

THE WARSAW INSTITUTE REVIEW

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„Strong Poland is a blessing
for Europe, strong Europe
is a blessing for the
whole world.”

President of the United States,
Donald J. Trump



**WARSAW, POLAND. 6 JULY
2017. WARSAW'S KRASINSKI
SQUARE AND THE MONUMENT
TO THE 1944 UPRISING
COMMEMORATING THOUSANDS
OF ITS PARTICIPANTS WAS
NOT CHOSEN BY CHANCE AS
THE PLACE OF TRUMP'S FIRST
PUBLIC SPEECH IN EUROPE
DURING HIS VISIT TO POLAND.**

Dear Readers



The second issue of The Warsaw Institute Review quarterly starts atypically with sports and electromobility. Witold Bańka, Polish Minister of Sport and Tourism, and a former athlete himself, is the Council of Europe's representative in the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA). He has embarked on a tough battle against doping in sports, as he describes in his article. Meanwhile Michał Kurtyka, Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Energy and Chairman of the Steering Committee of the Electromobility Development Program, presents a broad perspective on the development and use of electromobility technology in Poland.

Although geopolitics, as a discipline of the social sciences, was formed almost two centuries ago, its purpose and methodology remain relevant today. By taking the relatively easy step of overlaying current events onto the world map, it still allows us to formulate answers as to why a particular political center can develop into a great power and shape the course of events in the modern world. And for this reason, we decided to focus much attention on this matter. The second issue of the quarterly contains a geopolitical report, which consists of a series of five articles, devoted to the situation and possible scenarios in the near future of East-Central Europe. This section closes with a study of the very current and extremely controversial issue of the reception of refugees into Europe and possible political, social and cultural consequences thereof.

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In the history section, I especially recommend two articles: Dr. Mariusz Klarecki's article on the losses of private art collections in occupied Warsaw during World War II; and Dr. Joanna Lubecka's article on a still current topic, concerning a semantic dispute over the key terminology used in Polish-German relations and the need for both countries to build an honest historical narrative.

I also encourage you to confirm your desire to continue to receive a free copy of The Warsaw Institute Review quarterly through the registration form found at Warsawinstitute.org/subscribe-magazine/.

ANNA KAROLINA PIEKARSKA

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF THE WARSAW INSTITUTE REVIEW

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THE BATTLE AGAINST DOPING – CHALLENGING BUT WINNABLE

WITOLD BAŃKA

For some, doping in sport has become normal practice with it so commonplace that there are people calling for its legalization. These calls, however, rarely come from the athletes themselves.

Anyone who has ever competed, who has devoted long months preparing for an athletic event at the expense of their free time, studies or family, knows how important it is to feel that the competition is fair and equal. Even if you lose – and defeat is inevitable in sports – you know that everyone has had an equal chance to win; because in sports you either accept the principle of fair play, or you are not really an athlete. There is no third way. Thus, when taking up the post of Minister of Sport and Tourism in the Polish government, as a former athlete I made protecting the integrity of sport my priority. This is the foundation on which I want to build the future successes of our athletes. Using this approach, there

is no place for compromise. Polish sport must be free from doping, but also free from corruption; it has to be managed transparently and free from conflicts of interest.

THE BATTLE AGAINST DOPING

Today, the fight against doping is more difficult than ever before. In the era of globalization, the internet and ceaseless pressure on athletes, it is no longer enough to rely solely on the results of doping tests and to increase their frequency. The fight against doping in sport is increasingly based on the quality of actions taken and on the adequate cooperation of a wide range of stakeholders, including the police and customs services. To create such

Every athlete has a right to clean sport.

 WORLD ANTI-DOPING AGENCY



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conditions, it is necessary to start with a solid legal basis. Therefore, at the beginning of my term in office, a thorough review of the legislation on the fight against doping was carried out, taking a truly critical approach. Some of the solutions turned out to be impractical or not in line with current international standards; meanwhile, others were non-compliant with WADA regulations, including the World Anti-Doping Code. The situation required a resolute and well considered response. I made two decisions. Firstly, I found it necessary to draft a completely new law to comprehensively regulate the complex issue of doping, which required a single legislative act to provide a basis for action for all stakeholders in the fight against doping in our country. Secondly, I decided that all regulations considered doubtful as to their compliance with the World Anti-Doping Code had to be amended as soon as possible.

THE POLISH ANTI-DOPING AGENCY

The first solution was of a long-term nature; meanwhile, the second was *ad-hoc* and required the immediate

LAUSANNE, SWITZERLAND, MARCH 13, 2017. LAWYER RICHARD MCLAREN, INVESTIGATOR AND REPORT AUTHOR FOR THE WORLD ANTI-DOPING AGENCY (WADA), DELIVERS HIS SPEECH ADDRESSING HIS FINDINGS ON RUSSIAN STATE-SPONSORED DOPING SYSTEMS DURING THE OPENING DAY OF THE 2017 WORLD ANTI-DOPING AGENCY (WADA) ANNUAL SYMPOSIUM, AT THE SWISS TECH CONVENTION CENTER.

I found it necessary to draft a completely new law to comprehensively regulate the complex issue of doping.

amendment of the Act on Sport, which was made last summer and thoroughly changed the system of enforcing disciplinary liability for doping in sport. We put an end to the system in which adjudication in disciplinary proceedings was down to the role of Polish sports associations, who often delivered judgments seeking to protect the mistaken interests of the athletes, rather than the need to combat doping. The power to draw up and implement disciplinary regulations on doping in sport was vested in the Commission



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KATOWICE, POLAND, MAY 19, 2017. MINISTER OF SPORT AND TOURISM WITOLD BAŃKA, DURING A PRESS CONFERENCE. THE THEME OF THE CONFERENCE WAS THE DECISION OF THE WORLD ANTI-DOPING AGENCY (WADA) TO GRANT KATOWICE THE RIGHT TO HOST THE WORLD ANTI-DOPING CONFERENCE IN 2019.

Against Doping in Sport which, at that time, held the status of the Polish National Anti-Doping Organization (NADO). In retrospect, I can say that this step contributed to increasing the quality of the Polish system of disciplinary adjudication on cases relating to doping in sport. The changes were, therefore, continued in the same direction through commencing the work on the Act on Combating Doping in Sport, which further strengthened the role of the central-level adjudicating body.

The main step in the legislative works was, therefore, the drafting of the new Act on Combating Doping in Sport, which ended on 20 December 2016 with the approval of the proposed legislation by the Council of Ministers. The work on the document was carried out in

close cooperation with the World Anti-Doping Agency and in line with best practices used in drawing up anti-doping legislation in other countries, including Germany. As a result, a breakthrough legislative act, providing for modern systemic solutions, was developed. Its implementation will place Poland at the forefront of the fight against doping, alongside countries such as the United States, Great Britain and Germany. The Act on Combating Doping in Sport was passed by the Sejm, the lower house of the Polish Parliament, on 21 April this year and was supported by all political parties in the Parliament in their official statements, and all members present in the House voted for it.

The main purpose of the Act is to establish a new authority responsible

for combating doping in sport in our country. However, this is not just a cosmetic change, consisting merely of replacing one entity with another. Rather, this is a truly in-depth and well considered institutional reform which aims firstly to streamline, and, secondly, to strengthen the country's anti-doping structures. Starting from 1 July, the Commission Against Doping in Sport will be replaced by the Polish Anti-Doping Agency, a stable entity with wide-ranging powers and adequate funding. The Agency will use the acronym POLADA. Of particular importance for the effective fight against doping will be the Agency's powers in the area of so-called investigative cooperation with the police, prosecutors, customs service, military police and border guards. Pursuant to the Act, all those services are required to share information with the Agency, thus allowing it to conduct its own doping-related investigations. Within the Agency's structure there will be an investigation department, which is currently a standard followed by the best anti-doping organizations in the world such as UKAD in the UK or USADA in the United States. Without investigative activities, it is now difficult to imagine a truly effective fight against doping in sport. In general, such activities consist of determining whether a particular person (including an athlete) was involved in doping. This is done based on circumstantial evidence, without the requirement to detect a prohibited substance in the athlete's sample or the use of a prohibited method.

However, the Agency's main task will still be, as it was for the Commission Against Doping in Sport, to plan and conduct doping controls, both in-competition and out-of-competition. A novelty will be the significant professionalization of this task. According to the Act, doping controls may only be carried out by qualified doping

control officers appropriately trained by the Agency and that the draft Act sets out very specific requirements relating to their training process.

The professionalization of doping control procedures is also reflected by awarding a special status to doping control officers. In the performance of their professional duties, or in connection thereto, they will be authorized to use the protection

The professionalization of doping control procedures is also reflected by awarding a special status to doping control officers.

extended to public officials under the Criminal Code, but will at the same time be subject to the same liability as those officials. Tasks carried out by doping control officers have been considered measures in the public interest, and hence they have special status whose purpose is, on the one hand, to guarantee an adequate level of protection to doping control officers and, on the other hand, to serve a preventive measure against corruption of those officers.

