Janusz J. Wec

**Keywords:** eurozone crisis, migration crisis, Poland, European Union, European

Council, Council of the European Union, European Commission, European

Parliament, system reform of the eurozone, Banking Union, Financial Union,

Fiscal Union, Economic Union, reform of the European Union's immigration

and asylum policies, new EU external security strategy, Common Security and

Defence Policy, European Defence Fund, Permanent Structured Cooperation

The research objective of the paper is to critically analyze the system reform of the

European Union planned by 2025, in particular the reform of the eurozone, changes in EU

social policy, reform of the EU Common Security and Defense Policy, and changes in EU

finances. The author formulates two research hypotheses. The first is based on the assumption

that the systemic reform will strengthen the European Union. However, the second hypothesis

is that this reform will have a significant impact on Poland's future position in the EU. In this

context, the author also formulates conclusions and recommendations on the benefits and

dangers for Poland resulting from the planned EU reform.

Marek Rewizorski

Keywords: G20, European Union, coordination, bargaining, arguing

The article argues that the EU's diplomatic activity in the G20 is not so much

determined by its powers in the founding treaties, but rather by external factors that influence

the specific behaviour of the Union with regard to negotiating individual points of the

Group's agenda. As far as the EU's economic and financial issues are concerned, the

European Union, balancing between member-states that do not have a single representation in

the G20 and the EU4 (United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy), chooses an interaction mode

that can be defined as (hard) bargaining. In other, less sensitive issues such as climate change,

development policy, gender or employment, the EU prefers arguing. The article presents these

two narratives of the EU's participation in the G20 as a diplomatic actor. Their choice affects

the level of coordination of the diplomatic activity of the European Union, relations between

its member states and activities of institutions representing the EU in the G20.

**Sebastian Paczos** 

**Keywords:** political leadership, European Union, political system of the European Union,

institutional crisis

The author shows that the weakness of the EU economic units results not only from

treaty provisions, but also from the staffing of the most important EU positions. According to

the author, there are two centers which compete for the title of the European leadership. One

is the political leaders who stand at the forefront of the EU (the leadership of the European

Council and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy as

well as European Commission Leadership). The other center is associated with financial

leadership in Europe, headed by the political leaders of Germany and France. When looking

for the causes of difficulty in creating European leadership, the author first of all points to the

lack of the EU's own identity.

Tomasz Morozowski

**Keywords**: China, EU, investment, economy, Belt and Road Initiative, BRI, 16+1

The European Union is facing the challenge of developing a coherent reaction to the

increased economic activity of China in Europe. Bejing's policy of foreign economic

expansion and its leap to digital economy are affecting Europe, despite the geographical

distance. China is strengthening its position as one of the main actors on the global scene as

elements of the New Silk Road will be built in European cities, Chinese companies are buying

European technological manufacturers and the trade exchange as well as Chinese investment

level in Europe are increasing dramatically.

The purpose of this article is to answer the question about the way the EU should react

to such Chinese policy. In order to do so the research problem related to the process of

shaping this reaction up to now has been analysed. The following research questions have

been formulated: what are the sore points and weaknesses which the European side needs to

limit? On which fields should the EU develop its partnership with China in the first place?

What are the assets on the side of the EU, of which it should make a better use in relations

with Bejing?

Within the process of resolving these questions the following hypotheses have been formulated: even if not deliberately, Chinese policy contributes to a fragmentation of the European unity; intensity of EU countries' relations with China is inversely proportional to their engagement in a common European action on contentious topics in the EU-Chinese agenda; coherent European strategy towards China is necessary in order to limit disintegration tendencies as well as to mitigate unfavourable effects of Chinese activity on the internal European market.

Three guidelines can be defined as a conclusion drawn from the analysis conducted: introducing a level playing field into reciprocal relations, protection of the European unity and building a strong negotiating position by the EU. An assumption could be made that shaping EU strategy based on these elements will let Europe thoroughly benefit from opportunities provided by the new Chinese economic opening and at the same time limit the possible dangers it carries.

