

EUROPE OF THE WEST - EUROPE OF THE EAST

Artur Szmigielski, Human rights and democracy in the center of the EU's external action. Legal and political dilemmas

The article aims to analyze the issue of respect for human rights as a general objective of the EU's external action. It does so from a legal and political perspective, starting with a brief overview of the legal framework which firmly places human rights at the centre of the EU's external relations. The EU's main policy framework and main external instruments will be subsequently described. The concluding section contains some critical remarks on the EU's aspiration to establish itself as a global promoter of values, in particular the need to improve the coherence and effectiveness of its human rights external policy. Such a need stems from, among others, a fragmentation of the EU's competences between supranational economic actions and intergovernmental CFSP as well as the absence of clear and strong EU powers in the area of human rights. The present situation involves a paradox, because, on the one hand, there is a lack of Treaty regulations providing clearly that respect for human rights is a general and cross-cutting component of internal EU policies whereas, on the other hand, under these regulations the protection of human rights is seen as an important objective of the EU's external action.

Mariusz Sulkowski, Normative and axiological dimensions of the European Union's policy on the issue of Kosovo

The article raises the issue of normative policy pursued by the European Union towards Kosovo. The article's main thesis states that the EU's normative policy towards Kosovo is ineffective, causes ethnical and cultural hegemony of Kosovo, violates the deepest foundations of international order on which the European Union has been trying to build its external policy for decades and impairs the existing image of the UE as a force acting for the good of the world (force for good). The EU, which builds up its international position as a normative power and rejects the logic of domination and power (realist power) is especially exposed to the dangerous consequences of disregard for the principles of international law and ethical rules. The situation becomes even more risky when it is the EU that becomes one of the main actors undermining the attempts to build an order based on law and values.

Izabela Wróbel, Towards a culture of welcome and recognition. Policy and law reform of the Federal Republic of Germany in the field of immigration

At present, every fifth resident of the Federal Republic of Germany has a migration background. This state is the first immigration country in Europe and the second in the world after the United States. German policy and legislation in the field of immigration have long been an expression of a defensive attitude. Their main goal was to stop the recruitment of foreigners to work and to regulate their influx. The issue of the integration of immigrants into the host society remained outside the field of interest of decision makers. After decades of neglect in this area the first government of Chancellor Angela Merkel counted challenges related to the integration of immigrants among its priorities. Nevertheless, not until the beginning of the second decade of the twenty-first century did it start officially to talk about the lack of culture of welcome and recognition in Germany and the need for its creation. The second government of Angela Merkel took up this task. The change it proposed in attitude to foreigners, however, was a selective expression of openness in guidelines and practice and as such did not constitute a sufficient response to the challenges for the German state and its society. After the first - successful, but cautious - step towards a new paradigm of integration policy, the third government of Angela Merkel has already followed this path decidedly. The aim of the article is to discuss and assess both the change in the immigration policy of Germany, in particular in its integration policy, towards a culture of welcome and recognition observed in recent years and the first regulations which reflect a new approach to the admission of immigrants in this country.

Marta Baranowska, Friedrich Nietzsche's reflections on being a German

Friedrich Nietzsche, whose thought has had considerable influence on many thinkers over the last one hundred years, criticized nationalism and anti-Semitism. Nietzsche's analysis of national identity was complex, nuanced and ambivalent. He claimed that identity was composite, hybrid, always in the process of being constructed by various experiences and encounters. In his opinion national identity is more an average level of culture, a cultural artefact, than biological identity. His fancied Polish ancestry was supposedly a part of his anti-German attitude, as he despised the German culture of his times, which advocated nationalism and racial hatred. The myth about Nietzsche's Polish roots has been rejected. Nietzsche maintained that Europe proceeds towards unification. The division into states will disappear, since both the individual and society have to overcome their national heritage. As a result of mixing different cultures a new European race will emerge. The main goal of his project of Great Politics is a superman (Übermensch), who is a cosmopolitan, because it is impossible to define him in terms of nationality. In the future, an elite of supermen will rule over the masses.

Martyna Jones, Protestantism - the Welsh way. Religious aspects of the national and cultural identity of the Welsh people in the nineteenth century

The article discusses Welsh national identity in the nineteenth century, an identity of which religion was an important aspect. Firstly, the article summarises the history of Christianity in the Principality from Roman times to the Reformation and the adoption of Anglicanism until the nineteenth century. It was during this century that an increasing number of people rejected the established Anglican Church in favour of non-Anglican Protestant churches (known as Non-Conformist churches). In light of these developments, issues discussed in the article include the attitude of the Welsh to England and the Church of England, the attitude towards Catholic Ireland and the impact of non-conformism on Welsh politics, education, and the literary and musical traditions. Taken together, these lead to a discussion on the influence of Non-Conformity on Welsh patriotism.