AGENCY COOPERATION WITH OTHER ENTITIES

The new Act on Combating Doping in Sport is also a continuation of the reform of the system of jurisdiction over cases relating to doping in sport, which commenced last summer. It provides for the appointment, within the Agency, of a disciplinary panel whose task will be to adjudicate on all disciplinary cases relating to doping in sport. The solution therefore consists of transferring the

SPORT

authority to adjudicate on those cases from the disciplinary committees which operated within Polish sports associations, to a single specialized entity which will guarantee the efficiency and fairness of the conducted proceedings. Notably, some of those committees lacked sufficient knowledge and the experience to be able to properly adjudicate on cases relating to doping in sport.

The Act on Combating Doping in Sport also sets out a legal framework for the Agency's cooperation with the minister responsible for health.

The Act also grants to the police and to the customs service the power to take measures necessary to investigate and prosecute smuggling and trafficking in doping substances that are prohibited in sport. This empowerment is accompanied by the relevant criminal law provisions which, under the conditions laid down in the Act, impose sanctions such as fines, restriction of liberty or imprisonment for up to 3 years, for making available to other persons, either free of charge or in return for payment, specific prohibited substances, trafficking in those substances or their transport or import into the territory of Poland. Such legislation is required, in particular, with regard to steroids which constitute a specific category of prohibited substances, and are of increasing interest to organized criminal groups, as a cheaper and "safer" alternative to drug trafficking.

The Act on Combating Doping in Sport also sets out a legal framework



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for the Agency's cooperation with the minister responsible for health. It requires cooperation in terms of informing society about the possible risks of the presence of prohibited substances in dietary supplements, the risks related to using prohibited substances or prohibited methods, as well as information provision as part of ensuring appropriate marking or labeling of medicinal products, particularly when they contain prohibited substances.

The Act also clarifies the legal situation in the field of processing the personal data of athletes who undergo doping control procedures. Upon entry into



force of the new Act, such data will be processed pursuant to the provisions thereof, rather than based on the consent of the athletes who, theoretically, may not have granted it. The scope of data to be processed, as well as data storage periods and destruction methods, are clearly determined. What is also of importance, is that the Act sets out the legal requirement for athletes to submit to doping control, and imposes on them the obligation to provide specific information, including their whereabouts for the following three months.

The Act on Combating Doping in Sport, which will enter into force on 1 July, is of extreme importance to the future of

Polish sport. It has been long awaited by the entire country's sporting community, and in particular by athletes who have the right to expect that fair competition will be guaranteed to them. This is not an easy task, as the international anti-doping standards set by the World Anti-Doping Agency develop dynamically and quickly, thus forcing countries to face new expectations and challenges. The Act not only meets them, but also makes it possible to think of Poland, in the near future, as one of the leaders in the fight against doping.

The new anti-doping legislation which will soon enter into force is the cornerstone of future actions aimed

at ensuring the integrity of sport. It is the first and most important step towards building a strong, credible and globally recognized anti-doping system in Poland. Yet, it is not the only step. Of equal importance are other actions taken by the ministry I lead, including an increase in the number and effectiveness of doping controls, the purchase of modern equipment for the Polish anti-doping laboratory, and, possibly above all else, the involvement in international cooperation in the fight against doping in sport.

POLAND'S INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENT TO THE FIGHT AGAINST DOPING

Today, Poland is ranked 14th in the world in terms of the number of samples collected during doping controls. We have plans to increase the number from 3300 in 2016 to almost 4000 this year and, ultimately, to 4500 in 2020. Over time, the Agency is going to become an anti-doping partner for all sports event organizers in the region, and a mentoring partner for other anti-doping organizations. Already today, such cooperation is carried out with Ukraine and Azerbaijan, in the latter case under a formal agreement with WADA. We already have the first results of this partnership with Azerbaijan returning to the list of countries compliant with the Code. Thus, in the future we aim to develop close cooperation also with other countries for which our knowledge and experience may be of assistance.

It is also planned to strengthen the position of the anti-doping laboratory in Warsaw, which is among the 34 WADA-accredited laboratories across the world. The goal for the laboratory is to obtain the permanent status of a leading anti-doping laboratory in the region, analyzing samples not only from the Polish Anti-Doping Agency, but also from other national anti-doping organizations

and international sporting federations – organizers of sports competitions in the region. This is already happening today: the laboratory analyzes samples from Belarus, Ukraine, Lithuania, Russia and Spain. 2016 was a record year in terms of the number of analyzed samples coming from abroad and we would like this trend to continue. Therefore, in 2016 the ministry allocated the largest ever amount to the laboratory.

It is also of extreme importance for the Polish *raison d'état* to increase our country's participation in the fight against doping on the international stage. Only by doing so can we prove the credibility and reliability of our anti-doping system. Furthermore, given that doping is an international phenomenon, the fight against it should not end at countries' borders. Poland has therefore adopted a strategy of strict cooperation with the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA), which is of mutual benefit to both parties. On the one hand, WADA offers us assistance in the improvement of our national solutions, including legislative ones, and we, on the other hand, support the mission pursued by the organization. Poland is particularly interested in WADA's investigative activities; hence my decision to systematically support, also financially, the organization's engagement in this innovative work area. In 2016, Poland paid a contribution of \$US 50,000 to support the WADA Intelligence and Investigation Fund.

A reflection of our international engagement, but also of the appreciation for Poland's recent activities has been my election as a member of the Executive Committee of the World Anti-Doping Agency, which was supported by all 47 member states of the Council of Europe. The Executive Committee is one of WADA's two governing bodies whose role is decisive in shaping the global fight

against doping. The Committee consists of 12 members; half of which represent public authorities, and the other half – the sports movement. I now have the honour of representing the continent of Europe. My priority as a member of the Committee will be to join all forces in the fight against doping, in order to make governments and the sports movement speak with one voice. On the Committee, I will always take a firm position and support only those measures which indeed contribute to the fight against doping.

As regards the strengthening of Poland's international engagement, it is impossible not to mention the role of Katowice as the host city of the 2019 World Conference on Doping in Sport. The ministry headed by me, and very strongly supported by Katowice city authorities, sought the role of the host city since last November, and was selected for hosting the conference over Geneva and Muscat. The event is going to be a great challenge; yet, given the nature of Poles, our famous hospitality and extensive experience in hosting major international events, I am confident about the result. The World Conference on Doping in Sport is a periodic event in the WADA calendar, held every 4 to 6 years. It is attended by nearly 2000 experts from around the world, and is the main anti-doping event worldwide. In those conferences, decisions of key significance for the future fight against doping are taken: amendments to the Code are adopted and WADA's president is elected.

In summary, over the past several months the Polish anti-doping system has undergone numerous in-depth reforms. This reflects the great commitment of the Polish government to the fight for the integrity of sport as a key aspect of the country's society as a whole.

This commitment has been noticed and recognized internationally. Consequently, we will enjoy the role of host of the 2019 World Conference on Doping in Sport, which will be held in Katowice. Yet, this is not the end; rather this is only the beginning of the road which must be

It is impossible not to mention the role of Katowice as the host city of the 2019 World Conference on Doping in Sport.

followed by Poland and the world. We are fighting for the good name of sport and the future of athletes who have placed their trust in us. We should be inspired by athletes such as Beckie Scott, a Canadian skier who first competed for the gold medal in a sports arena, and later beyond it, when it turned out that the two Russian athletes who came before her used doping. Today, Beckie Scott chairs the World Anti-Doping Agency's Athlete Committee and speaks for many athletes from around the globe. Among the members of this Committee was also the Polish Paralympic champion Katarzyna Rogowicz, now a member of the Polish Commission Against Doping in Sport. The voices of athletes must be heard and their right to fair competition in sport should be a priority for every government. Therefore, as a member of the Executive Committee, I will call on my colleagues and ministers to increase the efforts and funds to combat doping in sport.

Witold Bańka ■

June 6, 2017

POLAND ON THE ROAD TO ELECTROMOBILITY

MICHAŁ KURTYKA, PhD

Electromobility is one of several strategic directions for Poland's economic development in the near term. On March 16, 2017, the Polish government adopted the Electromobility Development Plan, which set goals and directions for action in this area until 2025.

The energy composition of transport fuels, shaped through history, is a major challenge for both the Polish power industry and its transport sector. In time, it will also increasingly burden Polish cities, where noise and pollution are already a significant discomfort for inhabitants. From this perspective, electromobility is a strategic choice that will not only reduce dependence on energy imports, but also has the chance to become a source of competitive advantage for the Polish economy.

GLOBAL TRENDS

The emerging market's potential is best illustrated by a forecast indicating that around 500 million electric vehicles (out of 2 billion vehicles in total) will be driving on the world's roads in 2040. As a consequence, we can expect the sales of electric vehicles to grow rapidly – today about 500,000 units are sold each year, while in 2040 it could even reach 41 million units.¹ The expected market

¹ J. MacDonald, *Electric vehicles to be 35% of global new car sales by 2040*, www.bnef.com.



WARSAW, POLAND, FEBRUARY 20, 2017. UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF ENERGY MICHAŁ KURTYKA, DURING A CONFERENCE IN THE MINISTRY OF DEVELOPMENT, INAUGURATING COOPERATION WITH CITIES TO CREATE CONDITIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ELECTROMOBILITY INDUSTRY.