# Wojciech Baba

Keywords: European integration, European Union, Russia, Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine

The main goal of the article was to perform an analysis of relations between the European countries of the former USSR and the European Union, and – in accordance with the outcomes of this analysis – to formulate an opinion about the future developments of these relations.

The deliberations conducted in the article are focused on identifying the main factors, both legal (contractual relations and their implications) and empirical (state of economic relations, measured with values of selected indicators), specific to relations between each analyzed country of former USSR and the EU.

In the article, two main hypotheses have been formulated:

- Relations between each analyzed ex-USSR country and the EU are specific.
- Russia is a dominant entity on the former USSR territory, still having relevant, if not crucial influence on relations between all the other ex-USRR countries and the EU.

The main scientific methods, used in the article include the analysis of legal agreements and values of empirical indicators, as well as a synthesis of the results and conclusions. These methods were anteceded by research of scientific literature and usage of statistical techniques.

## Katarzyna Nagel

**Keywords:** labour market, active labour market policy, panel data study, Central and Eastern European countries

The article shows the determinants of expenditure on Active Labour Market Policy in the new UE members in 2004-2015. Reviewed theoretical literature of the subject and relevant empirical observations examine this problem mainly in the highly developed countries. The UE expansion to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe raises the question of the extent to which the shape and expenditure on Active Labour Market Policy are influenced by globalization and the integration process, and to what extent they are the outcome of internal socio-economic determinants.

The aim of the article is to identify the determinants of expenditure on Active Labour Market Policy in Central and Eastern Europe (CCE) in the years 2004-2015.

The article opens with an overview of the theoretical literature and research on the determinants of Active Labour Market Policy followed by a classification of the latter. This part of the analysis is theoretical and based on the literature of the subject. In the empirical part of the article, the author selects a set of partial indicators and attempts to define their impact on the expenditure on Active Labour Market Policy (ALMP expenditure as % of GDP) and expenditure per capita on unemployed measure as % of GDP) using basic panel data for the group of countries examined.

In recent years, discussion of the issue has moved in two different directions. One group of researchers suggest that determinants of active labour market policies are convergent with those already identified for highly developed countries, which shows unification on at least a regional scale (e.g. within the EU). This approach can be contrasted with a particularistic view, which argues that CEE countries follow different and non-traditional, individual paths. The analyzed determinants appear to be relevant to the expenditure on active labour market policies in the group of countries studied. On their basis one can formulate the claim that CEE countries have a different labour market model compared to other EU member states.

Magdalena Kapela, Katarzyna Osiecka

. **Keywords:** labour costs, export. competitiveness of economy, global value chain

Low labour costs in Poland contribute to its higher participation in global value chain.

Nevertheless they can solidify the disadvantageous structure of Polish production and export

(with small participation of high technology products and quite a prominent share of imported

semi-finished products in the export volume). Strong competition among countries and ease

of goods and services flow increase the significance of product specification. The level of

technology sophistication determines the quality of products and production efficiency and

furthermore facilitates transfer from labour-intensive to capital-intensive branches. The main

issue of this article is to verify the impact of labour costs level on the volume and structure of

Polish export. The time period (2007-2016) refers to the time before and after the world

financial crisis when in 2009 export of most of the European economies crashed. The data is

from Eurostat and GUS database. Methodology includes an overview of the literature,

deduction, the method of least squares and index of similarities in structure.

Grzegorz Dybowski

**Keywords**: food system, transformation of agriculture, urbanization, rural areas

The article is aimed at identification of quality changes in global food system evoked

by structural changes to the world economy.

The basic and simultaneously the primary goal of the world food system should be

assuring proper nutrition for the global population. This is understood as delivery of not only

adequate energy and protein, but also a diet balanced from the viewpoint of nutrients which

guarantee proper physical and mental development. Despite the big progress achieved, still

over 815 million people are hungry and more than 30 per cent of the world population face

malnutrition or have improper diet. The increase of the global population and incomes,

especially in developing countries, will create additional demand for food followed by changes in the previous diet. This will be accompanied by a limited access of agriculture to natural resources and by adverse climate changes. Structural changes in the world economy have a strong impact on the global food system. In the past, transition from agriculture-based economy to industry and then service-based economy was supported by the industrialization process. In the coming decades the potential of industrialization will be much weaker whereas the pace of urbanization will exceed the dynamic of growth in industry and service sectors.

