki was able to say:

'We have opened a new chapter in Polish-Soviet relations. They are not determined by ideology and relations between communist parties. They have become the normal relations of states and their governments, guided by the good of their nations and *raison d'état*' (Sprawozdania Stenograficzne z posiedzeń Sejmu RP, 1990 r., 18<sup>th</sup> session, January 18–20, p. 18, see also Torańska 2004)<sup>3</sup>.

Minister Skubiszewski went even further in his first speech in the Sejm on 26 April 1990. He talked about 'non-bloc cooperation' in the field of security and about an urgent task of signing an association agreement with the European Communities (Ceranka 2013: 5–19). Certainly, neither the Polish nor the Soviet communists liked the words about 'clearing international relations of satellite-like relations'. However, they were in harmony with Skubiszewski's

<sup>3</sup> About how the Soviet omnipresence irritated the prime minister, see his interview (Torańska 2004).



earlier statement about the obsolescence of the Yalta Declaration and the twilight of spheres of influence (Skubiszewski 1997: 15, 21).

At that time it was impossible to say more or boast of really taken actions (Bereś, Burnetko, and Romanowski 1994, Skubiszewski 1997: 77). The visible effects of building a network of connections between the countries of Central Europe, as well as dual-track policy (separate shaping of relations with the USSR and the republics trying to regain independence), weakened the role of the USSR in the region, as these were not planes of cooperation with the Soviets but with the Western world. The intention was for the USSR to transform from a dominating state into a partner of mutual relations. This vision was not convenient for communists.

The unambiguous elimination of the USSR's interference in Poland's internal affairs, especially in its foreign policy, making the slogan of the 'road to the West' the guiding principle is in a flagrant contradiction with the thesis put forward in some papers about the adoption of the concept of 'Finlandisation' in relations with the eastern neighbour by Mazowiecki's government. All intellectual achievements of the democratic opposition, including of Mazowiecki, Skubiszewski and Geremek, and the position of Russians who were not seduced by pleasant words also contract this thesis. They knew the power of other arguments: military power, the role of the main supplier of basic raw materials, their own role in the process of the re-unification of Germany and the position of the West which still recognised the USSR as the main partner in security policy. They did not hide their disappointment with the course of affairs in Poland.

On 17 September 1989 Rakowski gave an account of remarks of head of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union who could not understand the reasons for giving power to Mazowiecki, which began the change of relations with the USSR and Poland's road to the West. In his opinion, the idea of building capitalism and not repairing communism, which was the USSR's intention, was bad and pernicious. These observations were accompanied by threats that Poland would lose the support of the USSR, and consequently its borders could return to those of the Congress Kingdom (Rakowski 2005: 523). Also the soviet ambassador in Berlin told Rakowski about being shocked with the state of affairs in Poland (Rakowski 2005: 533). These words are in accord with the form of congratulations sent from the Kremlin to Mazowiecki after he took up the post of prime minister. It was a one-sentence letter signed by the Council of Ministers, without any handwritten word or signature of the sender.

### 3. SOVIET AND POLISH COMMUNISTS ABOUT THE FOREIGN POLICY PROGRAMME OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT

A meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was devoted to Polish matters (Dudek 2010: 269–280). The willingness to continue fulfilling alliance commitments caused the greatest concern. It was admitted that the reorientation towards the West had to weaken relations with the East. The Soviets treated declarations of loyalty as a diplomatic subterfuge. They took into account the systematic withdrawal of communists from power, including the removal of Jaruzelski. They ordered a review of bilateral agreements and the preparation of a position on the expected demands for reduction or withdrawal of troops, an explanation of ‘blank spots’, and especially of the Katyń massacre. At the same time, it was recommended to preserve all appearances of good cooperation in contacts with Poles.

Doubts about the possibility of defending the current system were growing slowly among the Polish and Soviet communists.

In the analysis prepared for the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers’ Party after the defeated June elections, it was stated that this did not mean the defeat of political system (Dudek 2010: 131). Gorbachev spoke in a similar vein at a meeting of the Warsaw Pact leaders in Bucharest on 8 July 1989. He even stated that the future of the world depended on the future of socialism. Although this system needed reforms, they would give socialism its second wind. He was echoed by Jaruzelski pointing to the perspective of devising modern criteria for the development of socialism and the hope of defeating ‘opposition’ ‘on the basis of the principles of our system’ by acquiring new allies (Dudek 2010: 142–144, 152, 155). None of the communist leaders indicated what reforms should be undertaken. Gorbachev enumerated only goals: to mobilise people, to increase work efficiency. He mentioned the lack of a specific perestroika programme in a conversation with Rakowski who bravely echoed: ‘we do not have a specific plan of revival now’ (Dudek 2010: 304–305). Jaruzelski was equally enigmatic. In a conversation with Egon Krenz he outline a vision of socialism that was

‘economically effective, socially just, politically democratic, ethically, psychologically and morally attractive and close to people’ (Dybicz, and Sołtysiak 2008: 67).

For all communist leaders the West and capitalism had negative connotations. References to oppression, exploitation, and imperialism predominated

in their conversations. And yet everyone expected financial, technological and modernisation assistance from the West. The tradition of the division into ‘us’ and ‘them’, a sense of community within the former camp, recognition of Moscow as a leader pulling the strings still prevailed.

Jaruzelski supplemented these threads of thinking with the assessment of the prospects of the struggle for power in the Kremlin. He fervently supported Gorbachev, seeing the scurrilous attacks of conservatives seeking to restore the previous form of government. He feared that the USSR might be undermined by nationalisms, especially Great Russian one (Archiwum Prezydenta RP 28/4, k. 232). The USSR reforming itself and opening to the West was a safer neighbour. Therefore, in all his conversations with foreign guests, Jaruzelski emphasised his appreciation for Gorbachev himself and his actions.

There are no grounds for doubting Jaruzelski’s words addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Eduard Shevardnadze, that ‘for Poland, the role of the USSR as a guarantor of security and our borders is very important’ and that cooperation with the West ‘cannot take place at the expense of cooperation with USSR’ (Archiwum Prezydenta RP 12/37, t. 1). In the case of Jaruzelski, however, the sense of ties with the Kremlin never crossed the border drawn up by Poland’s interests. In sources from 1989–1990 there is no sign that he played a Soviet card for personal purposes. There is also no sign of undermining the government’s position. We cannot say the same about the last First Secretary of the Polish United Workers’ Party, Rakowski, or the Polish ambassador in Moscow, Włodzimierz Natorf. Both gave expression of greater loyalty to the Kremlin than to Warsaw, in fact in the form of a denunciation in which they confirmed the pro-Western course of the government, the intention to liquidate socialism, allied unfaithfulness, the rise of anti-Sovietism, the government’s financial calculation of Poland’s losses to the USSR (Dudek 2010: 313, 316, 319).

In this situation, Jaruzelski’s and his communist associates’ positions on matters of fundamental importance to Poland’s foreign policy clearly diverged. Contrary to the opinion of his associates, in March 1990, Jaruzelski did not protest against foreign policy assumptions presented to him. This document did not belong to the public domain, so it used a message addressed to a small group of policy makers. Wiesław Górnicki, one of the president’s closest collaborators, wrote furiously in his note that Skubiszewski reviewed the 45-year list of political priorities, assumed ‘full integration of Poland with the West in all sections’, proposed a ‘new approach to the USSR, where this country ceases to be a formal guarantor of our borders and becomes just one

of important partners', and 'policy towards the USSR is characterised mainly by postulates and pretensions' (FADH G I/24).

The evolution of Jaruzelski's attitude was evidenced by his visit to the USSR in April 1990. The content of the talks also attested to the change of Gorbachev's views. That spring, neither of the presidents brought up the question of socialism, its strengthening or resurrection. Gorbachev even pointed to the introduction of the democratic system and market economy in the USSR (FADH J II/96, k. 9–11). All topics discussed by Jaruzelski were in the catalogue of expectations of Mazowiecki's government. He also lavished praise on him. He talked about the need to fill 'blank spots' in the history of both countries, including the most important one – Katyń. He demanded rights for the Polish minority in the USSR, the return of 'Polish cultural objects', the recovery of Poland's losses on joint investments. He also drew attention to the necessity of resolving the question of the Soviet troop presence in Poland and the need to reform the Warsaw Pact. He also brought up the issue of revising the agreement on friendship (FADH G I/ 105, k. 1–10). In a speech delivered on 13 April during a gala dinner in the Kremlin, he concluded that under the existing agreement on friendship

'our sense of national dignity and sovereignty had often been seriously challenged' and the new order 'should reflect the new shape of Polish-Soviet relations, based on equal rights and the principle of partner respect, mutual benefits, and modern rules of economic cooperation' (Jaruzelski 2001: 61–62).

However, the presented ideas of sovereignty, reforms of the Warsaw Pact, regulation of the rules of the stay of Soviet troops did not mean complete overturning of Polish-Soviet relations, the abandonment of an old ally for the benefit of a new one. Jaruzelski was not ready for such an act of apostasy. Probably Gorbachev's words that the direction of changes in Poland was not indifferent to him still resounded in his head (Dudek 2010: 297, 322)<sup>4</sup>, the words repeated during his April visit to Moscow: 'for us Poland is not an opportunistic but a strategic ally' (FADH G I/105, k. 3). The border of this alliance was to be creation of 'an effective non-bloc security system in Europe' (FADH G I/105, k. 3). Jaruzelski accepted this concept as his own although external circumstances were not favourable.

By the end of 1989 communists lost power in the former eastern bloc. The traditional role of the Kremlin as the superior of their activities was over.

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<sup>4</sup> Among others in a conversation in Berlin at the beginning of October 1989 (Dudek 2010: 297), in conversations with Rakowski (Dudek 2010: 322).

The system of international relations based on the ideology and co-operation of communist parties was becoming obsolete. Thus, the role of the USSR weakened. Mostly, its external empire was crumbling. The independence aspirations of the union republics were also growing. The Soviet decision-makers faced the more and more urgent question of how to defend the superpower status of the USSR.

#### 4. FROM THE WARSAW PACT TO THE NATO

The existence of the Warsaw Pact was one of the most important arguments in the USSR's game for a position in the world. The range of the military block determined the sphere of influence. What counted was not the firepower of the member states, less important in comparison with the arsenal of the Kremlin, but the very fact of belonging to the Bloc. It was an authentic, though not articulated publicly, area of conflict between the policy of Poland and of some other Central European countries and Soviet policy. It was also a line demarcating the position of communists, including the president, from the views of the Solidarity camp.

The scale of the problem shows the difficulty that the supporters of a full turn to the West had to overcome, including security issues. Both Mazowiecki and Skubiszewski were fully aware of how breakneck these notions were. They assumed the necessity of engaging Poland in all available forms of activity of the West. Getting close to NATO was the most difficult goal, but pursued from the very beginning of the rule. In contrast to Czechoslovakia and Hungary, it was not disclosed publicly (Skubiszewski 1999: 11, Skubiszewski n.d.: 2/18). The proximity of the goals became, however, a convenient platform for the creation of the Visegrad Triangle. The partners realised that their intentions would not be implemented without dismantling the Eastern bloc, which conflicted them with the Soviets (Archiwum Prezydenta RP 44/37)<sup>5</sup>.

Skubiszewski began to wear away a stone with the speech at the UN session on 25 September 1989. Then he presented the intensions in a conversation with his Canadian colleague Joe Clark on 12 February 1990, with a request for dissemination among the members of the Alliance. He wanted NATO to cease to recognise the USSR's hegemony over Poland

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<sup>5</sup> At the meeting of the heads of the general staff of the Warsaw Pact members, the defence minister of the USSR D. Yazov rebuked his counterpart F. Siwicki for 'the fact that of some countries of the Warsaw Pact were drifting towards NATO'.

and its neighbours, and even desire to surround this region with its own security guardianship. At the same time, he sought to avoid a situation in which Poland or Central Europe would find themselves in a kind of security vacuum, a 'grey zone', which he mentioned in many speeches, interviews and articles (Kuźniar 2011: 383, Skubiszewski 1994: 12, Skubiszewski 1997: 101). In the face of the re-unification of Germany, he took up this thread in talks at the Brussels NATO Headquarters with Secretary General Manfred Wörner and ambassadors of the member states. In August 1990, a Polish liaison mission was created at the NATO Headquarters. In September, Wörner visited Poland. He recommended caution and stated, similarly to Zbigniew Brzeziński (Brzeziński 2002: 53–54, 141–142), or Henry Kissinger (Archiwum Prezydenta RP 28/4), that the expansion of the Alliance at this moment was impossible, although it essentially had an open character.

Despite the observance of the principle of caution in utterances, the statements of the Polish minister became more and more radical. In October 1990, in an interview for *Nowy Dziennik*, a Polish Diaspora weekly published in New York, he said that the Warsaw Pact ceased to be a 'platform for useful cooperation' for Poland and was not needed to have good relations with the USSR (Skubiszewski 1997: 95). He talked in the same vein at the meeting of the North Atlantic Assembly in November 1990. He considered the Warsaw Pact to be 'a product and an element of the past' which 'was going to be dissolved' because, contrary to NATO, it did not survive the test of time (Skubiszewski 1997: 100–101).

The first clear symptoms of the collapse of the current Warsaw Pact formula appeared at the annual meeting of foreign ministers and defence ministers of member countries, which took place in Warsaw at the end of October 1989. The first problem turned out to be the adoption of English as a conference language. Some delegates did not have such interpreters. Poland supported by Czechoslovakia and Hungary, guided by the principle of civilian control over the army and national interest, not used in Warsaw Pact, refused to sign military tasks, which were designated to individual member states. It also put forward a postulate not to combine the command of the Warsaw Pact with the function of the deputy minister of defence of the USSR. In the political part, a novelty was the declaration of

'observing the right of every nation to decide for itself about its fate (...), to choose the path of its development (...) without interference from the outside' (Kuźniar 2011: 130).

The Warsaw Pact was turning into an empty shell. After three sessions of the team authorised to reform the Pact, the prospect of the liquidation of its military and political organs seemed the clearest. The Kremlin did not like the conclusion, therefore it blocked the meeting of the Advisory Political Committee until Hungary supported by Czechoslovakia and Poland threatened to withdraw from the alliance (Kuźniar 2011: 130, Strzelczyk 2002: 177).

The Polish communists shared the Kremlin's position. An expression of their views was the Defence Doctrine of the Republic of Poland adopted by the President on 21 February 1990, perceiving the role of the Warsaw Pact in the country's security system, subject to a change 'if a European security system was built' (Leszczyński, and Koseski 2001: 30). It was difficult to find supporters of NATO in this camp. Rather, they were inclined to recall the amount of missiles aimed at Poland than to seek support from this side (Górnicki 1994: 361, Żurawski *vel* Grajewski 2016: 20). Jaruzelski would agree to dissolve the Warsaw Pact only on condition of the simultaneous NATO dissolution (Anon. 1989), that is he copied Gorbachev's position (Archiwum Prezydenta RP 12/37, t. 2). He said similar words in his conversation with Shevardnadze, stressing that he understood his function as a guarantor of existing alliances (Archiwum Prezydenta RP 12/37, t. 1). He expressed the same view during a conversation with Gorbachev in April 1990. The Declaration ending this meeting also stated that

'until the creation of an effective non-bloc security system in Europe, which Poland and the USSR will promote, the Warsaw Pact remains an important factor of peace and stability on our continent' (FADH J II/96, k. 16).

The direction of permissible changes was defined in the analysis prepared for the president, speaking about the democratisation of command structures, the dominance of defensive objectives over offensive ones, the partnership of the members (FADH WG-T/TSP/J, Moraczewski n.d., p. 8).

The order to retreat had to come from the outside, because none of the communist leaders could afford such disloyalty, despite full awareness that the system was ending. A splendid illustration of the feeling of decline was Górnicki's account of the DKP meeting on 7 June 1990. The mere statement that the debate lasted 2 hours 11 minutes must be considered meaningful. Similarly, differences in the rank of sent delegates can prove the same. The secretary general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the liquidation of

relations with the Warsaw Pact came from the GDR, from Hungary – the director general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

‘The whole era was ending, the socialist camp and the Warsaw Pact were dying, even the creator of perestroika got under the fire of his own artillery’ (Górnicki 1994: 368).

Jaruzelski showed certain restraint in the matters of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. It is difficult to notice his any non-verbal activity in this field. He neither counteracted the processes of the Warsaw Pact disintegration, nor supported the way to NATO. Such an attitude showed that his soul was still in the old relation but he did not want to harm the government’s policies. He did not nod in agreement in a conversation with Kissinger, who stated:

‘Realistically, Poland cannot join NATO, Poland should not even think about it, because it would cause a shock in the Soviet Union and spark off a crisis’ (Archiwum Prezydenta RP 28/4).

## 5. THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS

A derivative of the attitude towards the Warsaw Pact and the prospects of accession to NATO was the problem of withdrawing Soviet troops from Poland. A categorical announcement of such actions and negotiations was included in Skubiszewski’s first speech in April 1990 (Ceranka 2013: 12). In September that year, after making a secret note for the highest authorities and sending a note to the Kremlin via the Soviet embassy, during the discussion in the Senate, Skubiszewski complementarily pointed to the technical issues of the withdrawal process as well as the deadline – the end of 1991 (Skubiszewski 1997: 77). The slow pace of negotiations forced him, however, to change the announcement (Wieliński, and Wroński 2013). The dismissal of Shevardnadze, blamed for the loss of the world role of the USSR, meant a shift in Soviet politics and the beginning of a downturn for all activities that would lead to undermining the importance of Moscow. Hence the prolongation of the Polish-Soviet talks.

However, the determination of Polish negotiators was obvious. The delay in the realisation of the intent to get rid of Soviet troops, alleged sometimes in publications, resulted from fear of the consequences of German re-unification. Particular concern was caused by the 10-point re-unification programme of Chancellor Helmut Kohl of 28 November 1989, in which border issues were not raised at all, though they were discussed in public in the Federal Republic



of Germany in a form that could not be liked in Poland (Mazowiecki 2012: 96, 100–101, Skubiszewski 1997: 29–33). Mazowiecki and Skubiszewski wanted the German side to legally recognise the Polish western border before signing the re-unification act. Many diplomatic interventions were undertaken, views were discussed and agreed upon with G. Bush, M. Thatcher, F. Mitterand. Gorbachev's position in this context was also very important. These actions yielded results, although the order of the signed treaties was opposite to that Skubiszewski strived for.

Starting talks with Russians about the withdrawal of their troops only after settlement of the German issue illustrates, therefore, not a vassal reluctance to take up the topic, but the caution with which they moved in the international space, trying to take the least risky and at the same time effective actions.

The attitude of Jaruzelski and his entourage to the Soviet army and its presence in Poland differed significantly from that of the government. In a peculiar confession, publication from the borderline of memories and political polemics, the general wrote:

'It should not be forgotten that it was the Soviet Army – regardless of various negative side costs – that swept away the genocidal occupant from Poland, extinguished the crematoria ovens, left on our land 600,000 dead soldiers. Talking about the "second occupation" insults millions of Poles on the one hand, putting them in the role of a kind of "collaborators", on the other hand it harms our relations with Russia, with Russians who value their decisive participation in the victory over Nazi Germany' (Jaruzelski 2011: 120–121).

This quote illustrates some important issues. For Jaruzelski the USSR was the primary reference point, the main partner in the international dimension. The passage of time did not change much in this attitude. In a conversation with Soviet minister Katushev, he confessed:

'I will be the last person who would call for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the GDR (...) and consequently from Poland' (Archiwum Prezydenta RP 28/4).

When, at the beginning of August 1990, Skubiszewski's note was sent to the presidential office announcing the intention to submit the proposal to start negotiations with Russians, Jaruzelski's environment reacted quite sharply. The note was considered 'insidious' with two hidden goals: 'introduction of Poland to NATO; the withdrawal of the Soviet army is just a pretext' and the fulfilment of Skubiszewski's ambitions, who wanted to go down in history as the one who 'liberated Poland from the Soviet occupiers' (FADH G I/ 24b). And, although even then the chancellery accepted the prospect of withdra-

wing troops, it moved it into a very distant future, beyond the end of the century. It combined this process with the creation of a European collective security system.

In his conversation with Gorbachev in April 1990 Jaruzelski only brought up the issue of resolving ‘the question of the Soviet troop presence in Poland’ (FADH G I/105, k. 6). The summary of the visit confirmed the readiness to enter into talks in accordance with the statement of the Soviet government of 12 February 1990 (FADH J II/96, k. 17). Jaruzelski referred to this statement earlier, in public, at a conference in Davos and for the Polish press. On both occasions he conditioned the acceptance for the withdrawal of troops on the creation of a new security system (Poprzeczko 1990: 13, Reitter 1990).