© JAKUB KACZMARCZYK (PAP)

BOLECHOWO (WIELKOPOLSKIE PROVINCE), POLAND, AUGUST 24, 2015. AT THE SOLARIS BUS & COACH S.A. FACTORY IN BOLECHOWO NEAR POZNAŃ, WHERE THE FIRST PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION BUSES EQUIPPED WITH PHOTOVOLTAIC PANELS ARE BEING BUILT. THE PANELS, AN ADDITIONAL SOURCE OF POWER IN BUSES, WILL BE USED TO POWER ELECTRONIC MONITORS, LED LIGHTING AND TICKET MACHINES, THANKS TO WHICH FUEL CONSUMPTION WILL DROP BY SEVERAL PERCENT.

growth exceeds the production potential of today's electric car manufacturers many times over.

It's difficult to imagine the appearance of a mass-production car company based on the traditional combustion engine.

In the present circumstances, it's difficult to imagine the appearance of a mass-production car company based on the traditional combustion engine. The examples of Tesla, Google and Apple

show that in the case of electric vehicles, the barriers to entry are considerably smaller. This applies not only to the construction of entire vehicles, but also to individual components. At the same time, it is a good opportunity for countries like Poland, which have not accumulated enough capital to compete in the traditional vehicle market.

POLISH ANSWERS

For this reason, one of the objectives of the Electromobility Development Plan is the advancement of the electromobility industry, which can be realized both through an appropriate proportion of electric vehicles produced in Poland out of the total number of vehicles and by a suitable degree of saturation of vehicles registered in Poland with Polish components.

Already today, a few Polish companies that bet on electromobility some years ago remain the European market leader in their segments. Solaris is a brand of electric buses not only recognized in Europe but globally. Many companies that have contributed to Solaris's success by providing the charging infrastructure or components for the production of electric buses offer their own products independently on the European market today. What can be done for these companies to continue to grow? What can be done to add new ones?

Government activities are currently focused on two areas: the creation of future demand and targeting financing towards research in the field of electric vehicles and associated infrastructure. In April, the Ministry of Energy presented a draft law on electromobility, which comprehensively regulates the situation of consumers and manufacturers of electric vehicles. After the entry into law of the act:

- the purchase of an electric car will be cheaper (exemption from excise tax);
- the driver of an electric car will be able to drive more comfortably (allowed the use of bus lanes) and cheaply (free parking in city centers);
- by 2020, a charging infrastructure for electric vehicles will be established (over 6,000 points in 32 metropolitan areas);
- local governments will be more eager to choose electric buses (infrastructure construction will be faster and cheaper);
- local authorities will be given a real tool to fight for better air quality in their area (possibility of establishing zero-emission zones).

The bill is a result of the annual cooperation of the Ministry of Energy with companies and its analysis of the experiences of other countries.

The electromobility act will be a constitution for market development – eliminating identified barriers and creating new advantages.

Government activities are currently focused on two areas: the creation of future demand and targeting financing towards research in the field of electric vehicles and associated infrastructure.

An important aspect of the adoption of the law will be the creation of sufficient demand for electric vehicles. In addition to incentives for businesses and individuals, the electromobility act introduces incentives for local and central administrations to switch to electric transport. We've proposed that by 2025, 50% of cars used by the central administration be powered by electricity.

I am convinced that the law will not only contribute to industry development, but will also lead to a significant increase in the number of electric vehicles on the roads, which is also a goal of the Electromobility Development Plan (1 million electric vehicles by 2025).

INNOVATIVE APPROACH TO R&D

The biggest challenge, but at the same time the program's biggest opportunity, is to create a new industry. This will not be possible without concentrating R&D resources, which have the chance to play the role of a springboard for good ideas in electromobility.

ENERGY

As part of the implementation of the Electromobility Development Plan, the first dedicated financial support instruments for both companies and local government units have been launched. The Ministry of Energy is working on the establishment of a Low-Emission Transport Fund, which will generate nearly 5 billion PLN (\$1.3 billion) to support the construction of infrastructure, vehicle purchases and electric vehicle manufacturers. The National Fund for Environmental Protection and Water Management is also working on a dedicated program.

No-Emission Public Transport program aims to develop a next-generation electric bus.

The National Center for Research and Development (NCBiR) is launching the No-Emission Public Transport program, which aims to develop a next-generation electric bus. It's worth emphasizing the program's unique formula, where research is started only when there is sufficient demand for an innovative product. NCBiR is currently working with cities to identify their needs in relation to electric buses. In the next phase, NCBiR will launch a research competition which will result in the development of a bus, as defined by local authorities. Buses will then be purchased by cities that were involved in conceptualizing the product. This formula maximizes the chances that the effects of R&D will be used commercially.

Another manifestation of the innovative approach to the development of the industry is the activity of Electromobility



© ROMAN JOCHER (PAP)

GDAŃSK, POLAND, MAY 10, 2011. PRESENTATION OF AN "EKOAUTO" (ECO-FRIENDLY AUTO), A FIAT PANDA WITH AN ELECTRIC MOTOR, IN FRONT OF THE ENERGA COMPANY HEADQUARTERS.

Poland, which is supposed to lead to the launch of Polish electric cars, but not through building independent production lines, but by supporting existing private entities. The primary tool of Electromobility Poland for achieving this goal is the engagement of entities operating on the Polish market in the field of vehicle or component production, integration of their potential and preparation for the industrialization stage.

NEW MODELS IN THE ELECTROMOBILITY MARKET

I am convinced that there is no turning back from electromobility. The question

is not if but when electric cars will become a natural element on the landscape of our streets. This demonstrates the activities of auto companies, which are focused not only on the adaptation of gas-powered cars to electric propulsion, but also on finding completely new forms of transport use, for which electric drive is only a means and not an aim. This is quite natural, given the increasing volume of traffic in city centers, problems with access to downtown at peak hours or insufficient parking spaces. An electric vehicle, being quiet and non-polluting, will gradually gain in popularity.

However, it is not yet known what type of cars, including electric, will be used in the cities of the future. U.S. research shows that the average car sits unused 96% of the time. European studies show that statistically we use the car for about an hour a day. This means that cars take up public parking space instead of moving. The better use of vehicles that have arrived in the city center and for some reason must remain, poses a challenge, but also presents a chance to spread alternative ways of using cars. Increasingly popular car sharing and carpooling provide a partial answer, but business models in the electromechanical market provide much food for thought.

In the electromobility act, we introduce the possibility of establishing zero-emission zones in city centers. Such a move, though judged by some to be socially difficult, is necessary to create a space in which new business models can emerge. Gradually we want to persuade Poles that city centers without gas-powered cars can be not only more appealing but also more efficient in terms of the mobility options offered.

CHANGE MEANS OPPORTUNITIES...

Henry Ford, who introduced the Ford Model T in 1907, a relatively low-priced

car that revolutionized transport at the beginning of the 20th century, liked to say that if he asked people what they wanted, it would have been a faster horse. This did not prevent him, however, from selling over 15 million Model Ts in 20 years. In a short period, the internal combustion engine had

A unique opportunity is presenting itself to Poland to enter a growing segment of the world market and to occupy an important place in it.

displaced horse transport from American roads. Technological change had defended itself. The car was simply more reliable, comfortable and faster. I'm convinced that a similar revolution awaits the automotive sector in the coming decades.

A unique opportunity is presenting itself to Poland to enter a growing segment of the world market and to occupy an important place in it. In preparing the Electromobility Development Plan, we have tried to create levers that will enable us to capitalize on our domestic social capital. Polish students win world competitions in the fields of robotics, electrical engineering and computer science. Polish designers and engineers are working successfully for the world's biggest automotive companies. It's time for a project on a scale that matches their ambitions and skills, which will encourage them to join in the construction of Polish, and perhaps eventually global brands in the electromobility market.

Michał Kurtyka ■

June 9, 2017



WARSAW, POLAND, JULY 14, 2017. LAW AND JUSTICE LEADER JAROSŁAW KACZYŃSKI DURING A PRESS CONFERENCE IN THE PARTY'S HEADQUARTERS.

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GLOBALISM AND LOCALISM IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF POLISH POLITICS

MICHAŁ KUŹ, PHD

New processes and events on the world political stage are increasingly forcing old labels to be abandoned.

Are Emmanuel Macron and Marine Le Pen, for example, on the right or left? If Donald Trump is a conservative Republican, why did many Republicans look upon his candidacy so skeptically? It was similar with Brexit, which led to divisions among conservatives.

Analogous questions arise in East-Central Europe. Since, for example, Law and Justice (PiS) of Jarosław Kaczyński and Fidesz of Viktor Orbán, are defined as right-wing parties, sometimes even extreme right, how is that possible that both have introduced the biggest social reforms in their countries in decades,

creating new entitlements, especially for large and disadvantaged families?

TOWARDS A NEW DIVISION

The new divisions on the political scene are written about in various ways. The most common terms that appear are mainstream versus nationalism or populism. Nationalism, however, seems inadequate, because not all political movements and parties that are part of the new division focus their attention on the traditionally understood nation-state.

On the other hand, populism, as the definition of the new political tendency, seems completely unsatisfactory because it is a catch-all concept, into which the existing political elites can throw anything that they do not approve of. As rightly noted by Francis Fukuyama: “populism” is the label that political elites attach to the policies supported by ordinary citizens that they do not like.¹ The mythical mainstream is a similarly unclear concept is, that is, the views which the elites like.