Quality changes in the world food system will call for transformation of both agriculture and rural areas and creation of new urban-rural relationships. A new, territorial approach towards food system, will support inclusive development of cities and their rural environment as well as sustainable economy on these areas.

The method of indirect observations was used in the analysis which was based on relevant information gathered earlier by competent institutions. Data bases of the FAO, the Human Development Programme and the World Food Programme were analysed.

# Jerzy Menkes, Anna Kociołek-Pęksa

**Keywords**: Axiology of Human Rights, *United Nations*, national identity, right to self-determination, responsibility to protect, freedom, peace, Charter of the United Nations

The purpose of the study: The aim of the study is to examine whether and how public international law (in genere) and international human rights (in specie) is subject to change. The aim of the study is also to investigate whether and how this has consequences for international security.

## Research problems:

Main research problems: Has the paradigm of international public law changed (regardless of whether it is subject to the process of legal convergence or legal discrepancy), and has the paradigm for the protection of human rights been transformed due to this transformation?

In connection with the above-mentioned transformations, or in autonomous way, could there be or has there been a redefinition of the role of the state and the idea and method of exercising sovereignty?

What is happening in the sphere of international security in connection with these changes, and in particular what is the actual UN's standard of protection of human rights?

Research methods:

analysis of source texts (acts of public international law); comparative analysis of political solutions and legally conditioned socio-political phenomena (dogmatic, legal philosophy and legal sociology analysis, with elements of political and legal history analysis) in diachronic

terms for the studied range.

Conclusion: State sovereignty has been transformed from the title of claim to cease the violation into the personal right to protection (vested in an individual and

minority/people/mankind in general).

The inherent unity of the international law as the common legal system of the international community is subject, along with this community, to fundamental divergence: into the law governing (internal) relationships between members of the transatlantic security community (NATO acquis and the European law), which form a normatively and institutionally interrelated self-contained regime on the one hand, and the international law that governs the relations between the countries of the Western Hemisphere and other subjects of the international law on the other hand.

Cezary Kościelniak

**Keywords**: universities in Europe, Humboldtian university, higher education policy

The aim of the paper is to present the problem of the crisis of the university in the context of the relevance of the Humboldtian model of the university. The strength of the model developed by Wilhelm von Humboldt consists in a balance between research effectiveness - which is crucial for research on new technologies - and the humanization of social life and thoughtfulness in a global dimension. The attraction of this proposal lies also in the culture-creating and social mission of the university. Many European academic cultures are characterized by a strong sense of autonomy, and there is room for it in the Humboldtian model.

The text opens with a description of the crisis of the university, and then goes on to formulate an answer to the question of the significance of Humboldt's proposal for today's time. The author analyzes the process of "de-Humboldtization" of the university and examines selected challenges that the university must face, such as mass education, bureaucracy and globalization.

# Anna Szczepańska-Dudziak

**Keywords**: United States; Foreign Service; Foreign relations of the United States.

The article provides an account of the activities undertaken by the US Consulate in Poznań during the years 1946-1951 against the background of Polish-American relations, whose evolution following the Second World War was affected by changes in the international situation and the growing rivalry between the USSR and the USA. The article attempts to answer two questions: on the organisation and working conditions of the American foreign service in Poland and the aims that the consular post in Poznań intended to achieve. A second area for consideration are the counterintelligence activities of the Polish state security forces directed at American diplomats over the first period of the Consulate's operation. The analysis includes archival sources outlining the work of the diplomats along with surveillance of the consular officials in Poznań; these sources were subjected to the historical research method and system analysis in order to assess the determinants for the states' foreign policies. The outcome of the research was the conclusion that the Consulate in Poznań was not a priority institution for US interests and simply carried out routine official activities, promoted the language and culture and fostered social ties. Deteriorating bilateral relations between Poland and the USA, along with an anti-American campaign by the Polish authorities and the actions of the secret police all had an effect on the Consulate's working conditions including staffing restrictions, difficulties in performing official duties and maintaining social relationships, hence the decision to close the US Consulate in Poznań (on 31 August 1951).