Roman Kuźniar succinctly commented on the difference in the government’s and the president’s approach to this issue: The president’s office satisfied the demands of Moscow, and the government showed greater vigilance and strictness (Kuźniar 2012: 57). However, the convergence of positions and activities is clearly visible in one issue: the German one. Jaruzelski, similarly to the Prime Minister and the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, viewed it as a threat to Poland. Together they launched a diplomatic offensive (Dudek 2010: 395–413, Jaruzelski 2011: 72)<sup>6</sup>. Apart from the real ambiguity of German intentions, common generational experience, especially war experience, could play a role.

## 6. THE DEATH OF THE COUNCIL FOR MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

In contrast to the package of issues related to the future of the Warsaw Pact, the problem of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance did not electrify anyone. Skubiszewski in his first speech clearly presented the attitude of the government to this structure as a ‘relic of a bygone era’, the reconstruction of which may prove to be difficult and unnecessary as it is not conducive to cooperation with the countries of the region (Ceranka 2013: 16). It was obvious that only the USSR showed commitment to maintaining this

<sup>6</sup> The president himself related his involvement in this way: ‘The final international “sealing” of the border (...) took place (...) in September 1990. The road to this final was difficult. It was necessary to overcome strong resistance of Germany, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, to use the support of the USSR and other bloc countries, and finally to gain understanding of the West, especially the USA. In this direction, I, as president and Tadeusz Mazowiecki, as prime minister, worked together...’ (Jaruzelski 2011: 72).

mechanism. As early as the end of September 1989 the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union expressed concern about the direction of changes in Poland that might harm the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and affect the relations between members (Dudek 2010: 273, 280). When the reach of ‘Autumn of Nations’ expanded, a commission for reforming the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance was established. However, it was unable to accomplish the set tasks and a decision was made to dissolve the organisation (Malewicz 2008: 189). Gorbachev’s persuasion to proceed with the organisation cautiously, to let it calmly adapt to the new conditions did not help (FADH G I/105, k. 7). The expectations of the member states, with the exception of the USSR, had shifted towards the European Communities.

## 7. HISTORY AS AN AREA OF DISSENT

A separate chapter in Polish-Soviet relations was history and reference to negative experiences accumulated over the centuries, and especially in the twentieth century. Stalinist crimes and the Katyń massacre were at the forefront, the explanation of which the Polish government was canvassing. It also wanted to commemorate the victims, compensation for the persecuted and convicted. It solicited the return of Polish plundered cultural objects.

Gorbachev treated these claims as a political bargaining chip. He retreated where he felt internal pressure, because Russians also began to ask about their citizens murdered by the communist apparatus of violence. He therefore agreed to issue a communication which attributed responsibility for the Katyń massacre to the NKVD, departing from the template of German perpetration. It was difficult to notice, however, any effort taken to popularise the corrected version. This failure was noted by a reporter of the meeting of the Polish and Soviet delegations in April 1990 (FADH J II/96, k. 17–18). Till the end of his reign, Gorbachev was cheating Polish interlocutors, including the prime minister and the president (Dudek 2010: 443), that the crime files were still being sought. He had got acquainted with the set of the most important decisions just after taking office. And he did not make these documents public, his successor Boris Yeltsin did it.

But even to the modest extent to which he agreed to retreat, Gorbachev undertook a political game. He was able to give a list of the executed to the prime minister during his visit to Moscow. He preferred, however, to act in Jaruzelski’s (Nałęcz 2017: 58) favour, and he gave him copies of two files

containing the names of the 14,793 murdered prisoners from the camps in Kozielsk, Starobielsk and Ostaszków. It is also possible that he would have preferred not to raise this issue at all, but the Polish president conditioned paying a visit on progress in explaining the Katyń massacre (Maciszewski 2010: 406).

In the second half of the eighties, especially after Gorbachev announced the slogan of glasnost, the Polish United Workers' Party started to demand the explanation of 'blank spots' in relations with the USSR, war crimes, deportations. Jaruzelski described his own actions as well as changes in personal convictions, especially about the Katyń massacre in the preface to the book *Wydrzeć prawdę [Extort the Truth]* by Jarema Maciszewski. However, this is above all a testimony of dissociative identity. On the one hand, it is hard to deny that Jaruzelski wanted to 'extort this truth', but at the same time he did not want to jeopardise relations with Moscow or undermine the position of Gorbachev. He also seemed satisfied with the achieved effects. His words in Moscow in April 1990 sounded as if he got rid of a burden. He said:

'Katyń was a gaping wound in the understanding of Polish society. Currently, after revealing the perpetrators, we can proceed to its cicatrising' (FADH J II/96, k. 10).

He should have realised how far it was from the truth, especially about the perpetrators and settling the crime. He clearly did not want to put too much pressure on historical issues.

A fragment from *Starsi o 30 lat [30 Years Older]* proves this:

'Good relations with neighbours are in our and in their interest. This is a fundamental truth. Various historical events and current misunderstandings should not conceal it. Poland and Russia – Russia and Poland – history has left us different experiences. In us the memory of painful episodes prevails. When this memory turns into 'vindictiveness', it becomes a tool of current policy. Each nation has the right to its own sensitivity. History has left us various sensitivities, we have a special right to them. But you have to bear in mind that others have their memory, often burdened with imperial nostalgia and a few centuries of experience' (Jaruzelski 2011: 119).

## CONCLUSION

Looking from a thirty-year perspective at Jaruzelski's presidency and trying to understand its intentions, it is impossible to resist the impression that within a few months after taking office he made a complete reappraisal of his abilities, position and plans. In the spring of 1989, when the parliamentary

elections were called, he felt his own power. After the results were announced, he lost his confidence. Forced to accept the Solidarity government, he began to feel weak. And this feeling only escalated further. In the spring of 1990, he clearly lost the desire to confront the winners, although his surroundings urged him to do so. He was more and more inclined to resign from his post. He did not want to use any of the suggested tricks to defend his office. He realised that his role was over. He declared that he wanted to be a guarantor of a peaceful transformation, and it is difficult to argue with such an assessment. He did nothing to the detriment of the government. He often actively supported the new authorities.

Jaruzelski himself would not have revalued relations with the USSR. He would have accepted some modifications according to the proposals submitted by Gorbachev. No transformation success can be attributed to him. However, he certainly acted as a buffer both in internal relations and with the eastern neighbour. Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government, which consistently sought to bind Poland both with the structures of the Western world and its system of values, was the engine and helmsman of changes, not only in foreign policy.

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## THE USSR IN THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PRESIDENT WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI IN 1989–1990

### Abstract

The article shows the attempts to overthrow the USSR's hegemony over Poland of the Solidarity camp which on 4 June 1989 won the first free post-war parliamentary elections in Poland. The author presents views and intentions of communists removed from power as a result of the elections from the camp of which the then Polish president, Wojciech Jaruzelski, came from. The amended constitution of the People's Republic of Poland equipped the president with enormous competences. The article reports the history of the president-communist in times of nascent democracy in Poland and his relations with the USSR, who, however, did not take any steps to hinder Poland's accession to the European Union and NATO. The study argues with the thesis that the government pursued the policy of Finlandisation.

The author reached for the files from the Presidential Archives and the PPR Historical Records Archive Foundation, not used so far in analyses of international relations.

Keywords: Polish-Soviet relations, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Warsaw Pact, Comecon, The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland, Polish-Soviet disputes over history



## ZSRR W POLITYCE RZĄDU I PREZYDENTA WOJCIECHA JARUZELSKIEGO W LATACH 1989–1990

### Streszczenie

Artykuł ukazuje historię próby obalenia hegemonii ZSRR nad Polską przez obóz „Solidarności”, który 4 czerwca 1989 roku wygrał pierwsze wolne powojenne wybory parlamentarne w Polsce. Autorka przybliży poglądy i zamiary odsuniętych od władzy w wyniku wyborów komunistów, z obozu których wywodził się ówczesny prezydent Polski, Wojciech Jaruzelski. Znowelizowana konstytucja PRL wyposażyła prezydenta kraju w ogromne kompetencje. Artykuł relacjonuje historię prezydenta-komunisty w czasach rodzącej się demokracji w Polsce i jego relacje z ZSRR, który jednak nie wykonał żadnego ruchu, aby utrudnić Polsce wstąpienie do Unii Europejskiej i NATO. Artykuł podejmuje polemikę z tezą o uprawianiu przez rząd polityki finlandyzacji.

Autorka sięgnęła do niewykorzystanych dotąd dla analizy stosunków międzynarodowych źródeł – akt Archiwum Prezydenta i Fundacji Archiwum Dokumentacji Historycznej PRL.

Słowa kluczowe: stosunki polsko-sowieckie, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Układ Warszawski, RWPG, wycofanie wojsk sowieckich z Polski, polsko-sowieckie spory o historię

## СССР в политике правительства и президентства Войчеха Ярузельского в 1989–1990 годах

### Резюме

В статье представлена история попытки гегемонии СССР над Польшей через лагерь «Солидарность», который 4 июня 1989 года выиграл первые свободные послевоенные парламентские выборы в Польше. Автор иллюстрирует взгляды и намерения отстраненных от власти в результате выборов коммунистов, одним из представителей которых являлся тогдашний президент Польши Войцех Ярузельский. Новелизированная Конституция Польской Народной Республики наделила президента страны большими полномочиями. В статье рассказывается об истории президента-коммуниста

в период становления демократии в Польше и его отношениях с СССР, который, однако, не предпринял никаких шагов, препятствующих вступлению Польши в Европейский Союз и НАТО. Автор также полемизирует с тезисом о том, что правительство проводило политику финляндизации.

Автором были использованы международные источники, которые до этого времени не были востребованы, с целью анализа международных отношений – это такие источники, как акт Архива Президента и архивные фонды исторической документации Польской Народной Республики.

Ключевые слова: польско-советские отношения, Войцех Ярузельски, Тадеуш Мазовецки, Кшиштоф Скубушевски, Совет Экономической Взаимопомощи (СЭВ), вывод советских войск из Польши, польско-советские споры об истории

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**Józef M. Fiszer\***

THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE SEJM AND SENATE ELECTIONS IN 1989.  
SYSTEMIC TRANSFORMATION IN POLAND  
AND ITS CONSEQUENCES  
FOR EUROPE AND THE WORLD<sup>1</sup>

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INTRODUCTION

Although 74 years have passed since the end of the Second World War and thousands of books and various types of dissertations have been written about it, scholars, publicists and politicians still argue heatedly about the Second World War, its causes and effects, especially military, political, social, economic and international consequences for individual countries and nations and for Europe and the world. The problem is particularly difficult and at the same time painful for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, including Poland, for which liberation meant the new Soviet occupation which lasted until 1989 (Fiszer 2016: 780–817). It ended with the outbreak of the so-called autumn of nations of 1989, which had far-reaching consequences for Poland, Germany, the Soviet Union, Europe and the whole world as it led to the fall of communism, the re-unification of Germany, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the end of the Cold War, the erosion of the Yalta-Potsdam order and the construction of a new, post-communist (post-Cold War) international order

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in the world. Thanks to this, a path of ‘return to Europe’ and membership of the Euro-Atlantic structures, i.e. of NATO and the European Union as well as of other international organisations, opened for also Poland. *Summa summarum*, the year 1989 permanently crossed out the heritage of Yalta and brought radical changes in Europe and in the world that surprised political scientists and futurologists. The satellite regimes in the countries conquered by the Red Army fell at the surprisingly rapid pace. Almost overnight Central and Eastern Europe swarmed with sovereign states that took the road to democracy and freedom. At that time there were great hopes and fears about what the future would bring.

In the article I try to define the ‘autumn of nations of 1989’ anew and show the essence of this process and its consequences for Poland, Europe and the world. I put forward interesting hypotheses and theses, among others I state that thanks to this, the path of ‘return to Europe’ and membership of the Euro-Atlantic structures, that is of NATO and the European Union, as well as of other international organisations, opened for Poland. As a result, today Poland is no longer in ruin, as it was in 1989. It is a sovereign, wealthy and respected democratic country. This is confirmed by various surveys and scientific research, as well as by the publications of historians, political scientists, sociologists and economists.

## 1. THE AUTUMN OF NATIONS OF 1989

In the literature on the subject we can find various attempts to define the essence of the ‘autumn of nations of 1989’ and to show the premises of its origin and effects. In my opinion the ‘autumn of nations of 1989’ was a dynamic, complex process of political changes (transformation) and international changes, which in the years 1989–1991 led to the fall of communism in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the re-unification of Germany, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. It was determined by a difficult internal situation in the Eastern bloc countries headed by the Soviet Union and many events on the international arena, among others, such as the massacre of students at Tiananmen Square in Beijing on 4 June 1989 (Łomanowski 2019: 8A)<sup>2</sup>, Ayatollah Khomeini’s death, which aroused hope

<sup>2</sup> In the square, on the night of 3 to 4 June 1989, tanks run over protesters who demanded freedom of speech and democratic reforms in China. To this day, it is not known how many people died: the estimates range from several hundred to several thousand victims. In today’s China, however, it is forbidden to mention those events.

for the normalisation of relations between Iran and Iraq and the peaceful evolution of Islamic fundamentalism. Its name refers to historical events in Europe in the years 1848–1849 defined as the ‘spring of nations’, which started in post-partition Poland in 1846 with the so-called Galician slaughter (uprising) in the Austro-Hungarian partition. It can also be stated that the European ‘autumn of nations of 1989’ was the anti-communist socio-political and economic transformation that began in 1989 in Poland, which caused the collapse of ‘real socialism’ in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and led to the re-unification of Germany and the collapse of the USSR in December 1991. It should be stressed that the ‘autumn of nations of 1989’ coincided with the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Great Bourgeois Revolution in France, which contributed to the fall of absolute tyranny in this country, and its slogan of ‘freedom-equality-brotherhood’ had a significant impact on the national liberation struggle of enslaved peoples throughout Europe and the shaping of their national consciousness, including that of Poles (Baszkiewicz, and Meller 1983, Baszkiewicz 1999, Baszkiewicz 2006, Davies 1997).

In his scientific publications on the ‘autumn of nations’, Professor Roman Kuźniar calls it the Eastern European ‘spring of peoples’ ‘89’ (Kuźniar 2016: 101–104, Kuźniar 2018: 37). He writes, among others, that:

‘Initiated by the agreements of the “round table” and the spectacular victory of Solidarity in the parliamentary elections on 4 June 1989, the Eastern European “Spring of Nations ‘89” resembled geopolitical dominoes. First, the communist regimes from Poland to Albania fell, that is the external empire of the Soviet Union. It was an impulse for movements demanding self-determination in the European republics of the USSR. The Baltic States were the first to free themselves, and in December 1991 the Soviet Union collapsed completely. The ‘iron curtain’ disappeared, the East-West division disappeared and the global bipolar balance of power vanished. The collapse of the world communist system could be interpreted only as the victory of the system linking the capitalist market economy with liberal democracy. Not only over the system that challenged it but also in historical terms as a non-alternative development model. In terms of the strategy as well as the development model, the entry into the new phase of the evolution of the international order was most accurately described at the time by two famous texts: of Francis Fukuyama on the “end of history” and Charles Krauthammer on the “unipolar moment”’ (Kuźniar 2018: 35).

Unfortunately, both of these visions of the post-communist democratic order, without wars, built under the auspices of the United States have not come true (Fiszer 2013, Fukuyama 1989: 3–18, Krauthammer 1990/1991). What is more, history has come full circle and today we are dealing with a new cold war, and the world is threatened by the Third World War.

The events in Central and Eastern Europe in 1989–1991 are also referred to in the literature on the subject as ‘1989 revolutions’ with far-reaching political, social, economic and international consequences. At first they seemed exciting, but from the perspective of time they turned out to be colourless. ‘Not a single new idea was created in Eastern Europe in 1989’, remarked François Furet, a great historian of the French Revolution. However, eminent German philosopher Jürgen Habermas disagreed with him. He was not particularly indignant at the ‘lack of ideas that are either innovative or future-oriented’ because for him, Eastern European revolutions were ‘corrective revolutions’ or ‘catching up revolutions’. Their goal was to restore the societies of Central and Eastern Europe to the mainstream of Western modernity, enabling Europeans from the East to gain what Westerners had long possessed. In 1989 the inhabitants of Central and Eastern Europe did not dream of an ideal world that had never existed. They missed ‘normal life’ in a ‘normal country’. As Adam Michnik later admitted:

‘I was obsessed with the fact that we should have a revolution that would not resemble the French or Russian revolutions, but rather the American one – in the sense that it would be for something, not against something. A revolution introducing the constitution, not paradise. An anti-utopian revolution, because utopias lead to a guillotine and the gulag’.

That is why his motto was: ‘Freedom, brotherhood, normality’. And Václav Havel described the Czechoslovak struggle for the overthrow of communism as ‘just an attempt at normalisation’. As well-known political scientists Ivan Krastev and Stephen Holmes write aptly:

‘After decades of communism spent looking at the supposedly bright future, in 1989 Central and Eastern Europe wanted to live in the present and derive pleasure from everyday life’ (Krstev, and Holmes 2018: 12–13).

However, life was not easy: the economic crisis, widespread poverty and pauperisation of society were ubiquitous here. In 1989, the pace of economic growth slowed down in the European countries of the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). Industrial production fell in Poland by 1.5%, in Hungary by 3.1%, and in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia it stopped growing. Stagnation or a decline in the performance efficiency indicators and the level of real income were observed everywhere. Budget deficits were growing. In relation to the national income, the budget deficit in the GDR in 1989 amounted almost to 2%, in Hungary – 5%, in Poland – 7%, not to mention the USSR where it reached about 10% of the national income.

Investment programmes collapsed, the number of new flats built decreased, trade turnover within the CMEA decreased (Gadomski 1990: 17–32).

The international situation in Europe and in the world, especially the progressive erosion of communism and the offensive, anti-communist policy of the United States supported by the Vatican headed by Pope John Paul II were also conducive to the outbreak of the ‘autumn of nations of 1989’ (Musiewicz 2011: 89–114). President Roland Reagan watched the violation of human rights, he treasured so much, in Poland, noticing in our country an extremely strong – as for the Soviet bloc – position of the Church and pinning on it some hopes of freeing Eastern Europe from the influence of communists. He also knew about the growing Solidarity movement, to which the United States lent considerable support (Musiewicz 2011: 107).

We need to point here especially to the anti-Soviet policy of President Ronald Reagan, the erosion of the communist system from the inside and attempts to rescue it through Mikhail Gorbachev’s reforms (*perestroika* and *glasnost*) (Materski 2017: 153–198) and the process of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Reagan and his administration decided that communism was not something to co-exist with, but something that had to be destroyed, and to this end, from the early 1980s, they took steps to accelerate its collapse and at the same time sought agreement with Moscow. On 12 June 1989, the United States and the USSR concluded an agreement on protection against ‘dangerous military activity’, aimed at preventing a military confrontation due to an error, failure or misunderstanding. During this time, a thaw in relations between the USSR and Western European countries was also progressing, which was supported by Mikhail Gorbachev’s visits to Great Britain (12–15 June 1989), Germany and France, where he was enthusiastically greeted as the chief director of international detente. On 13 June 1989, a declaration on strengthening relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the USSR was signed in Bonn, which was a prelude to the later re-unification of Germany, to which Chancellor Helmut Kohl strived at all costs. As Wojciech Roszkowski writes:

‘The dismantling of communism in Central and Eastern Europe did not encounter any major obstacles from the USSR, it gained full support from the US’. In an address given by Mikhail Gorbachev to the Council of Europe on 6 July 1989 he stated that ‘Those who think that only the collapse of socialism will create the foundations of a common European home are wrong’, but he announced that ‘the USSR will not interfere in internal affairs

of its “allies” in Central and Eastern Europe, because the political system is a matter of choice of citizens themselves’ (Roszkowski 1997: 391–392).

In this way, the USSR said goodbye to the ‘Brezhnev doctrine’, which in practice deprived states belonging to the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance of sovereignty (Materski 2017: 133)<sup>3</sup>.

The communist system had been dying since the early 1980s. Mikhail Gorbachev’s attempts at rescuing it showed that it was irredeemable. Communism turned out to be a utopian ideology that was losing its supporters day by day. An augury and manifestation of the crisis of world communism were the events that took place in Poland in the summer of 1980, ended with the establishment of the Independent Self-governing Labour Union ‘Solidarity’, and then the introduction, under the pressure of Moscow, of martial law in Poland on 13 December 1981 by general Wojciech Jaruzelski’s government, the martial law which eventually ended on 22 July 1984. However, it did not stop the erosion of the communist system in Poland and throughout Central and Eastern Europe. General Jaruzelski and his associates must have realised that without including the democratic opposition centred around ‘Solidarity’ in public life, it would not be possible to overcome the deepening economic stagnation that might have led to another uncontrolled social outbreak in Poland. An important role was also played here by

‘a positive interaction (...), based on the West’s support for the changes, the essence of which was the liberalisation of the communist system. “Partners” for this kind of policy were to a certain extent some of the reformist-minded communist leaders, but above all the democratic opposition circles developing in some communist countries since the second half of the 1970s’ (Kuźniar 2008: 35).