Krzysztof Ptasiuk, Evolution of the programme of the Scottish National Party. From Home Rule to Scottish independence referendum

The Scottish National Party initially pursued a maximum autonomy of Scotland (Home Rule). Since 1943, it has been a nationalist party fighting for the restoration of Scottish statehood. For most of its history, the party has not been a very attractive one for most of the Scottish electorate due to its minority status in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, unrealistic plan for achieving independence, and scepticism towards Scotland's participation in the process of European integration and its NATO membership. In the last thirty years, the Scottish National Party has been presenting a more pragmatic programme, has become officially pro-European, and has supported Scotland's NATO membership while its concept of independence has become one close to a confederation. This significant evolution coincided with the establishment of the Scottish Parliament, paving the way for the Scottish National Party to electoral victory and organization of a Scottish independence referendum.

Tomasz Czapiewski, Scottish independence referendum as a defeat and triumph of the Scottish National Party

This article aims to explain the seemingly paradoxical process of the strengthening of the Scottish National Party in the period immediately after the Scottish independence referendum in 2014. The main reasons are the processes of polarization and consolidation of the SNP and unionist parties around the binary choice - yes or no to independence. The most important circumstances contributing to the phenomenon include: growing aversion to the institutions of British democracy; crisis of the Scottish Labour Party in terms of organization, personnel and program; popularity of the new leader and the effective change of leadership within the SNP, as well as far-reaching effects of the Unionists' campaign referred to as "Project Fear". Additionally, we can also mention: surge in civic activism as a result of the

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referendum campaign, a more favorable attitude of the media, austerity policies of the Tory government in London, country-level crisis of the Liberal Democrats and tactical considerations: a widespread expectation of a House of Commons without a one-party majority and the territorial distribution of electoral support for the SNP - beneficial in the context of a majoritarian system. 2015 is the year when the political momentum in Scotland changed, and it clearly favoured SNP and supporters of independence. The results of the independence referendum were only for a short time widely regarded as conclusive for decades. When making predictions one should remember that Scottish possibilities of independence are determined not only by factors such as national identity and constitutional disputes, but also by assessment of the functioning of political parties and public policies, and increasingly by the international context (United Kingdom European Union membership referendum).

Piotr Lechowicz, Ukrainian party system from Orange Revolution to Euromaidan. An institutional-legal perspective

In the process of democratic transformation, the creation of political parties and development of a party system are essential aspects of building a new political order. Therefore, the shaping of a party system which enables free competition between political parties affects the functioning of the political system as a whole. In the case of post-soviet Ukraine, stabilization of democratic rivalry, which is the core of an institutionalized party system, is hampered by permanent changes in the constitution and electoral system. The progress of Ukraine's democratization from 2004 to 2013 is very often referred to as both revolutionary and evolutionary. And violent political changes exert an impact on the triad: transformation of political regime, electoral systems and institutionalization of political parties. All three ultimately determine the institutionalization of the entire party system on the path to democratic consolidation. It can be observed that the conflict in Eastern Ukraine has impeded this process. Despite a dynamic development of the present political situation, previous experience helps us to predict the implications of the currently implemented systemic solutions.

Magdalena Karolak-Michalska, The position of Ukrainian oligarchs after the Euromaidan

The author analyzes the position of the Ukrainian oligarchs after the events of the Euromaidan at the turn of 2013/2014. Attention is drawn to the specificity of the oligarchic system in Ukraine, highlighting its transformation and turning points. The rest of the article examines the position of the oligarchs during the Ukrainian crisis, revealing the role of the "family" – a network of influences that the milieu created around President Yanukovich. It also analyzes the influence of oligarchs in the Ukrainian parliament and seeks to answer the question of whether there will be a real change in curbing the influential role of oligarchs in the "new" Ukraine. The author stresses that at present there is no

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indication that the new authorities could bring about a political change in Ukraine. The revolution at the Maidan did not upset the Ukrainian oligarchic system and parliamentary elections showed that the most powerful oligarchs have maintained the possibility to influence politics. It is expected that the oligarchs will remain influential players in Ukraine as long as they can use the state and corruption mechanisms in their business. Thus, the still strong oligarchic system will be one of the obstacles in reforming the state.

Stanisław Żerko, The Soviet threat in the journalism of Stanisław Cat-Mackiewicz during the Second World War

Stanisław Cat-Mackiewicz was among the best known Polish political journalists. A conservative, monarchist and supporter of Józef Piłsudski, in the interwar period he took sides with a small group of advocates of cooperation with Germany against the Soviet Union. During the Second World War he fiercely criticized the government of Władysław Sikorski and Stanisław Mikołajczyk, especially their policy towards the USSR, accusing them of gullibility and underestimation of the Soviet threat, though he also initially deluded himself that an unyielding policy on the issue of Poland's eastern border could be successful. Over time the tone of his journalism became explicitly pessimistic. Mackiewicz posed as a realist, but he was largely guided by emotions, particularly by attachment to his homeland, areas which the USSR demanded from Poland.