

## THE NEW ORDER IN THE WORLD

### **Janusz Hryniewicz**

The object of the study is an analysis of the economic grounds of Pax Americana in the perspective of the next 10-20 years and prediction of the future place of Eastern Europe in the constellation of the USA's interests. The first part of the article determines the factors of geopolitical power of particular countries on grounds of a network and structural analysis. The crucial factors of geopolitical power include wealth (total and per capita), production of leading goods and innovativeness. The next part contains a comparative analysis of Pax Britannica and Pax Americana in order to establish a gradation of those factors. It appears that domination in the production of leading goods is the crucial factor. Analysis of the contribution of various countries to the development of a “new economy” shows that around 2020 the USA will still be the most important power of the western world. The place of Eastern Europe in Pax Americana will be defined by its position in the global strategy of the USA, weak links of the region with the USA's national interest and the state of “partnership in leadership” relations between the USA and Germany. Fluctuations of the energy market will make the American elite discuss its regulations which can mark the beginning of a new different outlook also regarding other sectors of a global economy.

### **Jadwiga Kiwerska**

The article attempts to show the role of the United States in today's world of diversified powers. Although the USA still have an enormous potential at their disposal and can still exert stronger influence on the international situation than other powers, they experience growing competition in various areas. This markedly affects the direction and character of American strategy which seems to be reversing its Pacific orientation. The consequences of this tendency are particularly visible in transatlantic relations.

## **Paulina Matera**

The aim of the article is to present the policy of the United States of America toward Europe during the presidency of Barack Obama in the context of a changing conception of American involvement worldwide. Economic cooperation and discrepancies among allies at a time of financial crisis are considered. The following instances of American involvement in international conflicts are analyzed: mission in Afghanistan, attempts to mediate in the Near Eastern peace process, the developments of the “Arab spring” and NATO’s intervention in Libya. The USA and the European countries cooperated also toward elimination of other threats to global security, such as: Iranian nuclear program or international terrorism. Despite a change of priorities in American foreign policy, the transatlantic alliance remains its major pillar.

## **Katarzyna Klatka – Urbaniak**

The author of the article discusses selected issues of American-Russian relations in the first decade of the 21st century, which was marked by reevaluation and changes in the position of both the USA and Russia. During this period the assumptions of the policies of both states engaged them in a tactic game for spheres of influence. American unilateralism led to a gradual degradation of the USA’s position in the world. The circumstances accompanying the assumption of presidency by Barack Obama were determined by the need to abandon unilateralism and focus on a conciliatory solution of problems, which in turn resulted in self-imposed limitation of the USA’s role in the world. On the other hand, following the rise of Vladimir Putin to power, Russia launched a consistent strategy of resuming the status of a global power. Therefore, in the period under discussion the two countries started competing for spheres of influence. The latter phenomenon is analyzed with reference to the major areas of overlapping interests, i.e. to the territory of the former sphere of influence of the USSR and to the region of the Near East, especially Iran, which is one of the vital regions of American strategy.

## **Aleksandra Łopińska**

Global economic recession which started in 2008 significantly contributed to revealing China’s growing potential on the international arena. For the Beijing administration this means a necessity to develop and implement an optimal strategy of “going outside the region” paying attention to the priority of internal development of the PRC and a non-confrontational course in policy toward other regional and world powers. However, expectations of the West concerning the international engagement of the Country of the Middle do not conform to the Chinese vision of a future global order. Strengthening its economic leadership in its immediate surroundings and maintaining stable relations within the triangle of Washington – Moscow – Beijing, China seeks the ultimate answer to the more and more frequent question on the character and scale of its “international responsibility” both in a political and economic dimension.

## **Radosław Grodzki**

The article deals with problems related to Russian international policy at the turn of the 21st century aimed at reconstructing the country's position as a global power. The defeat of the Soviet Union in the cold war confrontation with the United States seriously limited the superpower prerogatives of the Russian Federation as a successor of the Soviet Union in international relations. In the two decades that followed Russia managed to ward off the threat of disintegration of its statehood and to reconstruct it on grounds of a strong authoritarian central rule. A worldwide demand for energy resources helped it build foundations for an expansive resource economy which was concurrently a tool for implementing an imperialistic policy that proves successful especially in Russia's traditional sphere of influence. With the onset of the 21st century Russia had to face competition from new actors in the multipolar international system that tends to polarize further. The traditional competition with the United States and Europe has expanded onto dynamically developing China and India. At the same time globalization imposes far-fetched cooperation within this configuration curbed by Russia's inadequate coping with challenges of state modernization. Therefore the growth or decrease of the role of the Russian Federation as a power will largely follow from the efficiency of the reforms it introduces. So far they have shown small dynamism and in a longer perspective barriers to development can contribute to a deterioration of the social, economic and political situation with relevant negative consequences to the international environment.

## **Jakub Koralewski**

The article analyzes the state of the Ukrainian foreign policy with special emphasis on the period following the orange revolution of 2004/2005. The present authorities of Ukraine face a difficult choice of the model of transformation of the whole country particularly in the context of its civilizational development. Russian economic initiatives are a very attractive alternative to the activity of the European Union. The Ukrainian society no longer believes in the assertions of European enthusiasts concerning a fast political and economic integration with the western countries. Paradoxically, the internal activities of the administration serve Ukraine's international position better than a complicated and rather chaotic foreign policy. The present authorities in Kiev implement the policy of accomplished facts especially in the provincial areas and seem to be increasingly interested in the Russian offer. The authorities in Kiev have long been aware that a clear choice of one of the options of development would permanently bar its alternative. However, it should be kept in mind that the Ukrainian political establishment is unable to foresee the consequences of a "final decision" and does not have a vision of a long-term development of Ukraine's external relations.