In such a situation, not being able to count on ‘fraternal’ intervention or economic help from the USSR, the authorities had no way out. They had to set the course for a more comprehensive dialogue and compromise. The effect of this course and of cool calculations on the part of the democratic opposition was the consent of Jaruzelski’s regime for talks at the ‘round

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<sup>3</sup> An outline of the ‘Brezhnev doctrine’ was presented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Andrei Gromyko in a speech at the session of the UN General Assembly in October 1968 and its interpretation supported by the ideological foundation by Leonid Brezhnev in a speech at the Fifth Congress of the Polish United Workers’ Party in Warsaw in November 1968. It was binding until the end of the 1980s, and its main principle was that ‘socialist internationalism’ had supremacy over the sovereignty and interest of states, in other words only the interest of the USSR mattered.



table' that lasted from February to the beginning of April 1989. They led to an agreement between the government of the communist generals and 'Solidarity'. It provided, among others, for the legalisation of 'Solidarity' and the democratic opposition gathered around it, concessions in the sphere of freedom of speech and the announcement of quite far-reaching systemic political and economic reforms. Polish and foreign historians and political scientists agree that it was the Polish 'round table' that initiated the process of changes in Europe, which went down in history as the above-mentioned 'autumn of nations of 1989'. It became the symbol of the end of communism. It inaugurated the process of political transformation in Poland and other countries of Central and Eastern Europe (Kuzniar 2016: 102, Wielowieyski 2019: A12). However, this event still arouses great emotions. Some perceive it as the foundation of democratic changes, the first step on the way to full freedom and sovereignty, and others as the original sin of Polish democracy.

Scientific research shows that systemic transformation in the post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, resulting from the 'autumn of nations of 1989', had a multidimensional character. It coincided with the process of their Europeanisation and preparations for association with the European Communities, and then for membership of NATO and the European Union. Therefore, it was necessary to respond to both the systemic and general-civilisational challenges, determined by growing globalisation and international integration.

## 2. SYSTEMIC TRANSFORMATION IN POLAND

There is no doubt that 1989 is one of the most significant years in the history of Poland in the twentieth century. It became a symbol of radical changes of the previous socio-political and economic system in Poland, which is commonly referred to as a political or systemic transformation. It began with an agreement reached at the 'round table' (Łuczak 2010b: 7–41, Skórzyński 2009)<sup>4</sup> between the communist elite and the leaders of the

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<sup>4</sup> The 'round table' talks were held from 6 February to 5 April 1989 in three main negotiating teams (economy and social policy, political reforms and trade union pluralism) in the so-called Presidential Palace in Krakowskie Przedmieście in Warsaw. They were preceded by unofficial talks between the government and the opposition, held in the residence of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Magdalenka, about which many legends and contradictory opinions circulate.

democratic opposition (Łuczak 2010b). As Jan Skórzyński, the author of one of the best works on the subject, writes:

‘The Round Table Agreement is one of those events in the history of Poland that still arouse controversy and disputes. Its circumstances, results and political consequences are not assessed unequivocally, which is largely due to the presence of many authors of that compromise in public life. In this situation, historical disputes often turn into political contention, substantive arguments give way to emotions and *a priori* convictions. There is also disagreement as to the reconstruction of the events. (...) Conjectures, journalistic opinions and superficial interpretations prevail in it’ (Skórzyński 2009: 11).

An example of this, and at the same time of falsification, politicisation and ideologisation of the effects of the ‘round table’ may be, among others, the statement of Andrzej Zybertowicz, adviser to the President of the Republic of Poland, who on 5 February 2019, that is on the eve of the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the start of the ‘round table’ talks, at the meeting with schoolchildren said that:

‘At that time, we did not realise the real condition of the authorities. Even today many observers of the Round Table do not realise how much truth there was in Andrzej Gwiazda’s commentary after the Round Table talks, who said that during the meeting the authorities had shared power with their own agents’ (Zakrzewski 2019: 16).

In my opinion, there is no doubt that the ‘round table’ talks were the only peaceful way to overthrow communism in Poland. The ‘round table’ has been recognised by psychologists all over the world as a great negotiation success, which enabled solving a very difficult socio-political conflict in a civilised way (Kofta, and Leszczyński 2019). This, opened for Poland a new perspective for the transformation of the political system and the regaining of sovereignty, both in domestic and foreign policy. This thesis finds its conformation in the research of many renowned historians, such as aforementioned Professors: Jan Skórzyński, Wojciech Roszkowski, Maria Jarosz, Antoni Dudek or Andrzej Friszke. It is also corroborated by various surveys and opinion polls, among others the one conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center (CBOS) on 10–17 January 2019, in which as many as 22% of respondents acknowledged the ‘round table’ talks as the beginning of the end of communism in Poland (Public Opinion Research Center 2019: 1–2). An alternative to the ‘round table’ was a civil war, which would perhaps entail Soviet intervention in Poland and the outbreak of the Third World War.

The ‘round table’ talks began on 6 February 1989 with a plenary meeting, followed by a few weeks of meetings and discussions of the governmental and opposition parties at the thematic sub-tables. Anna Machcewicz writes that:

‘These discussions were interrupted when both sides needed to confer among themselves, as these were often tough negotiations. What makes it piquant is that several informal meetings took place in the residence of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Magdalenka, during which the communist politicians and representatives of the opposition sat down at one table and not only discussed, but also ate, drank alcohol, joked. The outcome of the round table sessions was an agreement adopted on 5 April 1989. A partially free election to the Sejm and an entirely free election to the Senate were negotiated’ (Machcewicz 2019: 8).

To this day, historians have been discussing and arguing about the motives of those in power and strategies of the opposition. They are aware of the complexity of the transformation process, divisions in the environment of the ruling camp and inside the opposition as to holding joint debates. They emphasise that both parties came with different goals and each of them won something: the communists – the president, the opposition – free elections to the Senate. They justify informal talks in Magdalenka, which may arouse disgust, but were tactically and psychologically significant. There are also legends which show the same events in different light. The white legend of the ‘round table’ says that the communists voluntarily and nobly gave power to ‘Solidarity’. The black legend builds a myth about communist collusion, a scam aimed at citizens, in which some opposition representatives took part. The mentioned meetings in Magdalenka presented as a conspiracy are an element of this legend. For years more and more details have accumulated in both myths which have played a consolidating role for some political groups (Machcewicz 2019).

Arguing about the role of individual decisions and events accompanying the ‘round table’ talks, historians and publicists, however, have no doubt that this was the beginning of Polish sovereignty and of building democracy in Poland after 1989. The ‘round table’ talks, full of dramatic twists, were laced with the weaknesses of the parties trying to reach an agreement. The economic crisis and chaos in People’s Poland undermined the power of the communist authorities, and ‘Solidarity’, weakened by the years of repression, was a shadow of its power from 1980–1981. On the one hand, most of the Polish United Workers’ Party apparatus feared that this situation was going to deprive them of power and privileges; on the other hand, radical opposition factions, especially Kornel Morawiecki’s Fighting Solidarity, accused the solidarity team of treason, and called the talks ‘disgrace’, sparing only the representatives of the Episcopate. Jacek Kuroń, one of the architects of the agreement, wrote in his memoirs that the ‘round table’ was

‘a national assembly, representation that was supposed to establish something. These were negotiations of the parties, one of which represented power, while the other claimed to represent society, and was also not convinced whether the public would accept the terms of the agreement’ (Beylin 2019: 2–3).

Only the Church felt secure at the ‘round table’. It must be emphasised here that without the Church, the agreement would not have been reached in 1989, and later the peaceful change of the system would not have taken place. The Church supported by Pope John Paul II appeared then as an undisputed national authority and a legitimate representative of society. Aware of its strength, it took advantage of it in negotiations, disciplining either the authorities or the solidarity side which, of course, it supported. Not only during the ‘round table’, but also earlier, trying painstakingly to effect it from August 1988. However, already in the 1990s, it tried to obliterate its own role in these negotiations. A great part of the Church was unable to find its feet in the difficult principles of democracy. In the 1980s and at the ‘round table’, the Church combined political power with social authority. In the 1990s it used its power against the Third Polish Republic, not understanding that instead of upholding its authority, it adopted an attitude which was unacceptable for a growing number of Poles (Beylin 2019: 2).

The ‘round table’ agreement first of all established the institutional shape of the state, including the division of competences in the field of implementing internal and foreign policy. At the request of the coalition and government parties, a presidential office was created, to which on 19 July 1989 the General Assembly elected Wojciech Jaruzelski, the martial law originator, fierce opponent of ‘Solidarity’, chairman of the Council of State and the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers’ Party. Historians and political scientists still argue about him and whether he should have become the first president of the Third Polish Republic (Nałęcz 2017, Nałęcz 2018: 220–263, Kowal 2015: 538–543). The Poles abided by this choice with mixed feelings. However, in the world such a solution was accepted with relief

‘For Moscow and Washington, such a decision was convenient: the general well known to all politicians ensured stabilisation on the Vistula’ (Kowal, and Cieślík 2015: 45–46).

Under the amended Constitutional Act of 7 April 1989 (Ustawa z dnia 7 kwietnia 1989 r. o zmianie Konstytucji PRL) President W. Jaruzelski had a wide range of competences: he was ‘the highest representative of the Polish State in internal and international relations’, he ‘guarded the sovereignty and

security of the state, the inviolability and indivisibility of its territory, and the observance of interstate political and military alliances'. In addition, he had supremacy over the Armed Forces, appointed their Supreme Commander and presided over the National Defence Committee. The president decided about the state of war, martial law and a state of emergency. Only the president was given the competence to present to the parliament a candidate for the prime minister's office. Moreover, no minister could be designated without the consent of the head of state. An additional attribute of the presidency was the possibility of convening the Council of Ministers and presiding over its sessions. The lack of trust between the prime minister and the government could therefore completely paralyse the work of the latter. The constitution of April 1989 did not provide for any political responsibility of the president, nor the rule of countersigning his official acts by the prime minister or a relevant minister. Apart from that, as a result of the six-year term and the possibility of being re-elected, this office was the strongest element of power. Thus, both in domestic and foreign policy, W. Jaruzelski had a wide range of competences, which he initially tried to use, to keep as much power as possible for the members of Polish United Workers' Party. To this end, contrary to the concept of 'your president, our prime minister' (Kowal, and Cieřlik 2015: 311–316), adopted at the 'round table', he designated general Czesław Kiszczak as the prime minister, who, however, failed to form a new government. Eventually, Tadeusz Mazowiecki became the first non-communist prime minister, which meant the beginning of the end of Wojciech Jaruzelski's presidency. Nevertheless, he managed to introduce to Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government four high-level representatives of the Polish United Workers' Party, including general Czesław Kiszczak as a deputy prime minister and minister of internal affairs, and general Florian Siwicki as a defence minister. The disbandment of the Polish United Workers' Party on 27 January 1990, preceded by the amendment of the constitution of 29 December 1989, which put an end to the socialist political and economic system existing in Poland, accelerated Wojciech Jaruzelski's decision to resign from the post of the president of the Republic of Poland, which he held until 22 December 1990 (Nałęcz 2018: 230–257, *Ustawa o zmianie Konstytucji PRL z 29 grudnia 1989*).

As Daria Nałęcz writes,

'In the spring of 1990, he clearly lost the desire to confront the winners, although his surroundings urged him to do so. He was more and more inclined to resign from his post. He did not want to use any of the suggested tricks to defend his office. In his own way, he realised that his role was over. He said that he wanted to be a guarantor of a peaceful transformation, and it is difficult to argue with such an assessment. He did nothing to the

detriment of the government. He often actively supported the new authorities' (Nałęcz 2018: 257).

A similar assessment of W. Jaruzelski's role in the process of political transformation in Poland can be found in the valuable work of Roman Kuźniar, who writes:

'Although General Jaruzelski facilitated the transition from communism to democracy, the fact that the martial law originator remained in office in reborn Poland was rightly perceived as political and moral dissonance' (Kuźniar 2008: 41).

In the Polish political transformation, started at the 'round table', the features of radicalism characteristic of a revolution were intertwined with evolutionary changes controlled by both the opposition and the government side. It should be emphasised that both sides 'respected' the internal and international order. This combination created a mixture of revolutionary and evolutionary changes, the penetration of transformation and reform of controlled and uncontrolled processes. The symbolic, bloodless transition from the Polish People's Republic (PRL) to the Third Republic of Poland (RP), which happened in December 1989 together with the amendment to the Constitution, opened a new period in the history of the Polish state and nation. There is an extensive literature on the subject (Dudek 2007, Jarosz 2005a, Kołodko 2007, Kuźniar 1992, Łuczak 2010a, Morawski 1998, Sadowski 1994, Słomka 2009: 89–104, Staar 1993, Trembicka 2003).

### 3. ELECTIONS TO THE SEJM AND SENATE IN 1989 AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

As I have already mentioned, as a consequence of the unfavourable economic situation and numerous resulting strikes, the 1980s were a difficult period for Poland. Both the authorities in Poland and the opposition were aware of the need to carry out thorough reforms aimed at democracy, whose success to some extent was possible thanks to Mikhail Gorbachev's rise to power in the USSR. For the authorities, the strategic interlocutors in this area were opposition activists of 'Solidarity', who on 18 December 1988 formed a Citizens' Committee with Lech Wałęsa as the chairman (Dudek 2007: 25). For the Polish society the Committee was a voice not only of 'Solidarity' but of the entire opposition, which was supposed to improve the situation in the country. It was also an important step on the way to the future

‘round table’ talks in which the opposition was supposed to participate. In the ‘round table’ talks, which began on 6 February 1989 in the Presidential Palace, 54 representatives of the government and opposition sides took part, of which 26 participants represented the solidarity side. The selection of the representatives of the opposition had been strictly controlled by special services, which had interfered in its composition until the very last moment. The talks can be divided into three topics, including political reforms, economic and social reforms and reforms related to trade union pluralism. The greatest objectives were achieved on the political plane, thanks to which the concluded agreements facilitated building a new political system. The most important effects of the ‘round table’ talks include the restoration of the Senate with its majority elections and the quota elections to the Sejm, which would include 35% of non-party candidates and 65% of the members of the Polish United Workers’ Party, the United People’s Party, the Democratic Party together with pro-communist organisations of Catholics (Dudek 2007: 26–33).

The election to the Sejm of the 10<sup>th</sup> term, which took place on 4 June 1989, showed a high voter turnout, which on that day amounted to 62.3%. In the second round this rate dropped to 25.1%, and the reason for such a significant decrease was the fact that representatives of the government side competed for vacant seats (Dudek 2007: 33–46). The election to the Sejm turned out to be a success of the Independent Self-governing Labour Union ‘Solidarity’, which in both rounds of voting won 161 seats, i.e. all that fell to the opposition candidates (35%). In the election to the Senate of the 1<sup>st</sup> term representatives of the ‘Solidarity’ Citizens’ Committee won as many as 99 out of 100 seats (Dudek 2007). As Adam Michnik writes:

‘also the Catholic Church played an important role in this election, supporting – for the sake of common good – democratic solutions. Pope John Paul II’ great authority assisted us at the time. The role of the Church was important, although not entirely unambiguous: already then the candidates supported by some bishops appeared who wanted to take over the place of the outstanding figures of the democratic camp, such as, among others Jacek Kuroń, Bronisław Geremek, Jan Józef Lipski. It was an augury of later divisions’ (Michnik 2019: 1).

The June elections became a hope for the Polish society for the upcoming reforms that were to lead to the total fall of the current regime and enable development that would translate into an improvement in the living conditions of the whole society. When asked about what the Poles voted for on 4 June 1989, Adam Michnik answers:

‘For rejecting the dictatorship – both foreign and domestic. They voted for Poland of agreement, but not of revenge’ (Michnik 2019).

On the other hand, Antoni Dudek writes that:

‘The June elections were decisive for the collapse of the communist regime and the birth of the Third Polish Republic. This happened despite the attitude of the leaders of Solidarity, essentially completely unprepared to take advantage of the enormous wave of public support that was revealed on 4 June. Fearful of the authorities’ reactionary response and the outbreak of an uncontrolled social movement, they paralysed all attempts to depart from the round table contract. The price of avoiding this risk, the probability of which is still the subject of numerous controversies, was high. The consent to the manipulation of the electoral law proved that the leaders of the Citizens’ Committee were inclined to treat the will of the majority of society instrumentally in the implementation of their political plans. For many Poles it meant betrayal of the ideological foundations on which “Solidarity” was built, and the beginning of the era of moral relativism, which has reigned in Polish public life in the following years’ (Dudek 2007: 45–46).

In the first general and direct presidential election, which was guaranteed by Resolution 398 of 27 September 1990 *On the Election of the President of the Republic of Poland* (Ustawa z dnia 27 września 1990 r. o wyborze Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej), Lech Wałęsa and Tadeusz Mazowiecki competed for the office of the head of State. The first round of the election took place on 25 November and the second on 9 December 1990, when the Polish society chose Lech Wałęsa as the President of the Republic of Poland. Tadeusz Mazowiecki became the prime minister of the first non-communist government in Poland in 50 years, and Leszek Balcerowicz – deputy prime minister responsible for economic and financial affairs. It was the duty of the deputy prime minister to create a new economic system that would allow market economy principles to be introduced in Poland (Wilczyński 2005: 92–93). The purpose of the economic transformation plan, called Balcerowicz’s shock therapy, was to attain three priority goals. The first of these was to stop hyperinflation, which in 1989 reached a drastic level of 700% (Żukrowska 2009: 278). To a large extent it was caused by the marketisation of agriculture by the last communist Prime Minister Mieczysław Rakowski. *Notabene*, the transformation of Polish agriculture was poorly carried out, and its effects are felt even today. The tool to fight the hyperinflation were huge constraints on budget spending, among others by the liquidation of subsidies to prices, for state-owned enterprises and the introduction of a tax on excess wages (so-called popiwiek). The second goal was to effect a smooth transition from a centrally planned economy to a market economy in a short period of time (half a year). As a result of the lack of experience of other former Eastern Bloc countries in this area and the wide



range of changes necessary to introduce, this goal was achieved only in 1995, that is after about five years, and its enormous costs were borne by the public (Żukrowska 2009: 278–279). The third goal, the pursuance of which began in the autumn of 1990, was the start of the process of privatisation of the Polish economy, which has continued to this day. The reform plan was accepted in autumn 1989 by the International Monetary Fund and on 17 December 1989 it was submitted to the Sejm for approval. The set of 11 acts, called the ‘Balcerowicz Plan’, was adopted by the Sejm on 27 December, ten days after their submission, which proves a hasty irrational action without careful consideration (Kołodziej 2015: 80). Balcerowicz’s plan initially enjoyed huge public support, which after the change of government enthusiastically accepted all reforms, in particular those that were identified with ‘Solidarity’. In addition, the sense of confusion and loss of Polish society influenced absolute confidence in the rightness of the shock therapy which would raise the standard of living. People were deluding themselves into thinking that an ‘economic miracle’ would occur in a short time. It was also important that the society was cut off from reliable information provided in the mass media about threats resulting from the Balcerowicz Plan. Only positive opinions about the shock therapy appeared on the radio, television and in the press, there was no room for criticism and public debate (Kołodziej 2015: 84–85).

The process of economic transformation initiated in Poland necessitated the introduction of an immediate process of adapting the production structure to meet competition requirements. Obsolete production methods required huge financial outlays to implement innovative solutions not to lead to the collapse of domestic enterprises in the face of foreign competition. The transfer of innovative technological solutions was to be accelerated through the mass sale of national wealth to foreign capital. This led to a number of negative consequences, which, combined with the lack of experience in functioning in the capitalist world, was a threat to domestic enterprises, especially small and medium-sized enterprises (Woźniak 2017: 16–18).

In macroeconomic and microeconomic terms, an inseparable element of transformation in all post-communist countries was the change of ownership relations in which the prevalence of private ownership over state ownership was sought. The privatisation of state-owned enterprises was to translate into an increase in their efficiency, and the very idea of ownership change to the creation of new private plants. The role of the state in this process was to be limited only to shaping and ensuring compliance with the imposed conditions of business activity. Thanks to this, fiscal goals were to be achieved, which would provide income to the budget from the sale of national property,

and additionally limit budget expenditures on financial support for these enterprises. Social goals were also important, thanks to which access to the property being privatised was guaranteed to the whole society, and not to specific groups, e.g. the elite of the previous regime. An inseparable element of the privatisation of state-owned enterprises was the implemented restructuring, which was to be offset by the creation of posts in new private plants (Bałtowski, and Kozarzewski 2014: 106–112). The beginning of the 1990s was not an easy period for the development of entrepreneurship of Poles who had very limited knowledge about competition and the functioning of business in a market economy. It was not preceded by learning through action and experiences of the previous generation (Woźniak 2017: 18–19). The formation of the new system, completely different from previous management, the lack of sufficient knowledge, and thus the fear of the unknown, aroused in most of society the aversion to risk that the entrepreneur could have incurred when starting his activity. Thus, the image of the Polish entrepreneur in the first years of transformation shows him as a creative person, intensively working to achieve a professional success. However, this is not the only image of the entrepreneur from this period, because there was also a group, which included employers taking advantage of their employees, or often engaged in illegal activities (Goszczyńska 2010: 197).