The belief in social solidarity – which was formerly characteristic of the left – and the right-wing belief in preserving national, cultural and religious identity, are merging into one localist camp. In opposition to it is the globalist camp, which offers the combination of the old left belief in moral emancipation and the old right-wing, free-market assumptions. This can be grasped in greater detail by comparing some basic political concepts and how they are used by political groups. After examining traditional political

parties, Ian Bunge² states that from 1945–2008, the following subjects were the most important in their programs:

Table 1

LEFT	RIGHT
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> » PEACE » INTERNATIONALISM » DEMOCRACY » PLANNING AND PUBLIC OWNERSHIP » PROTECTIONISM » SOCIAL SECURITY » EDUCATION » TRADE UNIONS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> » ARMED FORCES » NATIONAL WAY OF LIFE » AUTHORITY, MORALITY » FREE MARKET » FREE TRADE » SOCIAL HARMONY » FREEDOM AND RIGHTS

Today’s political division can, however, be characterized by a cursory analysis of the beliefs of parties, candidates and political movements in Europe and the USA, as follows:

Table 2

LEFT	RIGHT
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> » “INVESTORS” » INTERNATIONALISM » LIBERAL DEMOCRACY » TRADE AGREEMENTS » FLEXIBILITY » FREE TRADE » COMPENSATION EQUAL TO COMPETENCIES » TOLERANCE » MULTICULTURALISM 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> » SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED BUSINESSES » A ROOTED WAY OF LIFE » DIRECT DEMOCRACY » PROTECTIONISM » STABILITY » SOCIAL SECURITY » SOLIDARITY » LOCAL TRADITIONS, NATIONAL IDENTITY, STATE SOVEREIGNTY

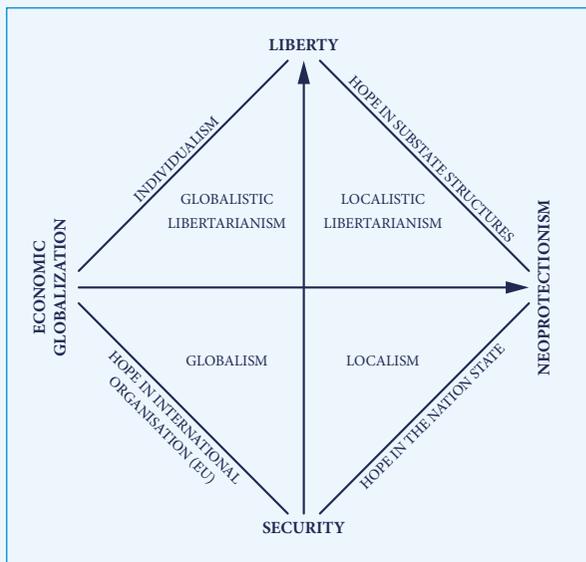
The mere juxtaposition of political slogans does not, however, give a full picture of the new political, ideological

¹ F. Fukuyama, “American Political Decay or Renewal?”, *Foreign Policy*, July/August 2016, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2016-06-13/american-political-decay-or-renewal>.

² Table from Rod Hague and Martin Harrop, *Comparative Government and Politics*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). I. Bunge, “Identifying Dimensions and Locating Parties: Methodological and Conceptual Problems”, *Handbook of Party Politics*, Richard Katz and William Crotty eds. (London: Sage, 2006), p. 429.

spectrum. In order to make this spectrum a bit clearer, however, it is necessary to first define the extremes, the ideological objectives of the various groups, and the vectors of development that are relevant to them. The spectrum created by the globalist-localist axis can be expressed as follows:

Figure 1³



The above chart, similar to the traditional political preference charts it resembles, has two axes. An economic axis and values axis. In case of new divisions, the economic axis spreads primarily between economic globalization and neo-protectionism, which combines the beliefs in job protection with a general pro-social attitude. Somewhat more problematic is the vertical axis, i.e. the safety-freedom axis. It ties into issues such as big data, international terrorism and electronic surveillance. This axis is also characterized by several issues

³ For similar diagrams that served as an inspiration for my graphics see J. Flis, “Polskie podziały - paradoksalne czy prekursorskie?”, Weblog on Salon 24, October 12, 2015, <http://jaroslawflis.salon24.pl/673589,polskie-podziały-paradoksalne-czy-prekursorskie>. Also see J. Flis, “Antynomie Sprzeciwu”, *Studia Socjologiczne i Politologiczne. Seria Nowa* no. 1 (03)/2015, pp. 93–103.

on the border of culture and security. These include migratory waves and a perceived threats to local identity. In general, the security-freedom axis conceptualizes the question: How many of our individual liberties are we willing to give up to the control of bigger and stronger structures in order to secure our prosperity, health and safety? As a result of the addition of this axis, both globalization and localism

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will have their libertarian variants, thus treating personal freedom as an important value.

Apart from the two axes, the graph also presents four “hopes”, i.e. social structures that, according to certain ideologies, are to be particularly protected and strengthened. For security-oriented localists, such a structure is the nation-state, hence calling them nationalists is not far from the truth. It should be noted, however, that even in their case, it is not the level of nationalism in which the state is

absolute and involves itself in all spheres of people’s lives, as was the case with 20th century nationalisms. The new, localist nationalism is more inclined to create a state that protects citizens from outside threats, but leaves them with a relatively broad sphere of personal freedom.

For globalists, however, transnational structures such as the European Union, the World Bank, the UN, the International Monetary Fund, NATO, the International Health Organization, the G7, the G20, and so on, are of key importance. Globalists are strongly convinced that only international cooperation, broadly understood, can ensure order in the present difficult times. It should also be emphasized that globalism is a direct continuation of neo-liberalism, but its goals are even more ambitious, especially in international politics.

In turn, localist libertarianism is growingly distrustful of the traditional nation state and its political role. It displays a fusion of communitarianism and the idea of the city as an important new political subject, which was promoted by the late Benjamin Barber.⁴

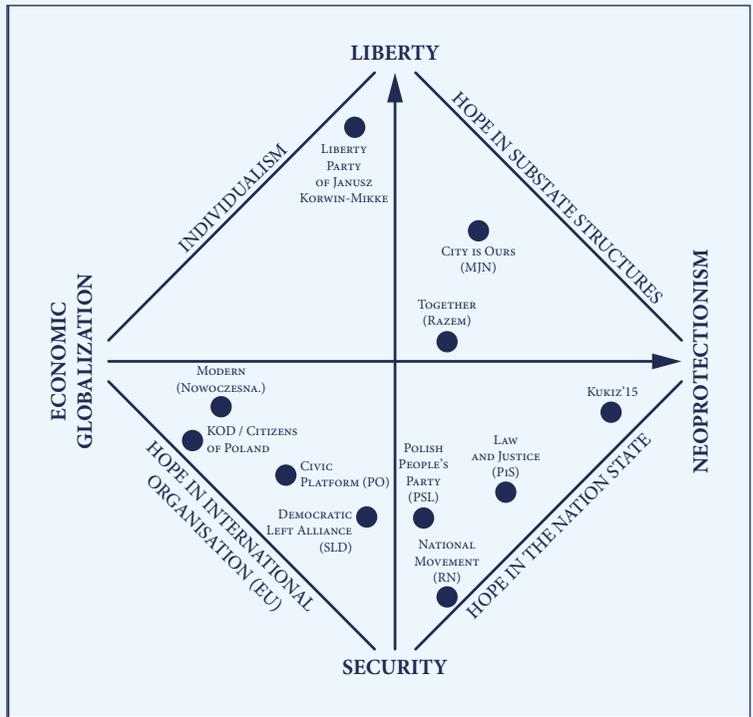
On the other hand, globalist libertarians reject both the state and smaller structures as oppressive, while they have faith in the power of the individual, also as an agent of economic activity. They are, in effect, radically pro-capitalist, though they do not necessarily trust supranational structures and the corporations working with them.

Globalist libertarianism is thus a continuation of the classical libertarian tradition.

POLISH SPECIFICITY

After 2010, when the echoes of the financial crisis reaching our country revealed the full power of the new divisions, the ideologies of key Polish parties and political movements could be characterized as follows:

Figure 2



It’s easy to see that the governing PiS party is clearly localist. This was not always the case, during their last period of governance (2005–2007), the party was on the traditional, free-market right. For example, they did not favor social benefits and securing the tax system. And today, an unprecedented reduction in the level of tax evasion and the increase in the level of social security, are among the greatest achievements of this government. It seems that PiS moved to the localist position out of pragmatism. The party was simply looking for a new program to return to

⁴ B. Barber, *If Mayors Ruled the World: Dysfunctional Nations, Rising Cities* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

power with, after quite a long period (by Polish standards) of liberal and then clearly globalist, Civic Platform governments. Among the smaller parties in the same localist quarter of the chart, is also the

In ideological interpretations of Polish political conditions, in general, two development factors influence Polish politics.

centrist agrarian party, PSL, the extreme nationalist party, the National Movement, and the new political movement, Kukiz'15. This last one, however, is a group that is clearly more freedom-oriented than other Polish localists. It is even growing closer to new urban movements, especially those active in the capital and contesting the results of real estate re-privatization activities, including The City is Ours and the Together party.