## **Myroslav Kaschuk**

This paper is an attempt to analyze Ukraine's orange revolution, the mass protests against fraud in Ukraine's November 2004 presidential election. The author presents the modern face of the revolution, external and internal causes of electoral protests in Ukraine and argues that the orange revolution was not a revolution in the full sense of the word. Throughout history revolutions erupted in the name of ideology, led to significant changes in the government, ideas, society and occurred with violence. Nothing of the sort happened in Ukraine. Therefore the author presents the orange revolution as evolution because it reinvested Ukrainians with the law-sanctioned right to have a political system in which leaders are chosen in free and fair elections.

## **Maria Tomczak**

Political terrorism is not a new phenomenon for Germany, which has had to tackle numerous internal campaigns both left-wing and right-wing. In mid-20th century Germany became a target of attacks organized externally by foreign groups: the Palestinian movement and radical Kurd organizations. Since the beginning of the 21st century, the FRG, like all the Western countries, has also become an object of terrorist acts on the part of Islamist groups on grounds that Germany was part of the Western world and subsequently joined the international "war against terrorism". In all those cases a strategy was adopted that consisted in elimination of threats to Germany and its citizens. If it was considered that concessions would pacify the situation and direct the terrorists' attention elsewhere, fight was abandoned. This strategy usually proved to be efficient. Apart from the Munich attack Germany did not become the object of actions of external groups in spite of belonging to elite nations. However, it must be noted that such a way of proceeding was only possible because others were at the same time conducting a major fight against terrorism. Were it not for Americans, Israelis, the English and others, German strategy would not be possible at all.

## **Karolina Kawczyńska**

The object of the study are the determinants of the collapse of Yugoslavia considering the historical circumstances that defined the shape of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and were a basis of erosive movements at the beginning of the 1990s that led to a bloody conflict. Relations among the Yugoslav nations under the rule of Josip Broz Tito are described. The situation in the republic on the threshold of war is analyzed with emphasis on the decisions of the political elite of those times who perceived armed conflict as instrumental in implementing the ideas of creating independent political organisms. The course of the 10-day war is outlined that led to the emergence of Slovenia as an independent state. The endeavors of political decision makers to create a nationally homogeneous Croatia to the exclusion of the vital interests of the Serbian minority inhabiting in compact enclaves the region of the Military Frontier and Slavonia are discussed. The character of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina is shown through a description of the besieged Sarajevo, a divided Mostar, the balance of wrongs experienced by inhabitants of Bosnia due to atrocities committed by all the warring parties.

## **Miron Lakomy**

The article tackles the problem of sensitivity to threats that appear in cyber space in the security policies of selected international agents, including among others: the USA, Poland, Israel, Russia, the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty. Cyber threats intensified with the development of information technology and the popularization of the Internet. Initially they were not very serious attacks done by self-taught programmers. Since mid-1990s the character of the hackers' activity evolved with growing interest of individual countries in cyber space issues. Many countries, including the USA, Russia and China, began to focus on the development of their potential in this area in order to ensure maximum protection of their critical infrastructure against cyber attacks. In the 21st century the significance of cyber space for international security is constantly increasing. The promptness of response to new problems and the most appropriate path of development of the potential in this area will in the future determine not only the security but to some extent also the status of particular countries on the international arena.

## **Marek Rewizorski**

The article traces the evolution, activity and prospects of functioning of G-7, G-8 and G-20 – formulas of global cooperation that play an immensely significant role in shaping the emerging model of global governance. The author assumes that global governance means transferring onto the highest level the activity proper to governments with the difference that their competences of power are replaced by the activity of the so called controllers understood as the entirety of formal institutions, regimes and informal forums of exchange of information, experiences and of reaching compromise. Among the latter in the 1990s emerged G-7 which over two decades later transformed into G-8. Initially, this informal forum of dialogue dealt with financial matters but subsequently began to expand its agenda to economic issues and eventually to political concerns. Following the changes induced by the Asia crisis of 1997 and then the financial crisis of 2008 a new element of global governance architecture appeared, i.e. G-20. Since 1999 this group has operated on the level of finance ministers and central banks managers, joined in 2008 by state leaders.

## **Tomasz Budnikowski**

The object of the study are the major tendencies observed on the job markets of highly developed countries. Apart from a few exceptions most of them have a high unemployment rate. The growing costs accompanying employment are an obstacle to raising the level of employment. In many countries those costs are already nearly equivalent to the wages. On the other hand, the progressing process of diffusion of new information transmission technologies has led to a noticeable shift from work contracts to various untypical forms of employment.

A high level of efficiency achieved by the OECD countries makes it possible to ensure an appropriate standard of living with a decreasing level of employment. Thus, at the beginning of the 21st century shortening of work time has become a rule. This is done by various methods, the most popular one being part-time employment. It must be remembered, however, that limitation of work time is not always seen as justified by the person to whom it pertains.