## CONCLUSION

The process of political transformation, which started in Poland in 1989, undoubtedly had a huge impact on Poland's future membership of the European Union. Reforms aimed at building a democratic state brought our country closer to the countries of Western Europe, at the same time loosening the dominant political and economic ties with the Soviet Union. In the process of these changes one should not forget about huge help of the West, especially the United States and the European Communities, which supported the initiated transformation and strengthening of the democratic system in Poland and other countries of Central and Eastern Europe. As early as in July 1989, the Commission of the European Communities started implementing the PHARE programme (Poland and Hungary Assistance for Restructuring their Economies), the aim of which was to support economic and political reforms in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary (Fiszler 2002: 9–30). This support was a perfect example of long-term investment, since the blurring of differences between the developed West and the countries

of Central and Eastern Europe was to translate in the future into closer cooperation, bringing benefits to both sides (Kołodziej 2015: 102).

Although the inflow of foreign capital and investors was a threat to domestic enterprises that had to face the rules of competition, it was also a valuable time to get to know and implement free market principles and rules. Also the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund contributed immensely to overcoming the transformation difficulties. Undoubtedly, this beneficial cooperation resulted from the fact that Poland belonged to the founding countries of both organisations, from which it had to withdraw in 1950 as a result of international conditions. In August 1990, Poland received a USD 300 million loan from the World Bank, the purpose of which was to support the structural reforms. In addition, the World Bank actively participated in activities involving government expenditure management, healthcare reforms, anti-corruption and initiatives related to the social sphere and environmental protection (Żukrowska 2009: 584). The support in the possibility of taking loans was not a form of one-off aid, as evidenced by the fact that since 1990, as many as 66 loans for Poland were approved, the total value of which amounted to USD 4.8 milliard (Żukrowska 2009: 585). From 1990 until the end of 1994, Poland received financial assistance in the form of loans granted by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the total worth of which amounted to SDR 1.224 milliard. However, the amount of loans alone was not the most important value of the IMF support. Poland gained the possibility of taking further loans from the most developed countries and creating a stabilisation fund supporting the internal convertibility of the zloty.

The path that Poland followed from a state fully subordinated to the economy and politics of the USSR to become an independent, democratic state was extremely difficult and time-consuming. This process required the introduction of thorough political and economic reforms, but also changes in the way of thinking and acting of Polish society. Free elections of government representatives, gradual ousting of the elites in power in the previous regime and finally the Constitution of the Republic of Poland, passed on 2 April 1997, strengthened forging of democracy, which inhibited the possibility of the extension of the functioning of the previous system. In the economic sphere

‘the ratio of the relative level of the Polish economy increased (...) from around 30% in 1988 to around 50% in 2013’ (Gomułka 2016: 64).

Great attainments of this period were the construction of the foundation of the private enterprise sector, raising the qualifications of employees and the average GDP growth rate by approx. 4% per annum (Gomułka 2016: 65).

Today Poland is almost five times as rich as 30 years ago. The economic transformation, despite the costs, in total turned out to be successful. In 2018, 82% of Poles polled by CBOS assessed that they live on a medium or good level (including very good), and only 19% thought they lived modestly or very poorly. For comparison: in 1993, when CBOS first asked about it, over half of Poles considered themselves poor. Only 3% of respondents lived well and very well. The level of wealth calculated as the value of GDP per one Pole (in the purchasing power parity) is today almost five times as big as 30 years ago, and the real purchasing power of the gross domestic product per capita has increased threefold. Today, over 22.5 million cars drive on Polish roads, 30 years ago – there were only 5.2 million. According to many economists, the success of the transformation of the Polish economy is a combination of many factors, but the most important thing is that we virtually owe it to ourselves. An important role was played by Poles' growing awareness that Poland and its citizens were facing a chance for better future, which must not be wasted. It mobilised Poles to sacrifice and bear considerable transformation costs, such as high unemployment persisting over the years, escape into professional inactivity, income stratification of society, etc. Reforms of higher education, so that it would be at the world level or the justice system have not been entirely successful (Cieślak-Wróblewska, and Siemionczyk 2019: 3, Jarosz 2005b).

Thirty years after the elections to the Sejm and the Senate, the successes of the political transformation in Poland are overshadowed by the value of the still growing public debt, reaching at the end of 2018 PLN 1.035 billion. Over three years, the Law and Justice government incurred the debt amounting to PLN 111 milliard, but the Civic Platform-Polish People's Party government was a record holder in the term during the world financial and economic crisis. Economists comfort that, although the debt is nominally growing, fortunately it has been falling in relation to the size of the entire economy for two years (Cieślak-Wróblewska 2019: A21).

Summarising the above considerations, it should be noted that the transformation that was initiated in 1989 opened Poland to the West and gave it a chance to participate in free of divisions, democratic Europe. It enabled the start of Poland's operation in the free market, which became the basis for starting efforts to create the Weimar Triangle and join the European Union.

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## THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SEJM AND SENATE ELECTIONS IN 1989. SYSTEMIC TRANSFORMATION IN POLAND AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR EUROPE AND THE WORLD

### Abstract

This article is devoted to elections to the Sejm and Senate on 4 June 1989, about which historians and political scientists have argued to this day. Some think that they had historic, profound significance in the struggle for sovereign and democratic Poland, and others claim that they were the result of a conspiracy between communists and the opposition centered around Solidarity, headed by Lech Wałęsa. The indisputable fact is that they were the result of negotiations and agreements reached at the 'round table', which inaugurated the process of radical changes in Europe. It went down in history under the name of the 'autumn of nations of 1989'.

The author tries to redefine the 'autumn of nations of 1989' and shows the essence of this process and its consequences for Poland, Europe and the world. He puts forward interesting hypotheses and theses, among others he states that thanks to this, the path of 'return to Europe' and membership of the Euro-Atlantic structures, that is of NATO and the European Union, as well as of other international organisations, opened for Poland. As a result, today Poland is no longer a state in ruin, as it was in 1989. It is a sovereign, wealthy and democratic country respected in the world.

Keywords: Sejm, Senate, election, political transformation, 'autumn of nations of 1989', Poland, Europe, world

## TRZYDZIESTA ROCZNICA WYBORÓW DO SEJMU I SENATU W 1989 ROKU. TRANSFORMACJA USTROJOWA W POLSCE I JEJ KONSEKWENCJE DLA EUROPY I ŚWIATA

### Streszczenie

Niniejszy artykuł jest poświęcony wyborom do Sejmu i Senatu w dniu 4 czerwca 1989 roku, wokół których po dzień dzisiejszy toczą się spory między historykami i politologami. Jedni bowiem uważają, że miały one historyczne, przełomowe znaczenie w walce o suwerenną i demokratyczną Polskę, a inni twierdzą, że były one efektem spisku między komunistami i opozycją skupioną wokół Solidarności na czele z Lechem Wałęsą. Bezsprzecznym faktem jest to, że były one efektem negocjacji i porozumień osiągniętych przy „okrągłym stole”, które zainaugurowały proces radykalnych zmian w Europie. Przeszedł on do historii pod nazwą „jesieni ludów 1989”.

Autor próbuje tutaj na nowo zdefiniować „jesień ludów 1989” i pokazuje istotę tego procesu oraz jego konsekwencje dla Polski, Europy i świata. Stawia ciekawe hipotezy i tezy, m.in. stwierdza, że dzięki temu otworzyła się też dla Polski droga do „powrotu do Europy” i członkostwa w strukturach euroatlantyckich, czyli w NATO i Unii Europejskiej oraz w innych organizacjach międzynarodowych. W efekcie Polska nie jest już dziś państwem w ruinie, tak jak było w 1989 roku. Jest to suwerenny, bogaty i szanowany na świecie kraj.

Słowa kluczowe: Sejm, Senat, wybory, transformacja ustrojowa, „jesień ludów 1989”, Polska, Europa, świat

## Тридцатая годовщина выборов в Сейм и Сенат в 1989 году. Политическая трансформация в Польше и её последствия для Европы и мира

### Резюме

Настоящая статья посвящена выборам в Сейм и Сенат, которые проходили 4 июня 1989 года и о которых до сих пор ведутся споры между историками и политологами. Одни считают, что они имели историческое, переломное значение в борьбе за суверенную и демократическую Польшу; другие же утверждают, что они были результатом заговора коммунистов

и оппозиционной организации, связанной с движением «Солидарность» во главе с Лехом Валенсой. Неоспоримым фактом является то, что эти выборы были следствием результатом переговоров и соглашений, достигнутых за «круглым столом», которые положили начало процессу радикальных перемен в Европе и вошли в историю под названием «Осень народов 1989 года».

Автор предпринимает попытку переопределения «Осени народов 1989 года» и представляет суть этого процесса и его последствия для Польши, Европы и мира; выдвигает интересные гипотезы и тезисы; в частности, заявляет, что благодаря данному процессу Польше также открылся путь к «возвращению в Европу» и к членству в евроатлантических структурах, прежде всего в НАТО и Европейском союзе и других международных организациях. В результате Польша в настоящее время уже не является разрушенной страной, как это было в 1989 году, а суверенным, богатым и признаваемым во всём мире государством.

Ключевые слова: Сейм, Сенат, выборы, политическая трансформация, «Осень народов 1989 года», Польша, Европа, мир

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**DIFFICULT PERSPECTIVES  
FOR POLISH FOREIGN POLICY  
– A REPORT FROM THE FOURTH NATIONAL  
POLITICAL SCIENCE CONGRESS**

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**INTRODUCTION**

On 18–20 September 2018, the ‘Fourth National Political Science Congress’ took place in Lublin. Professor Ph.D. Józef M. Fiszer, head of the Department of European Studies of the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, prepared and ran a panel on ‘Poland’s Foreign Policy in Times of Change in Europe and the World in the Twenty-First Century: Directions, Goals, Forms, Opportunities and Threats’. Seven panellists took the floor, each of whom gave a comprehensive speech on one of the aspects of Polish foreign policy. The proceedings were inaugurated by Professor J. M. Fiszer, who presented a paper on ‘Poland’s Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century: Goals, Challenges, Directions, Opportunities and Threats’. The second speaker, Grzegorz Zbińkowski, M.Sc., presented an analysis of the current conditions of Polish foreign policy. In turn, Professor, habilitated doctor Kazimierz Kik in his speech entitled ‘The Regional Aspects of Foreign Policy of the Third Republic of Poland’ presented the most important issues concerning regional cooperation and its determinants.

The next three speakers in their addresses analysed the role of particular states and regions of Western Europe in Poland’s foreign policy. The speech

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of Professor Ph.D. Ryszard Żelichowski was entitled ‘The Place and Role of Western Europe, with Particular Emphasis on the Benelux States, in Poland’s Foreign Policy’. In turn, Doctor Krzysztof Garczewski devoted his lecture to the issue of relations with our western neighbour. In a paper entitled ‘Germany in Polish Foreign Policy Today and in the Future’ he tried to define the role of the Federal Republic of Germany in contemporary Polish foreign policy. Next, Doctor Adrian Chojan in his speech on ‘The Place and Role of Great Britain in Poland’s Foreign Policy in 2004’ tried to show the successes and failures as well as prospects of Polish-British relations before and after our accession to the European Union. The last speaker, M.Sc., engineer Mariusz Rukat devoted his speech to the topic: ‘Asia, with Particular Emphasis on China, in Poland’s Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century’.

The fruits of the panel being discussed ‘Poland’s Foreign Policy in Times of Change in Europe and the World in the Twenty-First Century: Directions, Goals, Forms, Opportunities and Threats’ are not only the featured speeches and engaging discussions about them, but also the articles that were published in the second issue (2/2019) of “Myśl Ekonomiczna i Polityczna” [‘Economic and Political Thought’]. Articles of the four above mentioned speakers were printed there, that is of Professors: Józef M. Fiszer, Ryszard Żelichowski and Kazimierz Kik and Master of Science Grzegorz Zbińkowski. The journal contains also an article of Doctor Martin Dahl who was also present at the Congress and during the panel took part in the discussion which took place after the speeches were delivered. Doctor Martin Dahl drew attention to the problem of the migration crisis and its consequences for Poland’s foreign policy. This topic also fits in with the problems taken up by the other authors.

In this study I attempt to summarise and analyse the above-mentioned speeches and articles. My goal is to present the main assumptions, theses and conclusions that appeared in the delivered speeches, during the discussions and in the texts created on their basis.

The most important common feature of the discussed articles and speeches is the reference to the problem of determining the directions and priorities of contemporary Polish foreign policy. At present all states are facing a difficult task of adapting to the complicated international situation in which a new post-Cold War world order is being created. Unfortunately, history shows that most stable systems of powers usually arose as a result of wars.

Of course, most of us still hope that the new system will be born without the entanglement of the majority of significant actors into a serious conflict, which, if it was joined by nuclear powers, could end tragically for the whole humanity. It is also possible that the current period of changes will be *post*

*factum* classified as a kind of war of a new type, i.e. hybrid war. As early as December 2016 Holy Father Francis said that many conflicts occurring in the world testify to the fact that we are dealing with the ongoing third world war.

Eminent scholar, diplomat and politician Henry Kissinger stated that:

‘The rise and fall of previous world orders is the only experience on which one can draw in trying to understand the challenges facing contemporary statesmen. The study of history offers no manual of instructions that can be applied automatically; history teaches by analogy (...), but each generation must determine for itself which circumstances are in fact comparable’ (Kissinger 2016–2018: 28).

Unfortunately, such a conclusion is frequently reached after the fact, often with tragic consequences. An in-depth analysis of international conditions may, however, help draw the right conclusions that can direct foreign policy on the track that is as close as possible to the *raison d’etat* of the country.

The presented articles, on the one hand, discuss the challenges facing Polish foreign policy, and on the other hand, show its most appropriate – in the opinion of their authors – directions and assumptions. In this context, these studies may also be treated as a kind of guidance for decision-makers who face the responsibility of setting tasks, goals and strategies for Polish foreign policy. One of the main goals of the panel discussed here was to show the Polish *raison d’etat* in the conditions of the dynamically changing international environment. The analysis of the speeches delivered at the Congress of Political Science in Lublin and articles published in the second issue of “Myśl Ekonomiczna i Polityczna” [‘Economic and Political Thought’] proves that the task was accomplished. The priorities of Polish foreign policy were presented both in relation to our most important European partners and neighbours, and the current state and prospects for Poland’s future relations with world powers were depicted. A number of postulates regarding the future tasks of our country in the international arena were formulated.

Detailed analysis and conclusions of the panellists’ speeches and papers are presented below.

## 1. DEFINITION OF THE MOST IMPORTANT DIRECTIONS OF POLISH FOREIGN POLICY

The proceedings of the panel on ‘Poland’s Foreign Policy in Times of Change in Europe and the World in the Twenty-First Century: Directions, Goals, Forms, Opportunities and Threats’ were inaugurated – as I have

already mentioned – with Professor J. M. Fiszer’s speech entitled ‘Poland’s Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century: Goals, Challenges, Directions, Opportunities and Threats’.

Already at the beginning of his speech, he stated that the Republic of Poland is in a difficult situation on the hundredth anniversary of regaining independence. In the course of his address Professor J. M. Fiszer stressed that we are currently dealing with the renaissance of nationalism and populism that lead to conflicts and wars, contrary to earlier predictions of many researchers, e.g. Professor Francis Fukuyama, who said that after the fall of communism there would be peace in the world.

Some activities of the most important world power, that is the United States, fit in with this tendency. It is trying to rebuild its position of a world hegemon. At the same time, China has taken the path of building the imperial power, strengthening the army and preparing for the conquest of the world. As a result of this situation we are dealing with a growing US-Chinese conflict. In the context of the increasingly dangerous international environment, professor Fiszer advanced an important thesis, namely that Polish foreign policy should be very cautious now, so as not to drag our country into the ongoing local wars. In this context, he praised the fact that Poland is currently pursuing a realistic policy towards the crisis in Ukraine. The threat of deepening German-Russian cooperation over Poland’s head that he discussed is also worth stressing (Fiszer 2019: 147).

In his speech, Professor J. M. Fiszer elaborated and substantiated the hypotheses and theses described here. The main thesis of his paper concerns the most important vectors of Polish foreign policy:

‘(...) the thesis of the article is the ascertainment that Poland’s foreign policy should be active and reach far beyond Europe. It should be based on the Euro-Atlantic system and close relations with Germany, France, Great Britain and the United States. Cooperation with the Visegrad Group countries and within the Weimar Triangle should continue to play an important role in Polish foreign policy. Poland’s foreign policy should be grounded in proper cooperation with our neighbours, including Russia, which in the twenty-first century will be one of the world’s greatest powers and the major threat to Poland’s security. Poland should also be active on the international forum within the framework of NATO and the European Union (EU) as well as in its common foreign and security policy. However, Poland’s direct involvement in internal affairs of Ukraine should be limited, because in the geopolitics of Russia it holds and will continue to occupy a prominent place. Together with EU and NATO countries, especially with Germany, France and the United States, Poland should talk to Russia and fight for peace in Ukraine’ (Fiszer 2019: 141–142).

The country’s foreign policy postulated by the author would be based, on the one hand, on the closest possible cooperation with the Western

European allies and the US. On the other hand, it would cover befitting cooperation with Russia and other eastern neighbours. The assumptions presented by Professor Fiszer are in line with the Polish *raison d'état*. Due to its geopolitical location, Poland is forced to maintain at least correct relations with all its neighbours. The security of the country requires initiating talks and cooperation regardless of discrepancies occurring sometimes in the current political line or ideology represented by governments.

In the further part of the work, Professor Fiszer devotes a lot of attention to the European Union, European integration and the role of Poland in this process. In this context, he highlights two important issues. Full membership in the European Union allows our country to participate in discussions about this project as well as in activities that affect its shape. However, the Polish voice must be measured because

‘the shape and fate of the EU have a fundamental impact on the status and security of Poland. It determines whether Poland will be a member of an effective organisation influential in the world, or whether it will be somewhere between claustrophobic Western Europe and the unspecified East’ (Fiszer 2019: 146).

In this context, the author’s next statement by is also significant, saying that debates on the future of the European Union are also debates on the direction of Poland’s development (Fiszer 2019: 146). The thought contained in this sentence seems to be particularly important as we can often observe an attitude of lack of interest in the discussion on the future shape of the European Union and the objectives of integration. These problems are treated as abstract and supposedly detached from the domestic reality. Meanwhile, the results of these debates can strongly affect not only Polish foreign policy, but also national policy, the life of every citizen.

One of the goals that Polish foreign policy should strive to achieve, according to the author of the discussed text, is for

‘Poland to attain a leader position in Central and Eastern Europe and a significant role in the Euro-Atlantic structures. Such a status is attainable for our country’ (Fiszer 2019: 162).

Unfortunately the achievement of this real goal is hindered by periods when the state loses the ability to conduct ‘ordinary’ policy, based on cool calculations of profits and losses, replaced by wishful thinking and megalomania (Fiszer 2019: 162). In the last part of the text, the author stresses the importance of Poland’s accession to NATO and the European Union for the security of our country, at the same time sensitising the reader to the



presence of numerous threats and dangers in the rapidly changing world (Fiszer 2019: 165).

Professor Fiszer's interesting, erudite text can be recommended as required reading to decision-makers in the field of Polish foreign policy. The detailed analysis he makes of the current situation of Poland on the international arena can be very useful for formulating specific strategies. At the same time, he gives proposals of priority directions for diplomatic activities and warns against megalomania. I think that the last warning is very important, because successes are usually a derivative of activities based on cold calculations. In turn, hasty actions based on an exaggerated, not grounded in reality, sense of greatness, often fail, even if the intended goals are right or even noble.

In addition, it is worth noting that, similarly to Professor Fiszer, all the authors agree here that regardless of *ad hoc* prejudices, Poland should try to cooperate with both of its most important neighbours in order to preclude their too close relations which are against the national interest of our country.

## 2. OPPORTUNITIES AND BENEFITS OF REGIONAL COOPERATION

In turn, in his text Professor Kazimierz Kik in a captivating way refers to the theme of the ambitions of the most important players on the world stage. His observation that new powers already growing in the global world concentrate on the use of geoeconomic methods seems interesting and worth emphasising (Kik 2019: 220). In these difficult conditions, Poland is trying to look for opportunities for cooperation and support also within the framework of informal regional structures. Unfortunately, despite sometimes promising assumptions, they have failed to develop sufficiently to play strategically important roles. One of the reasons for this state of affairs are the discrepancies existing between their members. The best example of this are relations within the Visegrad Group, where one of few issues connecting all four countries is reluctance to accept migrants from outside Europe. Professor Kik notes also that the Three Seas Initiative, on which the Polish government has pinned a lot of hope, is unfortunately foundering on conflicting interests

'no wonder then that the arrangements from Warsaw and Washington did not satisfy all the signatories of the Initiative, especially the Czechs, Hungarians and Slovaks' (Kik 2019: 233).