It should be noted, however, that both of these movements are already localist libertarian groups. They are also defined as the new left, especially the strongly pro-social welfare Together Party (Razem). It should be emphasized, however, that one of the specific features of the new left groups (e.g. the Spanish Podemos or Greek Syriza) is that they no longer have the typical Marxist belief that a different non-neo-liberal globalization is possible. They do not openly strive to build a new international, so out of necessity they have to be politically rooted in local structures. Libertarianism manifests itself in them, however, in that the rights of individuals are clearly more important than the local way of life or group identities. They actively defend the rights of minorities. In the

case of Together, they also clearly support abortion and same-sex marriages.

On the globalist side, we find the largest opposition parties, such as the previously governing Civic Platform (PO) and the new, even more radically globalist, Modern party (.Nowoczesna), which took over most of the electorate of the earlier, ultra-globalist Palikot Movement (Ruch Palikota). The opposition parties are supported by two influential, civic movements, the Citizens of Poland and the Committee for the Defense of Democracy (KOD). The former post-communist, left party, the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) is somewhat more to the globalist side of the spectrum. It's a party, which under its governments, brought Poland into the EU and NATO, but, especially in the case of the EU, saw it as strengthening the nation state and as a tool to reduce dependence on Moscow, rather than an alternative to the state itself. In effect, SLD is, for a globalist group, relatively attached to the concept of the state.

The only globalist libertarian party of any significance is the Liberty party of Janusz Korwin-Mikke (Wolność Janusza Korwin-Mikke). It should be noted, however, that its leader's conception of liberty is a very peculiar one. Mikke, now a member of the European Parliament, is in favor of deregulating all spheres of public life, minimal taxes and broad latitude in social behavior. He also promotes social Darwinism, which is manifested by his controversial attitude towards the disabled and children as one example.

In ideological interpretations of Polish political conditions, in general, two development factors influence Polish politics. First, because of the widely accepted model of transformation based on economic shock therapy in Poland, the post-communist left (SLD) in time



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WARSAW, POLAND, MARCH 2, 2017. PRIME MINISTERS OF THE VISEGRAD GROUP: BEATA SZYDŁO (POLAND, SECOND RIGHT), BOHUSLAV SOBOTKA (THE CZECH REPUBLIC, LEFT), VIKTOR ORBÁN (HUNGARY, SECOND LEFT) AND ROBERT FICO (SLOVAKIA, RIGHT) DURING THE PRESS CONFERENCE AFTER THE MEETING IN THE CHANCELLERY OF THE PRIME MINISTER IN WARSAW. DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTERS CONCERNED CURRENT ISSUES RELATED TO THE EU FUNCTIONING AND ITS FUTURE WHICH CAN TAKE PLACE AFTER BREXIT.

became the left in name only. In the economy, it quickly adopted neo-liberal slogans. Interestingly, in the case of disappearing social democracy, Poland is more of a trendsetter than a unique case. In mature democracies, social democratic parties have also become increasingly neo-liberal, which has led to their weakening, although this process has been slower.

Another important element of the Polish situation that it is a relatively young state, which in its present form has only existed since 1989. Of course, Poland has a long historical state tradition, however, the statehood was often interrupted by periods in which Poland completely disappeared from the map or its territory was occupied, and it was controlled from the outside. It follows that, firstly, localism must be relatively strong in Poland. The societies of young countries tend to have more of an attachment to stronger identity. Secondly, the role of the state itself is a subject of debate by elites to a much greater extent than in more mature countries. There is also the undeniable fact that although Poland is a well-developed state on a global scale, in its immediate region it's a semi-peripheral country, both in relation to the economic powerhouse centered

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in Berlin and the military powerhouse based in Moscow.⁵

Of course, a very emotional, unyielding approach to the role of the state leads to certain problems. Polish globalists do not fully believe in the state and its ability to sustain itself, so they have not tried to be as active as the left in the West to overcome social divisions. Since the state is so weak anyway, why engage it in a difficult redistribution processes? For the same reasons, in the eyes of Polish globalists, it was not worthwhile to undertake a broad fight against corruption and to attempt to secure the tax system. Moreover, they

⁵ Power Index 2017, <http://index.ineuropa.pl/en/>.

often believed that the remedy for all their country's failures was membership in supranational institutions, which led them to neglect the reforms of their state institutions. Finally, NGOs, located on the globalist side, often became too dependent on foreign financing and therefore did not have sufficient incentives to build local structures. For example, Sławomir Sierakowski, the head of an extremely influential globalist foundation (Stanisław Brzozowski Association, publisher of

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Krytyka Polityczna), said on the radio, that 90% of his financing comes from abroad. This, in Sierakowski's opinion, allows him to give a more independent critique of the Polish authorities.⁶ Such independence, however, has its price. This funding model is characterized by poor local connections and a lack of sensitivity to real social sentiment, and hence a limited opportunity to influence it.

In turn, Polish localists, also use the diagnosis of the weakness of the young Polish state as a starting point, and they respond in an overbearing and alarmist way. They perceive the state as a besieged fortress and are hypersensitive to limitations of its sovereignty. They do not want, for example, to accept even the symbolic participation of Poland in distributing immigrants from the Middle

⁶ S. Sierakowski, "In my organization, 90% of grants comes from abroad, which guarantees us independence and Kaczyński can take a leap," TOK FM November 24, 2016, <http://www.tokfm.pl/Tokfm/7,103085,21024913,w-mojej-organizacji-90-proc-dotowania-to-z-zagranicy.html>.

East between EU countries. They see this as a threat to security and a violation of the sovereignty of the country's borders. Sensitive to wounds to national pride, the localists are highly tuned to any criticisms and ridicules their country may encounter. Speaking of foreign policy, they use emotional rhetoric. An example of this is Foreign Minister Witold Waszczykowski, who defined the new Polish foreign policy as "getting up from our knees".⁷ They are also distrustful of institutional oversight by international bodies, and against the activities of non-governmental organizations financed from abroad.

Due to their specificity in Poland though, certain global trends made themselves known sooner and more visibly, and contrary to some analyses,⁸ Poland is not heading towards Russian-style authoritarianism or even Turkish semi-authoritarianism. On the contrary, the political transformations taking place in Poland are very typical of developed, Western countries. In Russia or Turkey there is no clear distinction between globalists and localists. Joining the EU

On the contrary, the political transformations taking place in Poland are very typical of developed, Western countries.

⁷ "Witold Waszczykowski on Polish foreign policy: we got up from our knees", *Rzeczpospolita* November 15, 2016, <http://www.rp.pl/Rzad-PiS/161119429-Witold-Waszczykowski-o-polska-polityce-zagranicznej-Wezislismy-z-kolan.html>.

⁸ S. Hanley and J. Dawson, "Poland Was Never As Democratic as It Looked", *Foreign Policy On-line* January 3, 2017, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/01/03/poland-was-never-as-democratic-as-it-looked-law-and-justice-hungary-orban/>.

is not a goal for Russian elites, and in Turkey, the idea is less and less popular. Instead, in these countries there is a division into neo-imperial elites (or in the case of Turkey neo-Ottoman), and liberal nationalist elites. Into supporters of expansion and building vast imperial structures and the supporters of modernization within a smaller and more homogeneous national environment. And for whatever similarities that can be seen between liberal nationalists, which tend to be in the opposition, and Central European localists, the whole political scene is, on the whole, radically different.

CONCLUSIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECT

New ideologies always polarize and converge with periods of global unrest. Over time, great compromises lead to apathy, oligarchization, and a lack of alternatives, in opposition to which new divisions are born. And while this process is inevitable, one must always aim to a thoroughly thought out, and refined compromise, that may prove to be the most durable option.

Today, globalists and localists are sentenced to be in opposition to one another in many political arenas and in many different structures. Likewise, countries controlled either by globalists or localists, are sentenced to opposition in foreign policy. The only sensible solution seems to be an attempt to synthesize the elements of both sides. In fact, the best politicians are already trying it. For all of its localistic attitudes, the Beata Szydło government is committed to cooperation within NATO, and also signed the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA). As for the European Union, although the Polish government does not want to transform it into a superstate built around the eurozone, it is clearly in favor of a common European community. For all of his globalism, President Emmanuel Macron is “against

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social dumping” and thus signals a policy of protecting jobs in his country. On the other hand, Chancellor Merkel was forced by the recent popularity of the radical localist party Alternative for Germany (AfD), to revise her migration policy. Interestingly, after she did, support for that party began to fade.

Continuing to build consensus can lead to even more important consequences. Humanity does not want to renounce the gains of globalization, such as the ease of travel and communication, and access to a wide range of goods and services. At the same time people as individuals want to have a sense of belonging to their local environment. They want to govern, not just to be ruled by distant, political and economic elites. Denying the average citizen of the world this privilege would push humanity into a new dark age,⁹ in which citizenship would be reduced to a status similar to a medieval serf in relation to a feudal lord. Over time, in such a situation, the dynamic development of the economy, science and technology would disappear. So, building a tense understanding between globalism and localism becomes a civilizational necessity. There are reasons to believe that this process is happening in Poland, although it is very difficult and sometimes it is misinterpreted.

Michał Kuź ■
June 27, 2017

⁹ Cf. M. Kuź, *Dusk of Democracy and Middle Ages 2.0*, *New Confederacy* 2013 no. 1, <http://www.nowakonfederacja.pl/mierzch-demokracji-sredniowiecze-2-0/>.