#### Katarzyna Jędraszczyk

**Keywords:** Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate, Ukrainian Orthodox Church — Moscow Patriarchate, Russian Orthodox Church, political culture, Ukraine, church-state relations, national church

The aim of the article is to analyze the place and importance of the Orthodox Church in the society and political culture of Ukraine after 2013. In the context of foreign policy, the

challenge for each country is the foreign activity of the Churches (as a non-territorial and transnational entity).

The new political realities following the "revolution of dignity", the annexation of Crimea and the war in Donbas set new challenges for the Orthodox Church in Ukraine. They showed that the great trap for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate and the Russian Orthodox Church is the concept of *ruskij mir* and influence of the Russian Orthodox Church's authority over the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate. The Kremlin's policy harms the image and interest of the Orthodox Church. The Ukrainian Orthodox bishops, subordinated to the Moscow Patriarchate, find it difficult to keep their loyalty to the Ukrainian state and church authorities in Moscow at the same time. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate is internally diversified with apparent generational differences. Part of the older generation has strong ties with the hierarchs in Russia. The younger generation, which does not remember the soviet period, sees in the formal independence from Moscow the opportunity to develop their own careers and the Church as an institution.

#### Julita Rachwalska

Keywords: stereotype, Poles, Germans, Kashubian, catholic, protestant, the interwar period

The purpose of the article is a portrayal of a stereotypical national and confessional notion of a Polish Catholic and German Protestant during the interwar period (1920-1939) in Kościerzyna as well as a complementation of the results of general studies of the town's history. The assumption stating that the existing stereotype was formed during the Reformation as an aftermath of the encounter between two dissimilar sets of culture, nationality and faith points towards the stereotype's durable character as well as its prevalence and influence on how the individuals belonging to the two realms perceived one another. This has rendered questions regarding the origins of the said stereotype extremely urgent, in particular with regard to Kościerzyna as part of Kashubia. Furthermore, the characteristic traits and the content of the stereotype is another area of inquiry. Thirdly, what factors shaped the body of the above mentioned stereotype and how it was perpetuated in the communal mind is another matter of interest. An exhaustive analysis of the archival sources including population records, documents drawn by the town's public servants and a district office's

reports allowed to recreate the town's ethnic structure in the period of 1920-1939 and proved that German Catholics and Polish Protestants were found among its inhabitants. That said, analysis of the body of the literature, the press, written memoirs and collected interviews (based on Jan Błuszkowski's statute concept of a stereotype) revealed that the essence of the stereotype is rooted in associating nationality with confession, a dualistic notion of *us* versus*them* and other characteristic features such as durability, irrelevance of experience, activation of language, emotionally-burdened valuing and reliance on a partially twisted image of the investigated community.

Marlena Dzikowska, Marian Gorynia, Barbara Jankowska, Aleksandra Kania, Katarzyna Mroczek-Dąbrowska, Piotr Trąpczyński

**Keywords**: global economic crisis, genesis of the crisis, consequences of the crisis, Poland, Greece

The goal of the paper is to present, using the indicators of economic activity, how Polish economy coped with the last global economic crisis compared to another EU country - Greece, which faced huge difficulties while trying to get back to the pre-crisis levels of economic development.

In the first part of the paper the origins of the global economic crisis are briefly characterized. Then the results of a synthetic analysis of indicators of economic activity based on data from the World Development Indicators database are presented. The analysis is based on data describing the economic situation within the Polish and Greek economy. Both countries were chosen purposefully. Finally, referring to the results of the research of other authors, the micro-economic dimension of the consequences of the crisis within the Polish and the Greek economy is signaled.