The New Silk Road project described by Professor Kik can be very important for Poland's economic relations. As part of it, the 16+1 initiative was created covering 16 countries of Central and Eastern Europe and China. The author's statement that the countries of the Visegrad Group, especially Poland and Hungary, have gained a dominant role in implementing this plan is important from the point of view of Polish interests. It is connected with raising Polish-Chinese relations to the level of strategic partnership. The fact that within the framework of the institutionalisation of the 16+1 initiative the Secretariats for Investments and Maritime Affairs are located in Warsaw is worthy of note (Kik 2019: 238). Certain successes of this initiative may testify to the great potential of Poland resulting from the location of our country. It predisposes us to being a kind of intermediary between the East and the West. In this context, fragments of a broad gauge railway in our country are also important. The development of the 16+1 initiative can also confirm the author's thesis about the growing role of geoeconomy, as it focuses on an economic project.

Unfortunately, Poland does not have sufficient potential to create new trends on the international arena. Sometimes, however, it is possible to take advantage of the existing global conditions. It seems to me that the described initiative can become one of the examples of such development. At the same time, it should be emphasised that it is necessary to analyse the more and more rapidly changing international situation precisely in terms of phenomena that, if skilfully yoked to Polish foreign policy, would strengthen the position and potential of our state.

Also Professor Ryszard Żelichowski writes extensively on cooperation that increases the potential of the countries involved in it. In the article entitled 'Benelux Countries in Poland's Foreign Policy' he describes an interesting, also for our country, perspective of deepened regional cooperation which Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg initiated at the end of the Second World War. This article illustrates how many years of engagement and seeking a consensus are necessary to reach the described level of cooperation (Żelichowski 2019: 244–247). On the other hand, it shows the successes that such cooperation can bring. For this reason, a fragment of the text in which the author quotes a comment published by the Polish Institute of International Relations has an optimistic overtone:

'At the same time, the V4, wanting to build the strength of its image along the lines of the Benelux brand, can follow the example of cooperation in such fields as new technologies, renewable energy sources and innovations, on which Visegrad cooperation increasingly focuses' (Żelichowski 2019: 266).

We can hope that Polish decision-makers will also see the potential of increased regional cooperation, despite differences that sometimes divide. In the era of the great role of geoeconomics, economic relations can become a contribution to the development of comprehensive cooperation and tightening of ties.

It is a pity that in the face of the possibility of obtaining this knowledge regarding fruitful regional cooperation, relations between our country and Benelux are currently handled exclusively within the Visegrad Group, in the V4 plus format. In addition, meetings of top-level politicians in this format are not very regular. The summit of the heads of governments of the V4 and Benelux countries on 19 June 2017 in Warsaw and the willingness to build a new force in Europe together with the Visegrad Group expressed on the occasion by the politicians are grounds for optimism. In this context, the author's statement that the countries of the Visegrad Group may attempt to form a coalition with the Benelux countries in EU voting is important (Żelichowski 2019: 269). We can only hope that such attempts will be made and will prove effective despite the existing differences, while the prospect of cooperation will overcome particularisms or prejudices resulting from differences of opinion on other issues.

### 3. PROPOSALS FOR THE CORRECTION OF POLAND'S FOREIGN POLICY

A wide field of possibilities, but also threats is opening up before Poland also in the area of bilateral interstate contacts. Grzegorz Zbińkowski, MSc., makes an interesting analysis of this issue. It points to the need to revise and correct Poland's foreign and security policies in order to rebuild the position of our country, which has weakened in recent years. It is worth stressing that the theses he and the other authors advance are congruent in that it will be possible only in cooperation with our largest neighbours, that is Germany and Russia. He states that attempts to achieve the most important goals of Polish foreign policy in opposition to Germany are unlikely to succeed, regardless of whether they concern the eastern or western direction (Zbińkowski 2019: 180).

What is also important here is the author's reflection on carrying out policy towards Russia, which should be unambiguous, based on reciprocity, but at the same time avoiding the creation of an external enemy for the needs of the narrative of domestic policy.

The list of directions proposed for Polish foreign and Euro-Atlantic policy for 2019–2030 presented by Grzegorz Zbińkowski in ten succinct points is particularly noteworthy. The realisation of some of the postulates can be relatively easy, others, in turn, are very ambitious. The first of them, saying that Poland needs to regain the position of a decision maker within the EU, belongs to the latter category (Zbińkowski 2019: 193). Nevertheless, I think that even in the face of potential difficulties, ambitious goals should be set for foreign policy. At the same time, care should be taken not to confuse ambitious goals with those resulting from excessive ambition, which are unattainable due to limited potential.

#### 4. THE PROBLEM OF POLAND'S ACTIVITY IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION

In turn, Mariusz Rukat, MSc., in his paper undertook an uneasy task of analysing the place of Asia, and in particular of China in Polish foreign policy. He devoted a lot of space to relations prevailing on this continent, and also showed the growing power ambitions of China. At the same time he stated that on the basis of the observation of the current growth of China it is possible to draw a conclusion that at the beginning of the second decade of the twenty-first century, the state decided to assume the role of a hegemon in Asia. China's new, hegemonic role would take on the contemporary form of tributarieness (the tributary system was an institutionalised and long-term mechanism aimed at establishing strong ties between the Chinese Empire and the vassal states (Jura 2018: 199)).

At the same time, the author noted that in the whole region of Asia and the Pacific we can observe the clash of economic interests of the most important world powers. In this context, it should be stated that the policies of China, Russia, the United States and their allies have a decisive influence on our country's possibilities to operate in these areas. Mariusz Rukat also drew attention to the significance of the growing Chinese-American conflict for Polish foreign policy. Against this background, the possibilities of Poland's operations in Asia are of course limited. This results, to a large extent, from the low potential of our country in comparison with the clashing powers. The above picture shows that Polish proceedings in the region of Asia and the Pacific, and especially in relation to China must be very cautious. On the one hand, it is necessary to maintain political and economic relations with

the Middle Kingdom, on the other hand, too close association could harm the relations between Poland and the United States.

It is not surprising that one of the main theses of this author was the statement that Poland's foreign policy in Asia is reactive to the activities of the great powers, and its current activity in this area of the world is insignificant. Further in his text, Mariusz Rukat shows constant fluctuations and a lack of vision in Poland's policy towards China. Of course, systemic changes in Poland and aspirations to enter the western structures did not facilitate this task. Xi Jinping's visit to Warsaw in 2016 arose some hope for the rapprochement with China. At the time, a number of agreements were signed regarding, inter alia, the deepening of economic and political cooperation.

Unfortunately, even taking into account this positive element, the picture that emerges from this analysis of Polish foreign policy towards China does not give grounds for much optimism. It is obvious that the limited potential of our country and the described difficult geopolitical and geo-economic conditions preclude carrying out ambitious schemes on the Asian continent. All the more we should consider the fields of engagement and real goals that lie within our capabilities. A long-term strategy, formulated as a document, would afford an opportunity to systematically take small steps that could prospectively strengthen Poland's position on the Asian continent, and make policy less reactive and servile to the strategies pursued there by the great powers. Strengthening our position at the political level would give us a chance to assist in establishing better business contacts.

## 5. MIGRATION CRISIS AND ITS IMPACT ON POLAND'S POSITION IN THE EU

Another author, Doctor Martin Dahl, discusses the problem of the migration crisis that affected Europe, and in particular its impact on Poland's foreign policy in 2015–2018. It reminds us that the summit of the migration crisis in 2015 coincided with double elections in Poland. In connection with this fact, already at the beginning he advances a thesis that

'The overlap of these two processes at the same time led to a situation in which populist slogans and short-term electoral goals substituted a substantive discussion on the possibilities of counteracting the migration crisis in Europe and Polish contribution in this area'(Dahl 2019: 202).

The problem of mass migration did not affect our country directly, but it did have a significant impact on the political situation in the country because the attitude to migration and immigrants became one of the most important topics during the election campaign.

According to this author, the main problem in the face of the uncontrolled influx of people to the territory of the European Union was

‘the lack of an effective migration and asylum policy at the community level. In this dynamically changing situation and having to deal with a rapidly growing number of migrants, European countries began to be guided primarily by their own interests. In the face of the new challenges, no measures were taken to solve the migration problem’ (Dahl 2019: 206).

At the same time, Martin Dahl aptly notes that the migration crisis has become one of the major causes of disintegration processes on the European continent. At this point, he quoted, among others, the alarming thesis of Professor Roman Kuźniar who said that the migration crisis could even lead to the breakup of the European Union (Dahl 2019: 203; Kuźniar 2016: 239).

Thus, this is a situation which is potentially very dangerous for the Polish state of affairs, although the migration crisis did not affect our country directly. The intensification of disintegration processes and threats to EU cohesion are not beneficial for Poland. The lack of ability to develop effective methods of dealing with the effects of the crisis, the rise of national particularisms in a difficult moment are not good phenomena. Another crisis (not necessarily connected with refugees) may hit also Poland. The conclusions that can be drawn from the observation of the Union’s conduct in dealing with difficult problems are alarming.

In addition, the Polish side showed a lack of solidarity with the hardest-hit European countries. The original promise of admitting a small number of migrants in the context of their relocation was not fulfilled. It seems to me that it was a mistake, because with relatively limited costs and threats, it was possible to demonstrate willingness to help and solidarity with European partners.

The author rightly observes that this fact may lead to negative consequences in the future. It will be more difficult for Poland to obtain favour in attempts to advance our interests that require cooperation with European countries. Western countries will be less willing to help Poland if it faces any serious problems.

## CONCLUSION

The analysis of the content of the speeches of the individual panellists and of the collected articles leads to a sad conclusion that the current geopolitical situation of Poland is more difficult than on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 2004 when it became the Member of the European Union. Together with NATO membership, this made our country an ally of a number of world powers, with the United States at the helm, which seemed to be a permanent guarantor of our security and peace.

Today, as a result of the changing balance of power on the international scene and uncertainty about the shape of the future international order, combined with the renaissance of geopolitics and particularisms, Polish foreign policy is facing new and difficult tasks. Our security is still based on our presence in the Atlantic Alliance and the European Union. However, we should not stop at that. In this context the statements about the need to cooperate with both of Poland's major neighbours, i.e. the Federal Republic of Germany and Russia are particularly important. Professor Fiszer is right when he notes that it is essential because otherwise these two states could reach an agreement over Poles' heads. Because of this, in the face of numerous threats and dangers, some grudges and unresolved historical issues should be relativised in the name of maintaining and cultivating correct relations.

Cooperation within various regional, both political and economic, partnerships should be promoted in a similar way. We can anticipate to revive the Visegrad Group and to renew Weimar cooperation at the highest levels. Some hope can be pinned in the 16+1 initiative. Also on this plane, cooperation should be encouraged while conflicts should not be escalated. In the face of the complex international situation, the benevolence of each country, especially of those in the vicinity of Poland, is of great importance.

At the same time, the articles clearly show that the Polish side has a chance for an understanding and rapprochement with many countries. In order to achieve it, two conditions must be met. On the one hand, potential planes of cooperation, common economic or political interests should be found. On the other hand, we must bear in mind that in foreign policy it is sometimes necessary to retreat in some issues, to show the willingness to compromise. In the short-time perspective, sometimes such a move may not seem beneficial, but in the long term it allows one to achieve measurable profits. Unfortunately, Polish politicians too often treat the area of foreign policy as a field where they can get quick support at the national level. Such activities are often spectacular in the short term, but in the long term

they bring more losses than benefits. The use of the migration crisis for immediate political goals described by Martin Dahl was a good example of such activities. One can only hope that such situations will become rarer as it is always necessary to keep in mind the highest *raison d'état*, that is maintaining the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Poland.

Summarising these considerations, we can state that the proceedings of the panel on 'Poland's Foreign Policy in Times of Change in Europe and the World in the Twenty-First Century: Directions, Goals, Forms, Opportunities and Threats' were very fruitful. In their speeches and in the texts created on their basis the participants of the panel put forward a number of important theses on both the current state and the possible development of Polish foreign policy. These works created a picture of the challenges and possible directions of action facing Polish foreign policy and its diplomacy. They can become an inspiration for foreign policy decision makers, and are highly recommendable for researchers, students as well as to all those interested in the subject matter.

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## DIFFICULT PERSPECTIVES FOR POLISH FOREIGN POLICY – A REPORT FROM THE FOURTH NATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE CONGRESS

### Abstract

This article is in fact a report from the discussion panel organised on 18 September 2018 during the Fourth National Political Science Congress entitled *The State in Times of Change*. As part of the Congress, Professor Józef M. Fiszer from the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, organised an interesting panel entitled 'Poland's Foreign Policy in Times of Change in Europe and the World in the Twenty-First Century: Directions, Goals, Forms, Opportunities and Threats'. Panellists, outstanding specialists, who took part in it discussed goals, tasks, opportunities and threats for Polish foreign policy in the twenty-first century. During the discussion numerous interesting, theoretically and practically significant theses and hypotheses were formulated. They are presented and analysed in this article.

Keywords: Polish foreign policy, NATO, European Union, threats, migration crisis

## NIEŁATWE PERSPEKTYWY DLA POLSKIEJ POLITYKI ZAGRANICZNEJ – SPRAWOZDANIE Z IV OGÓLNOPOLSKIEGO KONGRESU POLITOLOGII

### Streszczenie

Niniejszy artykuł jest *de facto* sprawozdaniem z panelu dyskusyjnego, zorganizowanego w dniu 18 września 2018 roku podczas IV Ogólnopolskiego Kongresu Politologii pod nazwą *Państwo w czasach zmiany*. W ramach

tego Kongresu prof. Józef M. Fiszer z Instytutu Studiów Politycznych PAN zorganizował interesujący panel pt. *Polityka zagraniczna Polski w czasach zmian w Europie i na świecie w XXI wieku: kierunki, cele, formy, szanse i zagrożenia*. Paneliści, wybitni specjaliści, biorący w nim udział dyskutowali o celach, zadaniach, szansach i zagrożeniach dla polskiej polityki zagranicznej w XXI wieku. Podczas dyskusji zostało sformułowanych wiele ciekawych tez i hipotez o dużym znaczeniu teoretycznym i praktycznym. Są one prezentowane i analizowane na łamach niniejszego artykułu.

Słowa kluczowe: polska polityka zagraniczna, NATO, Unia Europejska, zagrożenia, kryzys migracyjny

#### СЛОЖНЫЕ ПЕРСПЕКТИВЫ ПОЛЬСКОЙ ВНЕШНЕЙ ПОЛИТИКИ – ОТЧЕТ IV ВСЕПОЛЬСКОГО КОНГРЕССА ПОЛИТОЛОГОВ

##### Резюме

Настоящая статья выступает de facto в качестве отчёта панельной дискуссии, организованной 18 сентября 2018 года во время IV Всепольского конгресса политологов, проходящего под девизом «Государство в эпоху перемен». В рамках этого конгресса профессор Юзеф М. Фишер из Института политических исследований Польской академии наук организовал интересную панель на тему «Внешняя политика Польши в эпоху перемен в Европе и в мире в XXI веке: направления, цели, формы, шансы и угрозы». Панелисты, выдающиеся специалисты, принимающие участие в дискуссии, дискутировали о целях, задачах, шансах и угрозах для польской внешней политики в XXI веке. В ходе обсуждения было сформулировано много интересных тезисов и гипотез, имеющих большое теоретическое и практическое значение. Они нашли отражение и проанализированы в настоящей статье.

Ключевые слова: польская внешняя политика, НАТО, Европейский Союз, угрозы, миграционный кризис

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Aneta Dawidowicz\*

# TRADITION AND THE PAST IN THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF THE NATIONAL PARTY (1928–1939)<sup>1</sup>

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## INTRODUCTION

Views of the National Party (1928–1939) merit special attention, given both the Party's prominent role in the political life of interwar Poland, and the interesting combination of various elements derived from diverse ideological trends within the Party's programme. The ideological legacy of the National Party reflected, to a large extent, the key constituents of the National Democracy's political thought, such as nationalism, representation of all social classes, national integrity, and the concept of the nation-state. The National Party underwent major evolution, and was subject to internal divisions, which makes the image of its political thought much more complex.

The National Party's ideological contribution to Nationalist political thought, and – broadly speaking – to Polish and European political thought, was significant. The National Party's political thought covered a wide range of ideological, political, systemic, historiosophical, philosophical, pedagogical, social, and economic issues. Its creators developed a vision of multiple categories referring, *inter alia*, to the nation, the state, political power, the

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economy, society, national education, the attitude to Catholicism, the status of national minorities, and foreign policy, as well as external and internal security.

The National Party's political thought was determined by diverse ideological, political, social and economic factors. The most significant ones included:

- 1) the authoritarian state model implemented by the pro-Piłsudski formation;
- 2) the development of anti-democratic and anti-parliamentary tendencies in Europe;
- 3) the development of totalitarian movements within many European countries;
- 4) the growing political and military potential of Germany; and
- 5) the huge economic crisis and its numerous social implications.

The principal objective of this article is to present selected elements of the National Party's views on the state's political system in the context of political science. Other objectives include outlining the ideological, conceptual and programme-related image of the National Party, along with the factors determining its ideas, concepts, and views, regarding the state's political system.

Analysis of the previous studies on this subject-matter has revealed that the scientific reflection on Polish nationalism is still incomplete, and calls for extensive verification. The subject matter dealt with in this article has filled in a major research gap.

Induction was the underlying research method employed by the author. Among the research techniques used in the study, the analysis of various pieces of evidence and traces of political thought became the most prevalent. Other research methods which proved useful in implementing the research objectives included the systematisation of political concepts and a description based on a *status-quo* analysis.

In the political thought of the National Party (NP), memory of the past constituted the primary source of the national identity and sense of belonging to the nation. For the NP ideologists, the nation's past was a source of priceless experience and inspiration. By fathoming its historical past, the nation could ensure its multi-faceted development in the future and deep understanding of the current reality. As claimed by Roman Rybarski, the leader of the National Party:

'any nationalism which would seek to deny the nation's history would be false nationalism' (Rybarski 1936: 131).

The view was expressed that the nation's past was the foundation for the nation's life. The past was seen as shaping the nation's future. For this reason, being familiar with the history of the fatherland was considered of utmost importance. Opinions were disseminated that, in order to consolidate the nation's existence and individual character, the past of the Polish nation and state should not only be fathomed but also accepted. As Ignacy Chrzanowski said in the "Myśl Narodowa" [*National Thought*] magazine:

'[...] The character of the nation was reflected in its history. So, a person willing to preserve the national individuality should not only be familiar with, but also love the past and ... abstain from breaking with it brutally. Instead, one should build the future in the spirit of the past, i.e. in line with the national character' (Chrzanowski 1939: 5).

Jędrzej Giertych reminded that:

'Every nation should know its historical truth precisely and accurately. [...]. A nation that does not want to learn the truth about its history, and which conveniently and easily contents itself with different forms of lies, is not a strong, fair and healthy nation' (Giertych 1968: 6).

Memory of the past called for upholding and cherishing national traditions (Koniński 1937: 706–708).

## 1. A 'NATIONAL' INTERPRETATION OF HISTORICAL EVENTS

The past constituted a significant point of reference for the National Party (also known as the *Endecja*). The Party's ideologists tended to develop their own 'national' interpretation of historical events. The first voices regarding the existence of 'the national school of history' appeared in 'youth' *Endecja* circles in the second half of the 1930s. Its major direction was set by Roman Dmowski, and its followers included National Democracy (ND) historians, such as Władysław Konopczyński, Waław Sobieski, Waław Tokarz, Adam Skałkowski, Zygmunt Wojciechowski, Franciszek Gawroński-Rawita, Władysław Smoleński, Tadeusz Korzon, Ignacy Chrzanowski, Aleksander Jabłonowski, Aleksander Kraushar, Jan Karol Kochanowski, Stanisław Zakrzewski, Adam Szelągowski, Józef Siemieński, Kazimierz Marian Morawski, Jędrzej Giertych and Stanisław Kozicki. Historiography was meant to support or provide arguments arising from the history of the Polish nation and state.

Thorough historical justifications and traditions were sought, with the aim of building the national identity. Reference was made to the mission

of Rome, treated as the centre of the world, and Polishness was seen as connected with Catholicism and Roman culture. Dmowski himself was very fond of classical literature. As mentioned by Ignacy Chrzanowski:

‘having been granted a literary award by the City of Poznań in 1927, at a party held by Resursa Kupiecka (the Warsaw Merchants’ Association) in Warsaw [...], Dmowski improvised [...] a long Latin speech, imitating that of Cesar’ (The Jagiellonian Library).