KIEV, UKRAINE, AUGUST 24, 2016. PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE PETRO POROSHENKO DURING A PRESS CONFERENCE AFTER A MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT OF POLAND ANDRZEJ DUDA. THE PRESIDENTS OF POLAND AND UKRAINE ADOPTED A JOINT DECLARATION ON THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF UKRAINE.



UKRAINE 2018

JAN GAJEWSKI

Political life in Ukraine in the coming months will be determined by the election calendar and the international situation, and above all Russia's relations with the West. In 2019, presidential elections (March) and parliamentary elections (October) should take place. The preparations for both of these events will determine political life in Ukraine in 2018, and will also affect the attitude of politicians in Kiev towards the conflict with Russia.

According to public polling, Ukraine's biggest problems, in the eyes of its people, are: the conflict in Donbas, the economic and social policy of the government and corruption. In preparing for the re-election battle, the chief player, President Petro Poroshenko, will continue trying to skillfully play for time on the Donbas issue (delaying the implementation of the 2015 Minsk Protocol), which is beneficial for Ukraine. The problem is that Poroshenko is behaving the same way regarding another matter, namely the fight against corruption. His evasions and delays on

this issue not only harm the country, but also won't help him in the election fight, which does not mean that he has no chance of winning. The problems in Ukraine today revolve around the absence of reliable leaders – there is little indication that this will change in the foreseeable future.

CONFLICT WITH RUSSIA

The main external factor affecting all areas of Ukrainian life remains the conflict with Russia, in all its aspects, from the proxy war in Donbas, to the question of who Crimea belongs to, to gas and energy issues and more broadly,

the economy. Conflict with Russia does not leave Ukraine with many geopolitical choices: we should expect further steps drawing Kiev closer with the West (EU, NATO). This is all the more so, since already two-thirds of the population support Ukraine's membership in the North Atlantic Alliance, while support for entry into the EU is not far behind.

Conflict with Russia does not leave Ukraine with many geopolitical choices.

Paradoxically, the war in Donbas, which increasingly binds Ukrainians to Europe, is also the biggest obstacle to integration. It's also known that without the involvement of other countries, it won't be possible to settle the problem of Donbas and Crimea. Political forecasts, both in terms of the West and Russia, however, indicate that a breakthrough is not to be expected in the near future. Each of the participants in the Minsk process has their own internal political problems, sufficiently important to the point that no one will push for a turning point in the crawling – basically stagnant – process of implementing the February 2015 Minsk agreement. And this situation suits the authorities in Kiev, who are blocking the implementation of the Minsk points – because it would mean a defeat for Ukraine¹; hence, for example, the long delayed adoption by

¹ In general, acceptance Moscow's efforts to modify Ukrainian statehood – it would mean legitimization of illegal separatist forces by Kyiv; Kyiv's acceptance of Russia's influence over a constitutional reformatting of the Ukrainian state; integration of the separatist enclaves into the Ukrainian state as independent entities; it would create *de facto* independent stateless inside the Ukrainian state with the right to forge alliances with other entities outside of Ukraine (one could imagine that they would wish to join the Eurasian Union). That all would mean the end of Ukrainian aspirations to join EU and NATO.

the parliament of a law giving the occupied territories autonomous status.

In the current domestic and international situation, the status quo seems to be the optimal situation for Ukraine, and even more so for the political team currently in power. The past three years have shown that the loss of Crimea and a large part of the Donbas by Ukraine has dealt a powerful blow to pro-Russian politics in the country. It's not just a matter of compromising the overt behavior by Ukrainian politicians acting as allies of a neighboring country, with whom a *de facto* war is taking place. The Moscow camp on the Dnieper also lost most of its electorate that remained on the other side of the front. Today, the Kremlin has very limited options for influencing the decisions of Kiev "from the inside". Besides, this is not the only advantage of the present situation. It is now on Russia, and not Ukraine, to ensure the economic survival of Donbas. It is true that support for a forcible solution to the problem is growing (the Ukrainian

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army is incomparably stronger today than in 2014 or 2015), but Kiev is aware that an attack would probably end with a Russian intervention, and above all, it would mean a loss of support for Ukraine

from the West. So it remains for them to wait for more favorable circumstances, and until then, only periodically escalate the conflict in times politically favorable for Ukraine (Russia does this as well), if only as a pretext to postpone the implementation of the Minsk agreement.

Such a play for time also carries risks – more and more Ukrainians see that war is used by a large part of the political class (especially the rulers) and the oligarchs as a pretext to abandon or slow down reform. What’s more, accusations are starting to sprout up that many of whom derive political and financial benefits from the current stalemate. It can be expected that there will be increased pressure to solve the problem – in the direction of intensifying Kiev’s policy and there are signs of this already. For instance, in March, Poroshenko decided to formally recognize the grassroots blockade by veterans and nationalists of trade with the occupied territories, which has been taking place since January. A lack of resolution will cause more and more dissatisfaction, because it has a direct negative impact on the economy and people’s everyday lives. Over a period of three years after the outbreak of the conflict, very few buy the argument that changes are slow, or on hold, because of the war. The difficult external situation and social mobilization around the war in Donbas should be a catalyst for reform. In situations of bloodshed and patriotic outbursts, it should be easier to make the painful albeit necessary changes. But the oligarchs and political class don’t care for such changes. The promise of “de-oligarching” remains unfulfilled, similar to the fight against corruption. It’s no wonder that only 27% of Ukrainians today see a political leader who can be trusted in the country. By contrast, 62% believe that the country needs new leaders, and 70% do not trust the current political class – this is a

potentially huge electorate to be courted by new politicians. This does not imply major changes but rather the triumph of disappointment, apathy, and the turning away from politics and public life. Only 38% of Ukrainians believe in a new Maidan, and only 20% are ready to participate in demonstrations.

THE PRESIDENT’S CAMP

One of the biggest disappointments for the political supporters of Maidan is the attitude of Petro Poroshenko – although it shouldn’t be, because when the Ukrainians elected him as president, they knew his past (characterized by, to put it gently, great political flexibility, which was reflected in his cooperation with both Viktor Yushchenko, and then with Viktor Yanukovich) and knew that he was one of the oligarchs. It’s hard to recognize Poroshenko as a radical reformer. Despite favorable conditions (mobilization

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around the war with Russia) he did not opt for profound changes in the state (an example being the weak fight against corruption and deal-making with other oligarchs), but rather settled



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KRYNICA-ZDRÓJ, POLAND, SEPTEMBER 7, 2016. UKRAINIAN PRIME MINISTER VOLODYMYR GROYSMAN, DURING A PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE XXVI ECONOMIC FORUM.

for consolidating his position, raising the specter of defeat in the conflict with Russia and the return to power of the pro-Moscow camp on one hand, and radical nationalists on the other. At present, Poroshenko definitely dominates in Ukrainian politics, having not only a strong presidential administration, but also controlling the parliament, with a malleable prime minister, and controlling the prosecutor's office and the security services. Poroshenko will play the lead role in the next two years. With the weakening of coalition partners, especially the People's Front (who lost the post of prime minister) and the lack of sufficient attractiveness of the current opposition to the electorate (the majority of the parties and its leaders having

compromised themselves earlier when in power), it is expected that Poroshenko will strive to further strengthen his influence due to the upcoming presidential elections. Given the poor ratings, his election for a second term

Groysman's position is strengthened in that the present shape of the parliament will not allow for the emergence of a new prime minister.

will require ideas and effort comparable only to the re-election of Boris Yeltsin in Russia in 1996. The president's actions will be focused towards the 2019 elections, as will the activities of most other state agencies. It will be in Poroshenko's interest to maintain the status quo, i.e. to prevent the emergence of new and significant political centers in the country. The president will oppose the dissolution of the parliament, and even more so will be against a change of government. He will not take any risky steps, even in the area of reform.

We should assume that Poroshenko will want to use the head of government as a buffer even more now. Volodymyr Groysman is an obedient executor of the president's instructions. The presidential administration will remain the actual center for administering the most important areas of the state. Meanwhile, the government and the divided parliament remain marginalized in this situation.

Groysman is a trusted colleague of Poroshenko, but his role as head of government allows him to build his own position. His main task was to stabilize the socio-economic situation last year and he dealt with that challenge. Despite the fact that he appears suitable, in the eyes of the West as well, Groysman has declared that he has no presidential ambitions. This is very important as it reduces any possible tension in the relationship between the two politicians and signals their even closer cooperation, which will probably take the form, at a certain point, where the head of government will be supporting the presidential campaign through his politics. Groysman's position is strengthened in that the present shape of the parliament will not allow for the emergence of a new prime minister. This would mean early elections, and the majority of deputies don't want this. No party or bloc of parties

can count on a definitive success. Polling indicates that in the present situation the new Verkhovna Rada (parliament of Ukraine) would be even more fragmented than the present one. The five percent threshold is crossed by Batkivshchyna

The real leader of the People's Front is the Minister of Internal Affairs Arsen Avakov, who seems to be one of the most important potential rivals to Poroshenko.

(11%), Petro Poroshenko Bloc "Solidarity" (9%), and Opposition Bloc (9%). A few other parties have somewhat less support, and the popularity of the People's Front, which won the previous election, has evaporated (currently it only has 1–2% support in the polls). The purpose of the Front is to survive in the hope of rebuilding the confidence of voters before the 2019 elections, which is why it remains in the coalition.