Representatives of NP political thought were unfailingly convinced of the existence of two civilisations, i.e. eastern (Turanian) and western (Roman) (Dmowski 1927, Koneczny 1996, Skoczyński 2003). The Polish nation and state were placed within the ‘Roman civilisation’ circle (also referred to as Latin), and there was much appreciation for its positive impact on the development of both European nations and culture. It was stressed that Poland, by converting in 966 into Christianity brought from the West (i.e. Roman liturgy), through the Czechs, became part of the western, Latin, and Catholic culture (Frycz 1938: 185–186). A clear explanation was provided by Stanisław Kozicki, who wrote that:

‘The great attainment of Ancient Rome, seized and filled by the spirit of Catholicism, is the common core which has given rise to nations’ (Kozicki 1928: 461, Wasilewski 1929: 163, Koneczny 1937: 49–50, Jabłonowski 1939: 58).

Explorations of various sources of NP political thought led to the conclusion that Poland’s belonging to the Roman-civilisation circle was highlighted. Approval was expressed for the Latin bases of European civilisation, and strong emphasis was placed on the Christian character of Europe, and on the permanent relationship between Polishness and Latin traditions. The term ‘*Roman civilisation*’ unambiguously excluded Russia, and later the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Dmowski 1939: 132–133, Rymar 1939: 461).

Feliks Koneczny, who sided with the National Democracy, claimed that ‘Latin civilisation’ provided moral and cultural grounds of Europe. Its sources were seen as both Christian and Ancient Roman. According to Koneczny, the principle of morality pertaining not only to private life but also to politics was one of the bases of civilisation at that time. He further claimed that this civilisation was threatened by the influence of foreign civilisations on Europe’s life (Gawor 1995: 7).

Various historical epochs were assessed, and reference was made to the periods of the Piast and Jagiellonian Poland. The idea of Great Poland, as advocated by the ‘youth’ circles, would imply a mental return to the best

times in Poland's history. The most accurate presentation of this concept was developed by J. Giertych, who pointed to the most favourable events in the Polish history. He wrote:

'Our camp is fighting for Great Poland. Our efforts and attempts clearly relate to the traditions of former Poland, pre-partition and pre-Deluge, i.e. the Piast and Jagiellonian Poland, and the Poland of Mieszko and Bolesław, Łokietek and Casimir, Jagiełło and Jagiellończyk, Waza and Sobieski' (Giertych 1937: 3).

The issue of the Age of Enlightenment was raised by the National Party in different contexts. Ideas specific to Renaissance and Enlightenment were negated, and the eighteenth century, viewed as the Age of Enlightenment, was strongly criticised, with its philosophical bases comprising secularisation and materialism. The ideas put forward in the eighteenth century did not meet with the NP ideologists' enthusiasm.

While deliberating on the fatherland's history, recollections were also made of Poland's gentry. This period in Polish history was assessed with much criticism, and various policies of the gentry were clearly negated, including in particular the ideas of 'golden freedom', 'liberum veto', tolerance, and the rather 'exuberant' individualism. However, despite the prevalently critical opinions expressed in the press, certain positive views regarding that period could also be found. While focusing on the history of Poland, Karol Stefan Frycz, one of the *Endecja* journalists, appreciated the culture-shaping role of the gentry. He assured his readers that

'Polish gentlemen pursued their historic mission well' (Frycz 1934: 813–814).

Experience collected in the past was expected to add a new, creative, and constructive content to the present life of the nation. As clarified in the "*Głos Lubelski*" [*The Voice of Lublin*] magazine:

'Without tradition, one can hardly speak of any cultural nation. Tradition makes it possible to establish bonds with the past and to look forward along a clearly-visible line of attempts, desires and ideas' (Anon. 1930).

By analysing the fatherland's history, guidelines were derived on how a powerful state could be built, and victorious wars fought. Examples of the heroic fights of Polish soldiers and tremendous victories were displayed. While analysing the major historical events, reference was made to the reign of Jan III Sobieski. As written by Giertych:



‘[Sobieski] was the last true Polish King – one who served Poland and no one else’ (Giertych 1936: 47, 48, 51).

Sobieski’s political achievements provided grounds for a dispute with the generation of ‘the founders of Polish nationalism’. Differences concerned the perception of King Jan III Sobieski’s military assistance and rescue of Vienna, which had been besieged by Turks. Zygmunt Balicki, the founder of the ideological and organisational bases of the *Endecja*, viewed the rescue of Vienna as a symptom of both Polish political weakness and altruism. A different view was expressed by Giertych, who greatly appreciated Sobieski’s political activities and formulated a positive opinion on the Battle of Vienna. He, thus, questioned the assessments found in the *Endecja* historiography, referring to the aimlessness of this undertaking and the reflection on the ‘political stupidity’ of its founders. Giertych claimed that

‘one must be completely unfamiliar with the history of Poland to say that the rescue of Vienna did not lie within Poland’s best interests’ (Giertych 1936: 47, 48, 51).

At this point, it should be noted that the inter-generation differences existing in the national camp stemmed not so much from the attitude to Poland’s past but rather from the attitude to both religion and the Roman Catholic Church.

## 2. CRITICISM OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Reflections flowing from European thought constituted major points of reference for the National Party ideologists. Representatives of the NP political thought were convinced that a new epoch had begun in the cultural life of Europe at the outset of the nineteenth century. However, its ideological foundations were strongly criticised by the Party members. When discussing the issue of historical continuity, objections were made as regards the ideological heritage of the nineteenth century, with its prevailing ideas being treated as outdated. The values upheld in the nineteenth century, also referred to as the Age of Liberalism, together with the implementation of the principles stipulated in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, cast doubts among the national thinkers. In the NP’s political thought, criticism was expressed in respect of the attainments of the ‘unwise’ nineteenth century, which brought the flourishing of political liberalism, democratic thought, and humanitarism, as well as pacifistic and individualistic concepts (Zweig 1938: 7–8, Bielecki 1934: 3, 11). As these ideas were criticised

by the founders of the NP political thought, attempts at beating down the nineteenth century ideas became a significant postulate within National Party circles. It was claimed that

‘the age at the outset of which we are now living must (...) begin with fighting down the democratic mysticism arising from the materialistic perception of the world and the glorification of individuals’ (Viator 1929: 275).

The analysis of political journalistic writings leads to the conclusion that the founders of the National Party were very much absorbed by the ‘idea-shaping’ role of the nineteenth century. It was believed that certain destructive phenomena, such as the disastrous concepts of armed irredentism in the Polish land, were prompted by nineteenth century ideas, whereas the insurrectional concepts were seen as containing liberal elements. The nineteenth century was also blamed for the weak points of democracy, which, according to NP journalists, became fully apparent at the outset of the twentieth century (Frycz 1937: 429–430). The criticism of the nineteenth century coincided with a search for new values, ideas and social attitudes, with the ‘new Middle Ages’ epoch being potentially seen as a reflection of such attempts. As Stanisław Kozicki was right to note:

‘while searching for the right name for the beginning epoch, the term “new Middle Ages” was coined’ (Kozicki 1935: 749–750).

The inspiration derived from two great nineteenth century ideological trends, i.e. Romanticism and Positivism, was also important, though it was not limited to a mechanical repetition of their prevailing mantras. As noted by Stanisław Kozicki, Polish Nationalism constituted a synthesis of Romanticism and Positivism. It assumed the highest objectives – the same as those pursued by Romanticism, i.e. rebuilding the Polish State. Nonetheless, other methods, the principal ideas of which were centred on sober political realism, were employed for this purpose. According to the historian representing the national camp, the national-democratic movement took ‘many elements from Romanticism, evolved in the romantic spirit but, then, followed its own path’ (Kozicki 1964: 473). Kozicki’s findings were confirmed by Roman Wapiński, a prominent scholar and researcher of the National Democracy’s history and political thought. He wrote:

‘Rather than abandoning the romantic tradition, representatives of the *Endecja* sought to give it a suitable character and to simply shape the nationalistic tradition of Romanticism’ (Wapiński 1980: 18).

Romantic culture was a significant factor contributing to the development of European Nationalism (Bartyzel 2010: 29–30). The influence of Romanticism on the views expressed by ideologists of Polish Nationalism seems unquestionable. Romanticism, with its typical symbolism, historicism and exposition of folk culture, was a factor enriching Polish nationalist concepts. The shaping of the National Democracy's political thought was based on the criticism of 'political Romanticism' dating back to the times of the insurrections. Although negative opinions on Romanticism were clearly expressed in articles written by the leading National Democracy ideologists, this source was by no means neglected (Bartyzel 2010: 29–30).

In the National Democracy political thought, the attitude towards nineteenth century concepts and national-liberation movements became a measure of political maturity, reflecting the understanding, or the lack of understanding, of the nature of the historical process (Kamiński 1980: 69). The founders of ND political thought viewed as detrimental the Messianic ideologies of Romanticism which idealised the Polish weaknesses and defeats, and highlighting the idea of 'Poland's being crucified' for the sake and salvation of other nations. The utopian concept of political universalism and romantic belief in the unity and brotherhood of free and subjugated nations was abandoned. While in the romantic historical and philosophical concepts the history of various nations constituted a common whole, and elements or fragments of the general mankind development scheme, in the historical and philosophical model developed by the *Endecja* this option was no longer considered valid.

In the NP's political thought, the relevance of military uprisings was questioned as part of negating the Romantic ideology. The "*Gazeta Warszawska*" [*Warsaw Paper*] magazine recalled that

'our nineteenth century insurrectional attempts were made at the least-opportune moment, almost always with no financial or moral preparation. Did their failure really come as a surprise? Despite the desired liberation from captivity, they caused the destruction of our country and clapped the nation in even heavier irons, depriving it of any independent existence' (R.N. 1935: 4).

The idea of overcoming the romantic model of patriotism was supported, along with rejecting the cult of suffering and sacrifice (Wasiutyński 1931: 111). Following the May *coup d'état*, the criticism of Romanticism became a form of fighting against the Piłsudski's adherents' circle. The attitude towards Romantic tradition became a real bone of contention for the National Democracy and Piłsudski's adherents (Kamiński 1980: 66, 67).

The criticism of Romanticism hardly implied a complete negation of this ideology. The National Democracy's political thought gave rise to several ideas which could be considered typically romantic. As can be inferred from the literature on the subject-matter, the impact of Romanticism became visible in the concept of the nation formulated by the ND followers. By referring to Romanticism, representatives of the *Endecja* searched for 'the nation's soul' or 'the nation's spirit'. A major reflection of the inspiration drawn from the Romantic ideology was the fact that National Democrats emphasised the role and significance of various population strata. This problem was frequently touched upon in historiography (Wapiński 1989: 345). Similarly to the followers of Romanticism, National Democrats stressed the significance of the nation's distinctive features, which was a typically romantic idea. As noted by a contemporary researcher, Romanticism has 'always been more interested in distinctive features than in universal phenomena' (Wapiński 1989: 345), accentuating the peculiar character and diversity of national cultures. In the National Democracy's political thought, the element of presenting the Polish nation within a wide West European cultural context was also romantic. National ideologists agreed that the Polish nation belonged to western civilisation. It is also worth noting that the National Democracy appreciated the role of Slavonic solidarity in the struggle against 'the German world'.

The National Democracy made frequent references to the ideological achievements of Polish Positivism. As noted by Kozicki:

'this was not the Positivism *sensu stricto*, as defined by Comte in France, but a certain Polish trend related to the state of intellectual culture in the country, and the historical development of Polish thought. In the religious domain, this corresponded to free-thinking, in the philosophical domain to empiricism, and in the social domain to democracy'.

In positivist thought, the nation was treated as a living body, with its own internal structure. At the same time, national ideologists objected to the positivist concepts of fully detaching from politics. At the turn of the twentieth century, the official rejection of any independence-related aspirations was viewed as the major weakness of the 'apolitical' Positivism. The definite rejection of the concept of the equality of Jews was another reflection of the opposition to positivist ideology.

In particular, Positivist ideas shaped the views of 'the early *Endecja*', i.e. the generation of 'the founders of Polish Nationalism', including Jan Ludwik Popławski, Zygmunt Balicki, and Roman Dmowski. On the other hand, the NP ideologists began to express critical opinions on nineteenth century Positivism, (Frycz 1936: 445, 446) the criticism based on the ideological convergence of

the philosophies of the Enlightenment and Positivism. A journalist of “*Mysł Narodowa*”, in an article entitled ‘*The insufficiency of Positivism*’, claimed that

[...] Positivism is not sufficient for a complete man who cannot be satisfied with education itself, coupled with objective knowledge. In order to act effectively and move forward, and in order not to yield to misfortune, and to really be someone – a man needs to believe in something’ (Inquirer 1933: 169).

Jędrzej Giertych, the leader of the ‘youth’ generation, clearly identified Positivism with the rationalistic and irreligious ‘spirit of the Enlightenment’. He stated:

‘the eighteenth century and nineteenth century brought the emergence [...] of a strong intellectual non-Catholic trend in our upper strata, reflected in particular in the rationalism typical of the Stanisław II Augustus times, the Jacobin policies typical of the Kościuszko times and the nineteenth century, the revolutionary movement, and – last but not least – the post-insurrectional Positivism’ (Giertych 1948: 51).

Due to the anti-metaphysical nature of Positivism and the postulate of empirical knowledge, the NP ideologists sceptically assessed this ideological trend, mainly referring to the irreligious and non-Catholic character of Positivism. Representatives of the ‘youth’ circles objected to Positivism on the grounds that it treated experience as the only measure of social phenomena, thus rejecting any religion-driven values. According to the Party’s ideologists, Positivism was, therefore, too superficial, and did not fully account for either the essence of social phenomena or man’s place within them (Frycz 1934: 595).

Satisfactory arguments and justifications were sought in historiography. In line with a rather peculiar interpretation of historical events, a specific role in the world’s history was ‘assigned’ to Masonry and Jews. The *Endecja* ideologists were invariably convinced that Masonry and Jews, who were well organised on a global scale, acted as ‘drivers’ of historical processes. The conspiracy theory of history can be considered one of the most-characteristic and gradually-developed elements of the National Democracy’s political thought. This finds reflection in works by the following ND theorists: Roman Dmowski, Zygmunt Wasilewski, Tadeusz Glużyński, Bohdan Wasiutyński, Adam Doboszyński, Jędrzej Giertych and Adolf Nowaczyński, to name but a few.

Following an analysis of accounts of the NP’s political thought, an inference was made that Masonry had been mainly treated as a vehicle for exerting foreign influence, which was hostile to Poland, and as a factor destructive to the Polish nation, identity, development and future (Viator 1931: 51–52). Masonry was reproached for its moral collapse and, thus, its improper attitude

to the Catholic Church. The significance of the Jewish nation in the Masonic movement was highlighted, and any tragic events in the history of the Polish nation and state were viewed as resulting from vicious Masonic activities. The NP journalists were convinced of the disastrous role of Masonry which had been clearly evidenced in Poland mainly in the previous two centuries. Such views were expressed by the NP journalists and ideologists in numerous journalistic writings and ideological brochures. While assessing the history of the First Republic of Poland, the Masonic impact on various domains of public and political life was identified. In this context, the elective monarchs of the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, i.e. Augustus II, Augustus III and Stanisław Poniatowski, were considered representatives of Masonry and their activities were assessed with much criticism. Also Catholic Church officials and numerous people serving public functions did not avoid accusations of belonging to the Masonic movement. Such views can easily be found in publications by the young generation, including in particular Adam Doboszyński and Jędrzej Giertych, as well as many other authors. Giertych claimed that

‘Augustus II took no care of Poland. He cared for his own dynasty and Saxony, which he wished to transform into his great country by expanding its territory through seizing a large part of Polish land’ (Doboszyński 1939: 2, 3).

### 3. ASSESSMENTS OF THE HISTORY OF THE POLISH NATION AND STATE

With much appreciation being expressed for the past, great inspiration was derived from the history of the Polish nation and state. The founders of the NP political thought were convinced that by understanding its own historical past the nation could ensure its multi-faceted development. This was expressly stated by Giertych. He wrote:

‘Every nation should know its historical truth precisely and accurately. This truth needs to be learned for principal reasons. Namely, the victory of the truth over the lie forms part of the victory of good over evil [...]. A nation which does not want to learn the truth about its history, and which conveniently and easily contents itself with various forms of lies, is not a strong, fair and healthy nation’ (Giertych 1968: 6).

When reflecting on specific events in Polish history, the Party’s ideologists were reluctant to make references, for instance, to the establishment of the

Commission of National Education, the debates of the Four-Year Sejm, the adoption of the 3rd of May Constitution, or the national uprisings organised in the nineteenth century. This reluctance stemmed from the conviction that these events had been ‘soaked with the spirit’ of rationalism and the Enlightenment, reflecting the Masonic influence that was both unfamiliar and hostile to the Polish people (Doboszyński 1939: 2).

A discussion on the causes behind the fall of the First Republic of Poland was held. As Jerzy Jedlicki was right to note:

‘the most serious Polish disputes concerned the image of the national past, and in particular the causes behind the unparalleled collapse of the Polish state’ (Jedlicki 1991: 37).

It is worth noting that the causes of the partitions formed an important debate topic for the National Party. While deliberating on the sources of the national defeat, the origins of all three partitions were sought in external, foreign and hostile factors, which were detrimental to the Polish nation. In particular, the under-cover, secret and hostile activities of the ubiquitous Masonry were viewed as the reasons for this national tragedy, whereas other causes were apparently overlooked (Morawski 1935). Notably, the views formulated by the Kraków historical school were rejected (Wasilewski 1931: 49–51). The reasons for the failure of any armed attempts at regaining independence were also attributed to the Masonic presence. According to the *Endecja* journalists, Masonry was responsible for encouraging military actions, and, then for taking measures aimed at putting down any national insurrections. These observations mainly related to the two largest Polish uprisings which had taken place in the nineteenth century, i.e. the November Uprising and the January Uprising. At the same time, the heroic attitude of those who had fought for the State’s sovereignty was appreciated. Jan Rembéliński wrote:

‘There is one value flowing from the insurrectional tradition which will never be spoiled, i.e. the heroism manifested in fights for the Fatherland’ (Rembéliński 1929: 273).

Nonetheless, the founders of the NP political thought did not share a common view regarding the causes behind the collapse of the Polish state. A distinct opinion on this issue was expressed by Roman Rybarski, a professor of economics and a member of the chief authorities of the National Party. According to one of his collaborators, Rybarski was ‘a true liberal when it came to economic affairs’ [...] and ‘a hundred-percent Democrat who believed

in an effective parliamentary struggle' (Kozicki 2001: 563). Rybarski claimed that economic underdevelopment was a significant factor contributing to the collapse of the Polish state. In his opinion, the economic factor became particularly apparent when Poland's position was compared with that of its closest neighbours (Rybarski 1936: 669–672).

By analysing the available literature on the subject, the conclusion can be drawn that the conspiracy theory of Polish history constituted a significant element in the National Democracy's political thought. The Masonic existence was, therefore, perceived in terms of the previous and current political reality. Opinions were expressed that Masonry had political life in reborn Poland under control. Conspiracy thinking was a factor which clearly distinguished Dmowski's works. In his ideological and political writings, he warned against carrying out the will – which was frequently done unintentionally – of entities hostile to the Polish nation, which were conspirational and difficult to uncover. Dmowski claimed that it was Masonry which had inspired, and then taken an active part in, the *May coup d'état* in 1926 (Dmowski 1934: 482). A similar view was expressed by the leading *Endecja* journalist and historian, Stanisław Kozicki, who claimed in 1938 that the principal roles in the public life of the Second Republic of Poland had been played by Józef Piłsudski, Masonry, and Jews (Kozicki 1938: 284–295). As mentioned, representatives of nationalistic thought negated the concepts of freedom and equality. The opinion that freedom constituted a 'fetish of the past generations' was already expressed by Zygmunt Balicki. In the NP's political thought, the Masonic programme was viewed as tantamount to the expressly criticised postulates of freedom, democracy and progress.

## CONCLUSION

Representatives of the NP political thought became convinced that the Polish nation was characterised by significant cultural and civilisation achievements, and rich traditions. The widely-understood Polish culture, including its literature (fiction), constituted an abundant source of inspiration. The views of the National Party were deeply rooted in the reality of the 1930s. The Party's political thought was developed on the basis of experiences arising from the past of the Polish nation and state, contemporary political conditions, and the traditions of the national camp. While formulating conclusions, the interests of the Polish nation were used as the driving force. The National Party issued generally positive opinions on the national past,



invariably stressing the need to establish bonds with the fatherland's history and the traditions of the Polish nation. Polish culture was a domain within which permanent and imperishable values were observed. The heritage of the past was meant to serve as an impulse to construct the nation-state.