The real leader of the People's Front is the Minister of Internal Affairs Arsen Avakov, who seems to be one of the most important potential rivals to Poroshenko. He took over the ministry right after the Maidan revolution, then as a representative of the People's Front and has remained in office – which testifies to his strength – even after the change of government. Out of the spotlight, he is building his own position as a strong candidate for the presidency. All the more so, that he is considered the leader of the "war party" and can get the support of veterans as the man who put in the

greatest effort for the country during the first phase of the war. He sees Poroshenko and Groysman as his competitors strong influence in the radical circles and makes use of nationalist and Donbas veteran groups. The effectiveness of this tool is shown by events that took place in the first months of this year. The grassroots trade blockades against the occupied Donbas or the campaign against Russian banks in Ukraine, finally forced the government to adopt and implement many of these radical demands. The internal affairs minister has been subject to increasing criticism, scandals and more serious cases involving the use of firearms – and yet Avakov's position seems stable. His dismissal could destroy the coalition government, especially since the Front itself has no one of Avakov's caliber in

Tymoshenko may well have the ambition of becoming the informal leader of the entire opposition. Much will depend, however, on the opinion of Moscow and some Ukrainian oligarchs.

the government that could replace him. Interestingly, the situation isn't being taken advantage of by the opposition, especially Yulia Tymoshenko, whose *Batkivshchyna* leads in the polls. This can be explained by Avakov's past – up until 2014 he was one of the leading activists in Tymoshenko's party, and may still have information that would compromise her.

The presidential camp is aware of the danger posed by Avakov's activation

of nationalists and veterans of the Donbas. This is a factor that could totally destabilize the country. It's no accident that Groysman harshly criticized the veterans' blockade of the Donbas, saying it was in Russia's interest. However, Avakov won this battle. The interior minister holds a strong card in the form of former fighters against the Russians and rebels, members of the volunteer battalions. These battalions played an important role in the first phase of combat when the regular army and other official armed forces had been routed. Then, gradually, these volunteer troops were absorbed by the National Guard of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the land forces of the army. The former volunteer battalions that now make up the National Guard units signal their loyalty to Avakov. In addition, he tolerates the independence of the Right Sector Voluntary Corps. Based on his reputation from the Donbas war period and his indulgence of the radicals, Avakov may decide to run for president under the banner of the "war party" and nationalist slogans. And he, not Yulia Tymoshenko, would be the most dangerous rival for Poroshenko. The former prime minister has rebuilt part of her past political position, herself winning support similar to Poroshenko, while her party has even overtaken the president's coalition in the polls. Tymoshenko may well have the ambition of becoming the informal leader of the entire opposition. Much will depend, however, on the opinion of Moscow and some Ukrainian oligarchs. The former is important in the context of possible support for Tymoshenko by the inheritors of the Party of Regions and generally the entire pro-Russian electorate, whereas the latter is necessary for financial reasons. Most important will be the attitude of Ihor Kolomoyskyi, who has already been both in a serious conflict and then friends with Poroshenko. It is worth remembering

that he once supported Tymoshenko, when very few did. The president also knows that an open conflict with Kolomoyskyi could cost him dearly. Therefore, we will probably witness the efforts of various political forces vying for the favor of the oligarch, which will only strengthen him – both politically and in business. In any case, he already has a debt of gratitude from the ruling class. When there was a crisis within the coalition, and in February 2016 when Batkivshchyna and Self Reliance left it, the deputies controlled by Kolomoyskyi cast the necessary votes to appoint the government of Groysman.

Kolomoyskyi belongs to the “old oligarchs”, for whom, in post-Maidan Ukraine, the situation is no worse than before 2014, despite one of the main demands of the bloodied Kiev street protesters being to limit the influence of big business on the state. The problem is that the president himself is an oligarch and that under his rule the government has not only reached out to the old oligarchs but has also developed relationships with new ones. The power of big business is due to the weakness of the state (systemic corruption, lack of independent courts, politicization of law enforcement agencies, ineffective management). A tactical alliance of the new rulers with oligarchs is beneficial for both sides. The government has gained the support of deputies from oligarch-controlled groups in the parliament, unofficial sources of funding and media support – especially important before the elections. In return, the oligarchs were given a guarantee of personal security, protection of their interests and the possibility to continue lobbying. This silent arrangement explains the withdrawal of the new authorities from declaring the revision of many forms of privatizations which took place under Yanukovich. The president’s control

over the Prosecutor General’s Office makes it possible to effectively torpedo certain uncomfortable investigations. A symbol of the untouchability of the oligarchs were the governments under Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin, who was replaced by Yuriy Lutsenko – also Poroshenko’s man. Not much has changed, as the prosecutor’s office remains a tool of the president, which means, for example, blocking any real fight against corruption.

The president’s control over the Prosecutor General’s Office makes it possible to effectively torpedo certain uncomfortable investigations.

Institutional and legislative conflicts related to this problem will have a negative impact on the situation in Ukraine. Moreover, before the election, one can expect a rash of information to appear compromising individual participants in their political lives. This could have prompted Poroshenko to sign the March 27 amendments to the law, in which anti-corruption activists are compelled to submit declarations of property, as politicians and state officials do. It is a weapon against investigative journalists who regularly disclose corruption – most of whom are financially supported and otherwise by non-governmental organizations (it is formulated in such a way as to force people to disclose property if they have anything to do with organizations covered by the law). The fight against corruption will face the resistance of bureaucrats and public officials, for



UKRAINE, MARCH 22, 2017. A UKRAINIAN SERVICEMAN SETS UP A NATIONAL FLAG CLOSE TO A POSITION NEAR THE VILLAGE OF VODIANE IN THE DONETSK REGION.

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whom “unofficial” material gain is something natural and a privilege they do not intend to give up. The authorities can always boast of the creation of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau (NABU) in April 2015 and the launch of an electronic declaration of assets system for politicians and officials in October 2016. But the tendency to tie the hands of the NABU can already be seen, which was created mainly under U.S. pressure. The head of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau was given his position to ensure his independence. Dismissal is only possible due to negative results of an audit, which is carried out

by three people, designated respectively by the president, the government and the parliament. A problem is that the authorities are blocking the establishment of the Anticorruption Court; however, the biggest obstacle to the effective functioning of the NABU is obstruction by the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), above all of the prosecutor general and courts. Many investigations are left incomplete, and the conflict between the NABU and the prosecutor’s office and SBU can be expected to grow.

REFORMS

When it comes to reforms, their implementation and pace of which, and the fight against corruption

with the current political system in Ukraine, the only chance for these to be successful will be with the continuation of external pressure, firstly from the United States and the International Monetary Fund. Taking into account the political perspectives and views of the current U.S. administration, it is expected that Washington will no longer be so active in urging Kiev to reform. The situation is different with the IMF. One of the most important tasks of the Groysman government in the near future will be to maintain good cooperation with the Fund. Despite differences and certain tensions, the IMF continues to give Ukraine successive loans which began under Yatsenyuk in 2015. The Fund has praised Groysman, chiefly for macroeconomic stabilization. The main achievement of this government has been the restoration of economic growth. While this is modest at only 2%, it is important that the downward trend, observed in 2014–2015, has been broken. In 2016, the Ukrainian economy returned to the path of growth after two years of decline (7% in 2014 and 12% in 2015) and in 2017 it is expected to grow by more than 2–2.5% according to various estimates and by 3–3.5% in 2018. Due to the restrictive monetary policy of the National Bank of Ukraine, inflation has fallen from 61% in April 2015 to 12% in spring 2017. However, a risk to the slowly rising Ukrainian economy will be social welfare spending – the closer the election, the larger it will grow. Groysman has already announced an increase in benefits for 5.6 million pensioners beginning on October 1, 2017, presenting it as a step towards modernizing the pension system. The problem is that this modernization is seen completely differently by the IMF. From the Fund's side, pressure will increase on Kiev on two issues. First

of all is pension reform, which means increasing the retirement age. Secondly, to give the green light for the sale of land (a moratorium imposed in the early 1990s is still in force). Meeting these two expectations may prove unrealistic. Such serious reforms given the state of the present coalition are unlikely. While there is a majority in the parliament, there is not a majority supporting the government, but rather who support the continuance of the current parliament until the end of the term.

It is difficult to expect a breakthrough in Ukraine in the next two years, both in external and, most of all, internal politics.

In summary, it is difficult to expect a breakthrough in Ukraine in the next two years, both in external and, most of all, internal politics. With regard to the former, there remains an element of uncertainty associated with Russia's policy (speculation of a possible escalation of the conflict in the fall of this year, although it is doubtful that Putin will decide on large-scale actions, not knowing their effects on the 2018 elections), while in the latter everything speaks of stagnation. Above all are the interests of Petro Poroshenko, but also the fears of most of the political class about early elections, as well as the calculations of oligarchs satisfied with the current state of affairs.

Jan Gajewski ■
May 21, 2017

RECONSTRUCTION OF POWER – GERMANY’S FOREIGN POLICY AFTER THE SEPTEMBER ELECTION (AN ATTEMPTED FORECAST)

KRZYSZTOF RAK

The priority of the new German cabinet, which will be formed after the September 2017 elections, will be an attempt to reconstitute Germany’s international position and emerge from the isolation of 2015–2016.