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## TRADITION AND THE PAST IN THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF THE NATIONAL PARTY (1928–1939)

### Abstract

The National Party issued generally positive opinions on the national past, invariably stressing the need to establish bonds with the fatherland’s history and the traditions of the Polish nation. Polish culture was a domain within which permanent and imperishable values were observed. The heritage of the past was meant to serve as an impulse to construct the nation-state. The principal objective of this article is to present selected elements of the National Party’s views on the state’s political system in the context of political science. Other objectives include outlining the ideological, conceptual and programme-related image of the National Party, along with the factors determining its ideas, concepts, and views, regarding the state’s political system. Analysis of the previous studies on this subject-matter has revealed that the scientific reflection on Polish nationalism is still incomplete, and calls for extensive verification. The subject matter dealt with in this article has filled in a major research gap. Induction was the underlying research method employed by the author. Among the research techniques used in the study, the analysis of various pieces of evidence and traces of political thought became the most prevalent. Other research methods which proved useful in implementing the research objectives included the systematisation of political concepts and a description based on a *status-quo* analysis.

Key words: political thought, National Party, nationalism

## TRADYCJA I PRZESZŁOŚĆ W MYŚLI POLITYCZNEJ STRONNICTWA NARODOWEGO (1928–1939)

### Streszczenie

Partia Narodowa generalnie pozytywnie oceniała przeszłość narodową, podkreślając niezmiennie potrzebę nawiązania więzi z historią ojczyzny i tradycjami narodu polskiego. Kultura polska była tą domeną, w której znajdowano trwałe i niezniszczalne wartości. Dziedzictwo przeszłości miało służyć jako impuls do budowy państwa narodowego. Głównym celem tego artykułu jest przedstawienie wybranych elementów poglądów Partii Narodowej na system polityczny państwa w kontekście nauk politycznych. Inne cele obejmują nakreślenie ideologicznego, conceptualnego i programowego wizerunku Partii Narodowej, wraz z czynnikami determinującymi jej idee, koncepcje i poglądy dotyczące systemu politycznego państwa. Analiza poprzednich badań na ten temat ujawniła, że refleksja naukowa na temat polskiego nacjonalizmu jest wciąż niepełna i wymaga weryfikacji. Temat poruszony w tym artykule wypełnił poważną lukę badawczą. Indukcja była podstawową metodą badawczą zastosowaną przez autorkę. Wśród technik badawczych wykorzystanych w badaniu najczęściej wykorzystywana była analiza różnych dowodów i śladów myśli politycznej. Inne metody badawcze, które okazały się przydatne w realizacji celów badawczych, obejmowały systematyzację pojęć politycznych oraz opis wynikający z analizy rzeczywistości.

Słowa kluczowe: myśl polityczna, Stronnictwo Narodowe, nacjonalizm

## ТРАДИЦИИ И ПРОШЛОЕ В ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ МЫСЛИ НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ ПАРТИИ (1928–1939)

### Резюме

Национальная партия в целом положительно оценивала национальное прошлое, постоянно подчеркивая необходимость установления связей с историей страны и традициями польского народа. Польская культура была той областью, в которой содержались постоянные и нерушимые ценности. Наследие прошлого должно было послужить импульсом для создания национального государства. Ключевой целью данной статьи является

представление отдельных составляющих взглядов Национальной партии на политическую систему государства в контексте политических исследований. Другие цели содержат определение идеологического, концептуального и программного образа Национальной партии, а также факторов, детерминирующих ее идеи, концепции и взгляды относительно политической системы государства. Анализ предыдущих исследований на эту тему показывает, что научные рассуждения о польском национализме еще не завершены и требуют верификации. Тема, затронутая в настоящей статье, позволяет заполнить серьёзный исследовательский пробел. Основным исследовательским методом, использованным автором статьи, был метод индукции. Среди стратегий исследования, использованных в статье, наиболее частотным был анализ различных доказательств и примеров политической мысли. Остальные методы исследования, которые оказались необходимыми для достижения его целей, включали в себя систематизацию политических концепций и описание, основанное на анализе реальности.

Ключевые слова: политическая мысль, Национальная партия, национализм

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## R E V I E W S

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**Mateusz Czasak\***

JÓZEF M. FISZER (RED.)

*GRA O ŚWIAT. W STRONĘ NOWEJ JAŁTY?*

*[THE GAME TO WIN THE WORLD. TOWARDS THE NEW YALTA?]*

INSTYTUT STUDIÓW POLITYCZNYCH PAN, WARSZAWA 2018, SS. 266

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The picturesque Crimean Peninsula has been an arena of historical struggles for centuries. In the years 1853–1856, the empires of that time fought a war on its territory, which exposed the weakness of the Romanov Empire and contributed to attempts to reform Russia. In the twentieth century, a particularly important event that took place there was the conference of the great powers that won the Second World War. The USSR authorities organised one of the most important meetings of Allied leaders in the town of Yalta, in the scenery of the summer manor houses of the rulers of pre-revolutionary Russia. Despite the ongoing war, the three powers decided not to wait for the end of the conflict and to speed up the process of agreeing on the future world order.

During the Yalta conference, the leaders made decisions also about Poland. Issues concerning our country were not the most important problem raised in the debates, but they took most of the time and caused many difficulties to the participants.

At the Yalta conference, the issue of Polish borders was settled. The three leaders agreed upon the Curzon line as the eastern border, and on the course of the rivers Oder and Lusatian Neisse as the western. It was also settled that the future Polish government will consist of representatives of the Provisional Government and the democratic ‘leaders of the London camp’ introduced to it. As a result of the arbitrary solutions in this matter, truncation of eastern

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provinces from the territory of Poland, the formula of future elections which opened the way to manipulation, all these decisions contributed to the fact that the word ‘Yalta’ has become a symbol of betrayal of Polish interests by its allies after the Second World War. One of the co-authors of the book, Stefan Troebst, describes it in an interesting way. Already in the protest issued in February 1945, after the conference, the government of the Republic of Poland stated that ‘the decisions of the Three Powers Conference concerning Poland cannot be recognised and cannot bind the Polish Nation’ and

‘the Polish Nation treats the detachment of half of its eastern territory from Poland by imposing the so-called Curzon Line as the Polish-Soviet border as a new partition of Poland, this time made by Poland’s allies’.

Today, Crimea has also become an important place for the emerging new world order. The annexation of this peninsula by Russia in 2014 was a violation of international law. It has become one of the symbols of the increasingly overt, imperialist policy of the country ruled by Vladimir Putin.

Both historical events that took place in Yalta and the importance of the peninsula in shaping the new world order were discussed during a scientific conference entitled *The Game to Win the World. Towards the New Yalta?* crowning the celebration of the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences. It took place on 7–8 December 2015 at the Pałac Staszica in Warsaw.

The proceedings were divided into three panels:

- 1) Conference in Yalta in February 1945: contemporary interpretations – disputes – misunderstandings.
- 2) Geopolitical consequences of Yalta from the German, Russian and Polish perspectives.
- 3) New global order? Premises, historical facts, forecasts.

Its outcome is a collective work under the same title, with the preface and edited by Professor Józef M. Fiszer. It consists of an introduction, eight chapters, summaries, an index and notes about the authors. The individual chapters are grouped into three parts corresponding to the titles of the panels. Just like the conference, the book is trilingual, it contains texts in Polish, German and Russian.

The first part of the work consists of three chapters. In the first of them Inessa Siergiejewna Jaźborowskaja discusses the question of ‘socialist bloc’ and ‘socialist brotherhood’ in the bipolar world. Another one, written by Stefan Troebst, is entitled “Jałta jako europejskie miejsce pamięci?” [‘Yalta

as a European place of remembrance?']. The frequency of the appearance of the term 'Yalta' in works concerning the latest European history in various countries is analysed here. In addition, the author describes the connotations associated with this word in each country. The starting point for him is Poland, where the term 'Yalta' is identified with the decisions on the future of Poland taken by the Allies at a series of conferences at the end of the Second World War. It is also one of the synonyms of betrayal of its interests and concessions to the USSR resulting in its hegemony and Sovietisation. In other countries of Central and Eastern Europe, 'Yalta' is no longer, according to the author, such an important place of remembrance. This results from the different wartime and post-war history of these states. For example, in Czechoslovakia, a pre-war political system was reconstructed after the war, while Hungary as the ally of the Third Reich had much lower expectations related to the end of the war.

Also in the West the term 'Yalta' is not as widely known and emotionally connected as in Poland. For German citizens, more important 'places of remembrance', which are more often mentioned at history lessons are Verdun, Wannsee, and Potsdam. Similarly, Yalta occupies a marginal position in French or British historiography. The present policy of Vladimir Putin, who is trying to increase its importance, does not contribute to strengthening the significance of this term-symbol.

In the last chapter of the first thematic block, Wojciech Roszkowski writes about "Polskie spojrzenie na geopolityczne konsekwencje konferencji Jałtańskiej" ['A Polish look at the geopolitical consequences of the Yalta Conference']. At the beginning of the text he states that

'Although the narrative about Yalta is still today based mainly on the great powers victorious in the Second World War, it is worth listening to the Polish story about this conference and drawing logical conclusions from it'.

The author writes that the division of Europe into spheres of influence according to Stalin's principle stipulating that 'the extent of military control corresponds to the stretch of the communist system' resulted from the application of pure Realpolitik.

Wojciech Roszkowski describes how the Western allies basically agreed to subordinate the entire region of Central and Eastern Europe to the USSR, and at the same time demonstrates that during the Tehran conference in 1943 the Atlantic Charter, signed in 1942, was broken when the politicians of the 'Big Three' agreed to move Poland's borders without informing the

Government-in-exile about it. The Polish issue was one of the most important points of the meeting in Yalta, but it was settled in a way that resulted in the hegemony of the USSR over the country and the region. At the same time, the author contrasts the course of the conference so unfavourable for our country with the situation of France writing that

‘Yalta was the triumph of France, which entered the victorious coalition, having expended the least war effort’.

In conclusion, he states that only partially free elections of 4 June 1989 were in a way the end of the Second World War.

The second part of the book also consists of three chapters. The first of them by Leonid Gibianski is entitled “Jałta i dążenia ZSRS w tworzeniu powojennego porządku świata: między rzeczywistością historyczną a interpretacjami w sowieckiej i rosyjskiej historiografii” [‘Yalta and the USSR’s strivings towards the creation of the post-war world order: between historical reality and interpretations in Soviet and Russian historiography’]. In the second chapter, Christoph Kleßmann takes up the subject of changes of historiographic assessments of Yalta in divided Germany. In the first part of the text he analyses the position of historians from the German Democratic Republic (GDR). From the beginning, they put emphasis on the description of opportunities and new perspectives that opened to the Germans after the capitulation. They saw prospects of a promising future in the new territorial arrangement and political system.

While the GDR historians’ opinion on Yalta was relatively homogeneous, three main positions, differing from one another, crystallised in the Federal Republic of Germany. The author uses here the names ‘Traditionalists’, ‘Revisionists’ and ‘Post-Revisionists’. According to the first group, the USSR and Joseph Stalin, who strived for expansion, were responsible for finishing Allied war cooperation and the beginning of the Cold War.

Revisionists, in turn, were close in their assessments to their colleagues from the Eastern bloc and attributed main responsibility for the development of the Cold War to the United States. The last group combined the elements of both these trends.

Describing how the assessments of the Yalta conference changed after the end of the Cold War, Kleßmann emphasises that

‘The end of communism and the availability of new sources do not in any case provide a completely clear and unequivocal answer to the question about the beginning and alternatives to the Cold War and thus also to Yalta’.

In conclusion, he asserts the lack of unambiguous answers to a number of questions, such as whether the cold war was inevitable, as long as Stalin lived and ruled. Or how to explain the predominance of relatively positive opinions on the results of the Yalta conference in the USA and Great Britain. I find this text showing changes in the interpretation of events in Yalta depending on the country and the epoch immensely interesting especially since the author also indicates that there are still no answers to a number of questions.

The next chapter by Wojciech Materski is entitled “Jałta jako kluczowy etap finalizacji ładu powojennego” [‘Yalta as a key stage in finalising the post-war order’]. The establishment of a new post-war order was the subject of interest of the anti-Hitler coalition from the beginning of its existence. The principles adopted in the Atlantic Charter created not only the basis for cooperation during the Second World War, but also the framework for later organisational and legal solutions. During the Yalta conference, the Allies paid a lot of attention to the Polish issue, its future government and the course of the Polish-German border. The author writes about the way of settling the ‘Polish issue’ and other problems related to Central and Eastern European countries:

‘In a similar way that the Polish issue was resolved in Yalta, other decisions regarding Central and Eastern Europe were made. If they did not exaggerate the solutions advocated by Moscow, they did not close the road to their implementation in the future, albeit in a camouflaged manner with phraseology in the spirit of the Atlantic Charter’.

In this context Wojciech Materski advocates an important thesis that during the conference, under the pretence of adopting solutions in line with the Atlantic Charter, Soviet domination in the region was sanctioned, as well as the possibility of vetoing unfavourable decisions of the Security Council by the USSR. In conclusion, he states that the conference in Yalta was crucial for the post-war order in Europe. It crumpled only with the collapse of the USSR, which confirmed the artificiality of solutions decided upon at the Crimean conference.

In the final text “Jałta: kto wygrał II wojnę światową, a kto przegrał pokój?” [‘Who Won the Second World War and Who Lost Peace?’] Józef M. Fiszer describes the post-war world situation, and the creation of the new Yalta-Potsdam order in a very interesting way. Answering the question asked in the title, he defines the US as the main winner, who won not only the war but also peace. West Germany is a country which, although it lost the war, it ‘won peace’, largely thanks to the help of the West and the USA. The losers turned out to be Central and Eastern European countries, including

Poland, which lost their sovereignty, freedom and were also forced to resign from participation in the Marshall Plan. At the end of the text, the author emphasises the necessity of the presence of an efficient Euro-Atlantic system, the UN, democratisation of Russia. All these entities should work together to build a new, democratic multipolar order. According to the author, this is the only way to prevent the Third World War.

The presented book consists of a number of interesting, erudite texts. They show not only the events that took place in Yalta but also their various assessments. The Yalta Conference and its impact are discussed against a backdrop of world events both during and after the Second World War. The value added of the book is the fact that it was published in three languages, it gives a reader an opportunity to read articles written by scientists who are leading specialists with notable scientific achievements, in their original versions.

After annexation in 2014, the Crimean Peninsula has once again become one of symbolic places, confirming Russia's desire to recreate the empire. In this context, Józef Fiszer's line of argument about the necessary cooperation of the greatest actors of the international political scene and the democratisation of Russia in order to prevent another world war is extremely important. Let us hope that the new world order will be born peacefully without the need for a 'new Yalta'.

The book *Gra o świat. W stronę nowej Jałty?* [*The Game to Win the World. Towards the New Yalta?*] can be recommended to both scholars and students as well as readers interested in topics related to history, politics and international relations.

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**Beata Jagiełło\***

M. MICHALSKI, A. BOLEWSKI (RED.)

W TROSCE O BEZPIECZNE JUTRO. REMINISCENCJE I ZAMIERZENIA  
[FOR THE SAKE OF SECURE TOMORROW. REMINISCENCES AND INTENTIONS]

WYŻSZA SZKOŁA BEZPIECZEŃSTWA, POZNAŃ 2017, SS. 442

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The discussed book was published by Wyższa Szkoła Bezpieczeństwa (WSB) [Security University], thus a short presentation of this university seems justified.

Wyższa Szkoła Bezpieczeństwa is a private university operating on the basis of the decision of the Minister of National Education and Sport of December 2004, so it has a fairly long history. The name of the university indicates that the education and research carried out there are focused on broadly understood security. With the passage of time the university has opened its branches in several towns in Poland, including in Gdańsk, Gliwice, and even in Bartoszyce on the Polish side of the border. Currently it has six branches. The scientific and didactic profile of the WSB has been prepared by employees of the University of A. Mickiewicz in Poznań, as well as teaching and scientific staff of schools for officers (the Stefan Czarnecki Academy of Officers in Poznań and the Tadeusz Kościuszko College of Land Forces Officers in Wrocław).

Originally, the university was to educate primarily personnel for uniformed services, but over time its didactic offer has been significantly expanded to include professions related to broadly understood security. The main major is national security, but the university also offers majors in pedagogy, psychology, international relations.

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The university has its publishing house, which publishes more and more items each year. Some of them are periodicals, e.g. the quarterly “Przegląd Naukowo-Metodyczny. Edukacja dla Bezpieczeństwa” [‘Scientific and Methodological Review. Education for Security’] or series of thematic monographs, and the authors are affiliated with various Polish and foreign universities and scientific entities.

An important aspect of the university’s activity is the organisation of national and international conferences, which take place in various cities and branches of the university. Speeches on relevant topics are then published in post-conference publications. One of them is the presented book: *W trosce o bezpieczne jutro. Reminiscencje i zamierzenia* [For the Sake of Secure Tomorrow. Reminiscences and Intentions] – the effect of one of the series of conferences under the common title *Kultura pokoju* [Culture of Peace].

After reviewing the table of contents one can get an impression that the item contains articles from many, sometimes distant fields, because next to the legal aspects of security one can find a part devoted to military, energy or environmental security. However, after a closer, even cursory inspection of the contents of the papers, the reader realises what a broad and complex concept security is and what essential aspects of security we are confronted with as a state, nation and citizens. The subject matter encompasses the whole spectrum of problems, from general to specific ones and more specialised issues.

The presented book consists of five chapters, each dedicated to a different aspect of security. The first chapter is devoted to international security in the light of current challenges and threats. The second chapter discusses legal aspects of security, including civil defence and security of personal data and information. The third chapter includes studies devoted to energy security, the crisis management system in Poland, cybersecurity. The fourth chapter is entitled “Sozologiczne, ekologiczne, energetyczne i ekonomiczne aspekty bezpieczeństwa” [‘Environmental, ecological, energy and economic aspects of security. The last, fifth chapter is dedicated to military security’].

Let us devote some attention to the first chapter. Here we find six articles presenting various aspects of security, discussed from the perspective of the science of international relations, international law, and political science. Each of the articles refers to other issues, but nevertheless they constitute a coherent whole that allows one to examine detailed, but important aspects of contemporary international relations. If we trace the issues related to



the policy of Swiss neutrality, the situation in Ukraine and the influence of the Russian Federation on the fragmentation of areas close to the abroad, migration to Europe and its repercussions for security of the continent, intricacies related to diplomatic settlement of disputes, the strategic dimension of the Arctic and the European Union's policy towards Central Asia, we begin to perceive Europe in a new light. Then the reader becomes aware of the multitude of problems politicians and societies are fraught with, requiring if not a solution than at least a due consideration. For a researcher, such a review may not only be a reason for reflection, but above all an inspiration for further own research.

An essential aspect, as it seems, of the undertaken topics is their importance for current and prospective processes affecting international relations. Undoubtedly, one of such issues is the Arctic region and various international actors' interest in it and as such it is worthy of attention. The article devoted to this part of the world presents the strategic dimension of the Arctic, its resources and a whole set of factors affecting the exploitation of energy resources, ranging from the scope and pace of climate change, through economic conditions and global markets, technology development in the mining industry, to the political significance of development at local, regional and global levels (p. 21). The genesis and activities of the Arctic Council and its importance as an original regional cooperation forum are discussed here. The author not only describes this body but also presents a critical analysis of the scope and forms of its activities, taking into account the interests of indigenous people. Opinions and observations contained in the conclusion are interesting and can be inspiring for those interested in security and international relations.

The authors of the studies are affiliated with serious scientific centres, and as a rule, can boast of serious scientific achievements, although interesting works by debutants can also be found here. Just like in many collective works, not all studies present a uniform level (especially as far as the editorial side is concerned), however, overall, various mistakes and slips may not be of much importance, although other readers may assess them differently. It seems that the most important is the idea, the scheme, a certain coherent concept that certainly lies at the heart of the book. As can be inferred from number 1 on the cover, this book is the first issue of a planned cycle, so we can wait expectantly for the next publications.

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ZASADY ETYCZNE OBOWIĄZUJĄCE W ODNIESIENIU  
DO PUBLIKACJI ZAMIESZCZANYCH W KWARTALNIKU  
„MYŚL EKONOMICZNA I POLITYCZNA”

Redakcja „Myśli Ekonomicznej i Politycznej” dba o utrzymanie wysokich standardów etycznych czasopisma i przestrzega stosowne zasady. Zasady te zostały oparte na COPE’s Best Practice Guidelines for Journal Editors. Są to:

### Zasady dotyczące redakcji

#### **Decyzje o publikacji**

Redaktor naczelny stosuje się do aktualnego stanu prawnego w zakresie zniesławienia, naruszenia praw autorskich i plagiatu oraz ponosi odpowiedzialność za decyzje, które ze złożonych w Redakcji artykułów powinny zostać opublikowane.

#### **Poufność**

Żadnemu członkowi zespołu redakcyjnego nie wolno ujawniać informacji na temat złożonej pracy komukolwiek, kto nie jest upoważniony procedurą wydawniczą do ich otrzymania.

#### **Ujawnienie i konflikt interesów**

Nieopublikowane artykuły, bądź ich fragmenty nie mogą być wykorzystane w badaniach własnych członków zespołu redakcyjnego bądź recenzentów bez wyraźnej pisemnej zgody autora.

### Zasady dotyczące autorów

#### **Autorstwo pracy**

Autorstwo powinno być ograniczone do osób, które znacząco przyczyniły się do pomysłu, projektu, wykonania lub interpretacji pracy. Jako współautorzy powinny być wymienione wszystkie osoby, które miały udział w powstaniu pracy.

#### **Ujawnienie i konflikt interesów**

Autor powinien ujawnić wszelkie źródła finansowania projektów w swojej pracy oraz wszelkie istotne konflikty interesów, które mogą wpłynąć na jej wyniki lub interpretację.

## **Oryginalność i plagiat**

Autor przekazuje do redakcji wyłącznie oryginalną pracę. Powinien upewnić się, że nazwiska autorów cytowanych w pracy i/lub fragmenty prac cytowanych dzieł zostały w niej w prawidłowy sposób zacytowane lub wymienione.

## **Ghostwriting/guestautorship**

Ghostwriting/guestautorship są przejawem nierzetelności naukowej i wszelkie wykryte przypadki będą demaskowane. Autor/ka składa oświadczenie, którego celem jest zapobieganie praktykom ghostwriting/guestautorship.

## Zasady dotyczące recenzentów

### **Poufność**

Wszystkie recenzowane prace są traktowane jak dokumenty poufne.

### **Anonimowość**

Wszystkie recenzje wykonywane są anonimowo, a Redakcja nie udostępnia danych autorów recenzentom.

### **Standardy obiektywności**

Recenzje powinny być wykonane w sposób obiektywny i rzetelnie.

### **Ujawnienie i konflikt interesów**

Informacje poufne lub pomysły nasuwające się w wyniku recenzji muszą być utrzymane w tajemnicy i nie mogą być wykorzystywane do innych celów. Recenzenci nie mogą recenzować prac, w stosunku do których występuje konflikt interesów wynikający z relacji z autorem.

‘Economic and Political Thought’ Editorial Board strives to ensure high ethical standards. Articles submitted for publication in *Ius Novum* are assessed for their integrity, compliance with ethical standards and contribution to the development of scholarship.

The principles listed below are based on the COPE’s Best Practice Guidelines for Journal Editors.

## Ethical standards for editors

### **Decision on publication**

The Editor-in-Chief must obey laws on libel, copyright and plagiarism in their jurisdictions and is responsible for the decisions which of the submitted articles should be published. The Editor may consult with the Associate Editors and/or reviewers in making publication decisions. If necessary, the Advisory Board’s opinion is also taken into consideration. The decision to publish an article may be constrained by the risk of potential libel, copyright or other intellectual property infringement, plagiarism or self-plagiarism and doubts concerning authorship or co-authorship, i.e. the so-called ghost and guest authorship.

### **Confidentiality**

No member of the Editorial Board is entitled to reveal information on a submitted work to any person other than the one authorised to be informed in the course of the editorial procedure, its author, reviewers, potential reviewers, editorial advisors or the Publisher. The Editor does not provide authors with the information about reviewers and vice versa.

### **Conflict of interests and its disclosure**

Unpublished articles or their fragments cannot be used in the Editorial Board staff’s or reviewers’ own research without an author’s explicit consent in writing. The Editor does not appoint reviewers who are authors’, subordinates or are in other direct personal relationships (if the Editor knows about them).

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Authorship should reflect individuals’ contribution to the work concept, project, implementation or interpretation. All co-authors who contributed to the publication should be listed. Persons who are not authors but made substantial contributions to the article, should be listed in the acknowledgements section. The author should make sure that all co-authors have been listed, are familiar with and have accepted the final version of the article, and have given their consent for submitting the article for publication. Authors who publish the findings of their research should present the research methodology used, an objective discussion of the results and their importance for academic purposes and practice. The work should provide reference to all the sources used. Publishing false or intentionally untrue statements is unethical.



### **Conflict of interests and its disclosure**

Authors should disclose all sources of their projects funding, contribution of research institutions, societies and other entities as well as all other conflicts of interests that might affect the findings and their interpretation.

**Originality and plagiarism** Authors must only submit original works. They should make sure that the names of authors cited in the work and/or cited fragments of their works are properly acknowledged or referenced.

### **Ghost/guest authorship**

Ghost authorship is when someone makes a substantial contribution to a work but he/she is not listed as an author or his/her role in the publication is not acknowledged. Guest authorship takes place when someone's contribution is very small or inexistent but his/her name is listed as an author.

Ghost and guest authorship are manifestations of a lack of scientific integrity and all such cases will be disclosed, involving a notification of component entities (institutions employing the authors, scientific societies, associations of editors etc.). The Editorial Board will document every instance of scientific dishonesty, especially the violation of the ethical principles binding in science.

In order to prevent ghost or guest authorship, authors are requested to provide declarations of authorship.

### **Ethical standards for reviewers**

#### **Confidentiality**

All reviewed works should be treated as confidential documents. They cannot be shown to or discussed with third parties who are not authorised members of the Editorial Board.

#### **Anonymity**

All reviews are made anonymously; neither does the Editor reveal information on authors to reviewers.

#### **Objectivity standards**

Reviews should be objective. Derogatory personal remarks are inappropriate. Reviewers should clearly express their opinions and provide adequate arguments. All doubts as well as critical and polemical comments should be included in the review.

### **Conflict of interests and its disclosure**

Confidential information and ideas arising as a result of a review must be kept secret and cannot be used for personal benefits. Reviewers should not review works of authors if there is a conflict of interests resulting from their close relationship.

INFORMACJA DLA AUTORÓW KWARTALNIKA  
„MYŚL EKONOMICZNA I POLITYCZNA”

1. Czasopismo przyjmuje oryginalne, niepublikowane prace naukowe dotyczące szeroko rozumianej problematyki ekonomicznej i politycznej. Nadsyłane materiały powinny zawierać istotne przyczynki teoretyczne lub ciekawe zastosowanie empiryczne. Publikowane są także recenzje oraz sprawozdania z życia naukowego szkół wyższych. Artykuły są przedmiotem recenzji, a warunkiem opublikowania jest pozytywna opinia recenzenta.
2. Materiał do Redakcji należy przekazać w jednym egzemplarzu znormalizowanego maszynopisu (30 wierszy na stronie, po 60 znaków w wierszu, ok. 1800 znaków na stronie) wraz z tekstem zapisanym na nośniku elektronicznym lub przesłanym pod adresem: [wydawnictwo@lazarski.edu.pl](mailto:wydawnictwo@lazarski.edu.pl)
3. Przypisy należy umieszczać na dole strony, podając najpierw inicjały imienia, nazwisko autora, tytuł pracy, nazwę wydawnictwa, miejsce i rok wydania, numer strony. W przypadku prac zbiorowych należy podać imię i nazwisko redaktora naukowego. Szczegółowe wskazówki dla autorów opublikowane są na stronie internetowej Oficyny Wydawniczej Uczelni Łazarskiego pod adresem <https://www.lazarski.pl/pl/badania-i-rozwoj/oficyna-wydawnicza-uczelni-lazarskiego/dla-autorow/>.
4. Zdjęcia i rysunki mogą być dostarczone w postaci oryginalnej (do skanowania) lub zapisane w formatach TIFF, GIF, BMP.
5. Do artykułu należy dołączyć bibliografię oraz streszczenie, podając cel artykułu, zastosowaną metodykę, wyniki pracy oraz wnioski. Streszczenie nie powinno przekraczać 20 wierszy maszynopisu. Jeżeli w streszczeniu występują specjalistyczne terminy albo zwroty naukowe lub techniczne, należy podać ich odpowiedniki w języku angielskim.
6. Artykuł powinien mieć objętość od 18 do 25 stron znormalizowanego maszynopisu (nie licząc bibliografii), natomiast recenzja, komunikat naukowy i informacja – 12 stron.
7. Redakcja zastrzega sobie prawo dokonywania w nadesłanej pracy skrótów, zmiany tytułów, podtytułów oraz poprawek stylistycznych.
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PROCEDURA RECENZOWANIA PUBLIKACJI W KWARTALNIKU  
„MYŚL EKONOMICZNA I POLITYCZNA”

Rada Programowa i Kolegium Redakcyjne kwartalnika „Myśl Ekonomiczna i Polityczna” na posiedzeniu 30 czerwca 2011 r. jednogłośnie przyjęły następujące zasady obowiązujące przy recenzowaniu publikacji w kwartalniku „Myśl Ekonomiczna i Polityczna”.

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3. W postępowaniu recenzyjnym obowiązuje tzw. *double-blind peer review process*, czyli zasada, że autor publikacji i jej recenzenci nie znają swoich tożsamości.
4. Recenzenci składają pisemne oświadczenia o niewystępowaniu konfliktu interesów, jeśli chodzi o ich relacje z autorami recenzowanych tekstów.
5. Recenzja ma formę pisemną i kończy się jednoznacznym wnioskiem dotyczącym dopuszczenia publikacji do druku lub jej odrzucenia.
6. Powyższa procedura i zasady recenzowania publikacji są podawane do publicznej wiadomości na stronach internetowych kwartalnika „Myśl Ekonomiczna i Polityczna”.
7. Nazwiska recenzentów poszczególnych publikacji nie są podawane do publicznej wiadomości, natomiast są ujawniane dane recenzenta każdego numeru kwartalnika.

Powyższe procedury i zasady recenzowania są zgodne z wytycznymi Ministerstwa Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego.

Redaktor Naczelny  
prof. dr hab. Józef M. Fiszer

INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS SUBMITTING ARTICLES  
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1. The quarterly accepts original unpublished scientific articles devoted to issues within a broad field of economics and political studies as well as management. Submitted manuscripts should provide substantial theoretical generalisations. The journal also publishes reviews and reports on academic life. The submission of an article means the author approves of and follows commonly accepted rules of publication ethics and publication malpractice. Articles are subject to evaluation by two reviewers and their positive opinion is a condition for their publication.
2. Manuscripts should be submitted in one copy of a standard typescript (30 lines of 60 characters each, i.e. ca. 1,800 characters per page) together with a digital version saved on a data storage device and emailed to [wydawnictwo@lazarski.edu.pl](mailto:wydawnictwo@lazarski.edu.pl).
3. Footnotes should be placed at the bottom of a page providing the initials of the author's given name and surname, the year of publication, the title, the name of a journal or a publisher, the place of publication (in case of books) and a page number.  
In case of books with multiple authors, give the first name and surname of their editors. Online material is to be described in the same way as articles in print journals or books followed by a URL and the date of access. It is also necessary to add a bibliography after the article text. Detailed information for authors is published on the Lazarski University Publishing House website: <https://www.lazarski.pl/pl/badania-i-rozwoj/oficyna-wydawnicza-uczelni-lazarskiego/dla-auto-row/> (We encourage you to read the English version).
4. Photographs and drawings can be submitted in the original version (for scanning) or saved in TIFF, GIF and BMP formats.
5. An article should be accompanied by references and abstract informing about its aim, methodology, work outcomes and conclusions. An abstract should not exceed 20 lines of typescript.
6. An article should be in the range between 18 and 25 pages of a standard typescript (not including references) and a review, scientific news or information 12 pages.
7. The editor reserves the right to introduce changes in the manuscript submitted for publication, e.g. shorten it, change the title and subheadings as well as correct the style.
8. A manuscript shall contain the author's full given name and surname, their residence address with the telephone/fax number, their email address, the scientific degree or title and the name of the scientific institution the author works for.

*ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL THOUGHT*  
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2. One of the two reviewers shall be an employee of a foreign research centre.
3. The reviewing procedure is a so-called double-blind peer review process, i.e. follows a rule that an author and reviewers do not know their identity.
4. Reviewers submit written declarations of non-existence of a conflict of interests in their relations with the authors of articles being reviewed.
5. A review must be developed in writing and provide an unambiguous recommendation to accept a manuscript for publication or decline it.
6. The above procedure and rules of reviewing are published on the *Economic and Political Thought* website.
7. The names of reviewers of particular publications are not revealed. However, the name of the reviewer of each quarterly issue is publicised. The above procedures and reviewing principles conform to the directives of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education.

Editor-in-chief  
Prof. dr hab. Józef M. Fiszer

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1. *Legal Conditions of International Cooperation for the Safety and Efficiency of Civil Aviation*, ed. by Ewa Jasiuk, Roman Wosiek, Warsaw 2019, ISBN 978-83-64054-27-3.
2. *Poland and Ukraine: Common Neighborhood and Relations*, ed. by Martin Dahl, Adrian Chojan, Warsaw 2019, ISBN 978-83-64054-15-0.
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4. *Elastyczne formy zatrudnienia we włoskim i polskim prawie pracy. Szanse i zagrożenia*, Angelica Riccardi (red.), Magdalena Rycak (red.), Warszawa 2019, ISBN 978-83-64054-51-8.
5. *Determinanty synchronizacji cykli koniunkturalnych w krajach Unii Europejskiej*, Krzysztof Beck, Warszawa 2019, ISBN 978-83-64054-43-3.
6. *Prawo a nowoczesność. Wyzwania – problemy – nadzieje*, Anna Hrycaj, Aneta Łazarska, Przemysław Szustakiewicz (red.), Warszawa 2019, ISBN 978-83-64054-63-01.
7. *Investors' Perceptions and Stock Market Outcomes. Interdisciplinary Approach*, ed. by Olha Zadorozhna, Martin Dahl, Warsaw 2019, 978-83-64054-67-9.

Other publications:

1. Krystyna Regina Bąk (red.), *Statystyka wspomagana Excelem 2007*, Warszawa 2010.
2. Maria Biegniewicz-Steyer, *O powstańczych dniach trochę inaczej*, Warszawa 2018.
3. Wojciech Bieńkowski, Krzysztof Szczygielski, *Rozważania o rozwoju gospodarczym Polski*, Warszawa 2009.
4. Wojciech Bieńkowski, Adam K. Prokopowicz, Anna Dąbrowska, *The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership. The 21<sup>st</sup> Century Agreement*, Warsaw 2015.
5. Remigiusz Bierzanek, *Przez wiek XX. Wspomnienia i refleksje*, Warszawa 2006.
6. Jacek Brdulak, Ewelina Florczak, *Uwarunkowania działalności przedsiębiorstw społecznych w Polsce*, Warszawa 2016.
7. Piotr Brzeziński, Zbigniew Czarnik, Zuzanna Łaganowska, Arwid Mednis, Stanisław Piątek, Maciej Rogalski, Marlena Wach, *Nowela listopadowa prawa telekomunikacyjnego*, Warszawa 2014.
8. Hans Ephraïmson-Abt, Anna Konert, *New Progress and Challenges in The Air Law*, Warszawa 2014.
9. Janusz Filipczuk, *Adaptacyjność polskich przedsiębiorstw w warunkach transformacji systemowej*, wyd. II, Warszawa 2007.
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11. Jerzy A. Gawinecki, *Matematyka dla ekonomistów*, Warszawa 2010.
12. Grażyna Gierszewska, Jerzy Kisielnicki (red. nauk.), *Zarządzanie międzynarodowe. Konkurencyjność polskich przedsiębiorstw*, Warszawa 2010.
13. Tomasz G. Grosse (red. nauk.), *Między polityką a rynkiem. Kryzys Unii Europejskiej w analizie ekonomistów i politologów*, praca zbiorowa, Warszawa 2013.
14. Jan Grzymalski, *Powrót do Europy – polski dyskurs. Wyznaczanie perspektywy krytycznej*, Warszawa 2016.

15. Marian Guzek, *Makroekonomia i polityka po neoliberalizmie. Eseje i polemiki*, Warszawa 2011.
16. Marian Guzek (red. nauk.), *Ekonomia i polityka w kryzysie. Kierunki zmian w teoriach*, praca zbiorowa, Warszawa 2012.
17. Marian Guzek, *Teorie ekonomii a instrumenty antykryzysowe*, Warszawa 2013.
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20. Marian Guzek, *Przyszłość kapitalizmu – cesjonalizm?*, Warszawa 2016.
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23. Anna Harasiewicz-Mordasewicz, *Excel 2007*, Warszawa 2010.
24. Dominika E. Harasimiuk, Marcin Olszówka, Andrzej Zinkiewicz (red. nauk.), *Prawo UE i porządek konstytucyjny państw członkowskich. Problem konkurencji i wzajemnych relacji*, Warszawa 2014.
25. Stanisław Hoc, *Prawo administracyjne gospodarcze. Wybrane zagadnienia*, Warszawa 2013.
26. „Ius Novum”, Ryszard A. Stefański (red. nac.), kwartalnik, Uczelnia Łazarskiego, numery: 1/2007, 2–3/2007, 4/2007, 1/2008, 2/2008, 3/2008, 4/2008, 1/2009, 2/2009, 3/2009, 4/2009, 1/2010, 2/2010, 3/2010, 4/2010, 1/2011, 2/2011, 3/2011, 4/2011, 1/2012, 2/2012, 3/2012, 4/2012, 1/2013, 2/2013, 3/2013, 4/2013, Numer specjalny 2014, 1/2014, 2/2014, 3/2014, 4/2014, 1/2015, 2/2015, 3/2015, 4/2015, 1/2016, 2/2016, 3/2016, 4/2016, 1/2017, 2/2017, 3/2017, 4/2017, 1/2018, 2/2018, 3/2018, 4/2018, 1/2019, 2/2019.
27. Andrzej Jagiełło, *Polityka akcyzowa w odniesieniu do wyrobów tytoniowych w Polsce w latach 2000–2010 i jej skutki ekonomiczne*, Warszawa 2012.
28. Sylwia Kaczyńska, Anna Konert, Katarzyna Łuczak, *Regulacje hiszpańskie na tle obowiązujących przepisów międzynarodowego i europejskiego prawa lotniczego*, Warszawa 2016.
29. Anna Konert (red.), *Aspekty prawne badania zdarzeń lotniczych w świetle Rozporządzenia 996/2010*, Warszawa 2013.
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32. Łukasz Konopielko, Michał Wołoszyn, Jacek Wytrębowski, *Handel elektroniczny. Ewolucja i perspektywy*, Warszawa 2016
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34. Dariusz A. Kosior, Marek Rosiak, Marek Postuła (red.), *Doustne leki przeciwpyłkowe w leczeniu chorób układu sercowo-naczyniowego. Okiem kardiologa i farmakologa*, Warszawa 2014.
35. Jerzy Kowalski, *Państwo prawa. Demokratyczne państwo prawne. Antologia*, Warszawa 2008.
36. Stanisław Koziej, *Rozmowy o bezpieczeństwie. O bezpieczeństwie narodowym Polski w latach 2010–2015 w wywiadach i komentarzach Szefa Biura Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego*, Warszawa 2016.
37. Stanisław Koziej, *Rozważania o bezpieczeństwie. O bezpieczeństwie narodowym Polski w latach 2010–2015 w wystąpieniach i referatach Szefa Biura Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego*, Warszawa 2016.

38. Stanisław Koziej, *Studia o bezpieczeństwie. O bezpieczeństwie narodowym i międzynarodowym w latach 2010–2015 w publikacjach i analizach Szefa Biura Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego*, Warszawa 2017.
39. Rafał Krawczyk, *Islam jako system społeczno-gospodarczy*, Warszawa 2013.
40. Rafał Krawczyk, *Podstawy cywilizacji europejskiej*, Warszawa 2006.
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43. Maciej Krzak, *Kontrowersje wokół antycyklicznej polityki fiskalnej a niedawny kryzys globalny*, Warszawa 2012.
44. Michał Kuź, *Alexis de Tocqueville's Theory of Democracy and Revolutions*, Warsaw 2016.
45. Jerzy Menkes (red. nauk.), *Prawo międzynarodowe w XXI wieku. Księga pamiątkowa profesor Renaty Szafarz*, Warszawa 2007.
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49. Mariusz Muszyński (red. nauk.), Dominika E. Harasimiuk, Małgorzata Kozak, *Unia Europejska. Instytucje, polityki, prawo*, Warszawa 2012.
50. „Myśl Ekonomiczna i Polityczna”, Józef M. Fiszer (red. nac.), kwartalnik, Uczelnia Łazarskiego, numery: 1(28)2010, 2(29)2010, 3(30)2010, 4(31)2010, 1–2(32–33)2011, 3(34)2011, 4(35)2011, 1(36)2012, 2(37)2012, 3(38)2012, 4(39)2012, 1(40)2013, 2(41)2013, 3(42)2013, 4(43)2013, 1(44)2014, 2(45)2014, 3(46)2014, 4(47)2014, 1(48)2015, 2(49)2015, 3(50)2015, 4(51)2015, 1(52)2016, 2(53)2016, 3(54)2016, 4(55)2016, 1(56)2017, 2(57)2017, 3(58)2017, 4(59)2017, 1(60)2018, 2(61)2018, 3(62)2018, 4(63)2018, 1(64)2019, 2(65)2019.
51. Edward Nieznański, *Logika dla prawników*, Warszawa 2006.
52. Marcin Olszówka, *Konstytucja PRL a system źródeł prawa wyznaniowego do roku 1989*, Warszawa 2016.
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