If, however, they are not able to accomplish this task fully, they will gradually improve relations with their most important partners.

Contrary to current declarations, it won’t be thanks to revived cooperation with France, but with America and Central Europe. These efforts will probably lead to the emergence of a new international

constellation in Europe that Poland should take advantage of.

LIMITS OF POWER

The problem of Germany is their indeterminacy of power. They do not have the resources to become a fully-fledged global power, but on the other hand, they are too strong to be satisfied with being



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an important player in the European or even the Eurasian region. This paradox of power means that they are unable to gain a hegemonic position, because when they try, it always ends up in a fiasco, from a dearth of resources.

The basic weakness of Germany is due to limited military resources (a lack of nuclear weapons and expeditionary forces), which could significantly affect the global balance of forces. They are responsible for this, as Berlin's most important regional partners allocate many more resources to the armed forces, despite their worse budgetary and economic situation. According to SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute) data, in 2016, Germany spent 1.2% of GDP on defense, France – 2.3%, Great Britain – 1.9%, Russia – 5.3%, China – 1.9%, and the USA – 3.3%.

Germany's potential is adversely affected by a demographic catastrophe, the effects of which will be felt to an increasing degree in the coming decade, when the post-war baby boomers retire. The

HAMBURG, GERMANY, JULY 8, 2017. U.S. PRESIDENT DONALD J. TRUMP AND GERMAN CHANCELLOR ANGELA MERKEL ATTEND THE LAUNCH EVENT FOR THE WORLD BANK'S WOMEN'S ENTREPRENEURSHIP FACILITY, ON THE SECOND DAY OF THE G20 SUMMIT. THE G20 (GROUP OF TWENTY) SUMMIT IS AN INTERNATIONAL FORUM FOR THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE WORLD'S TWENTY STRONGEST ECONOMIES. THE SUMMIT TOOK PLACE IN HAMBURG ON JULY 7–8, 2017.

Germany's potential is adversely affected by a demographic catastrophe, the effects of which will be felt to an increasing degree in the coming decade, when the post-war baby boomers retire.

number of welfare state beneficiaries will increase, while the number of those working to support them will decrease. Contrary to hopes, immigration is not a recipe for solving this problem.

The vast majority of immigrants are likely to become welfare recipients. Thus, the migration wave that hit Germany in 2015–2016, will probably exacerbate the impact of the population crisis, as the admission of around one million migrants cost more than 20 billion euros. On this point, if the Germans had allocated this amount to military spending, they would have been close to reaching the 2 percent of GDP range for defense spending in NATO. There is little doubt that the demographic processes, and above all, the aging of German society, and the increasingly burdensome spending on immigrants, will be factors that will undermine Berlin's power potential over the long term.

Germany owes its powerful position to economic and administrative resources. The German economy owes its success to the reforms carried out at the beginning of the century by the social-democratic chancellor Gerhard Schröder, who increased flexibility in the German labor market. As a result, over the last decade, labor costs have grown more slowly in Germany than in other European countries. This in turn has resulted in an increase in the competitiveness of the German economy. The most measurable effect of these reforms is the record-breaking surplus of trade balance. According to the Federal Statistical

(amounting to 244.3 billion euros in 2015). In addition, the budget recorded more revenue than expenditure. This unique situation plays a critical role in relations with Berlin's key partners.

Second to the economy, the key power resource for Germany is diplomacy. Berlin wants to become an indispensable state for the existence and operation of many international constellations, both global and regional. It thus implements the old principle of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, according to which Germany should have better relations with its most important partners than they have with one another. Thanks to this they play the role of a global pivot.

We can distinguish the four most important constellations for the position of Germany:

1. Global, where the United States is the most important partner;
2. Continental (Eurasian), which constitutes relations with Russia and China;
3. Regional (European), where cooperation with France is key;
4. Subregional (Central-European), for which relations with Poland are essential.

In the first two constellations, Berlin tries to play the role of stabilizer for the balance of power, while in the latter two, as leader. Over the past few years, the role of Germany in each of these arrangements has considerably weakened. (The problem is discussed in detail in the previous issue of the WIR - <https://warsawinstitute.org/pl/germanys-inglorious-isolation-2>). Germany has found itself in a state of quasi-isolation, partly due to independent internal causes (like the financial crisis), and partly due to its own mistakes (migration policy in the second half of 2015).

The key power resource for Germany is diplomacy.

Office in Wiesbaden, in 2016, Germany exported products worth 1,207.5 billion euros and imports amounting to 954.6 billion euros. The surplus in foreign trade reached a record level of 252.9 billion euros, which is over 8% of German GDP

Therefore, the prediction that the new federal government formed after the September election will try to improve the position of Germany, seems to be a safe, if not obvious one. And this is regardless of who wins. At the time of writing this analysis (late June 2017), according to public opinion polls, the most likely outcome is a CDU/CSU victory and continuation of the coalition with the SPD or the creation of a new one with the liberal FDP.

The prediction that the new federal government formed after the September election will try to improve the position of Germany, seems to be a safe.

The current Christian Democratic coalition already saw the problem of deteriorating relations with key partners as early as the beginning of 2017, and began working to improve Germany’s international position. Relations with China clearly warmed, which had cooled in 2016, when Berlin accused Beijing of dishonest practices by buying German companies to acquire German know-how. However, in March 2017, Chancellor Merkel and President Xi demonstratively spoke out against protectionism and “for free trade and open markets”, and in July, before the G20 summit, announced a “comprehensive strategic partnership”. Relations with Moscow improved to an extent when German politicians protested against a resolution by the U.S. Senate to

impose sanctions on Western companies that decide to finance the construction of pipelines from Russia (Nord Stream 2).

The revival of cooperation in the Eurasian triangle of Berlin-Moscow-Beijing does not, however, testify to a change in the vectors of German foreign policy. It is rather a reaction to the momentary collapse of its most important pillar, which is transatlantic relations.

LEADERSHIP CRISIS

This unfolded in spectacular fashion at the G7 summit in Sicily at the end of May 2017, where the President of the United States, Donald Trump, rejected the current climate policy. A few days later, in a speech in Munich, Chancellor Merkel decided that “we, Europeans, must take our affairs into our own hands.” On the other hand, the German Foreign Minister, Sigmar Gabriel, not only declared that the United States “does not play a leading role in the Western community of values”, but in general questioned their membership in the West. These words were recognized both in the German as in the American press as the end of the “partnership in leadership”.

At first glance, the German reaction to America’s position at the G7 summit in Sicily appears to be exaggerated, and results not from reflection on the strategic arrangement of global forces, but on the tactical needs of the country’s own upcoming election campaign. The Social Democrats would like to play the anti-American card to save their weakening position, which is to repeat Gerhard Schröder’s 2002 maneuver, which helped him win that election. In criticizing Trump, however, Chancellor Merkel deprived the Social Democrats of a possible “Trump card”.

Anti-Americanism, which represents a part of German society, and the distaste

of the elite towards the anti-establishment Trump cannot overshadow the key role of the U.S. in German foreign policy. Without a “partnership in leadership”, Berlin will not play a role in the concert of global powers, among other reasons because they have no armed forces that could be sent outside their borders.

Without a “partnership in leadership”, Berlin will not play a role in the concert of global powers, among other reasons because they have no armed forces that could be sent outside their borders.

What is more, due to the pacifism of their society, it seems doubtful that the Germans would be able to develop such a force in the foreseeable future. Angela Merkel is certainly aware of the dependence of Europe on the U.S. military for stability and security, since she relied on it for crisis diplomacy in Ukraine in 2014–2016. The role of the German Chancellor as the main player in the peace negotiations in Ukraine was possible only through close cooperation with U.S. President Barack Obama.

You don't need extreme foresight to see that the attractiveness of Germany for its continental Eurasian partners, Russia and China, depends on their degree of closeness to America. For Moscow and Beijing, Washington is their priority partner, because Washington has the greatest influence on the shape of the global system. Germany's unique position was that, through “partnership



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in leadership”, they exerted an indirect influence on the shaping of the world order by the United States. If the Germans lose it, to become a global player in the full sense of the word, they would have to become one of the continental (Eurasian) poles of an anti-American coalition. And the weakest one at that, because it has no significant military power.

In the coming years, Berlin will therefore face a geostrategic choice: either return to partnership in global leadership with the U.S. or degrade to the role of regional power. It is therefore very probable that the new German government will try to repair relations with America. But this will not be easy should President Trump retain an anti-German grudge.



DORTMUND, GERMANY, AUGUST 12, 2017. GERMANY'S CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION (CDU) PARTY CHAIRWOMAN AND GERMAN CHANCELLOR ANGELA MERKEL SPEAKS DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN OPENING EVENT OF THE GERMAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION PARTY. THE GENERAL ELECTIONS IN GERMANY WILL BE HELD ON 24 SEPTEMBER.

EUROPEAN DISEASE

The deepening, multi-dimensional crisis in Europe will be conducive to the pursuit of rapprochement with America. This is all the more so because it is unlikely that a return to traditional German-French cooperation will be possible in the foreseeable future.

Until the financial crisis that began at the end of the first decade of the 21st century, Berlin seemed to be well on its way to achieving a leadership role in this constellation, framed by the Germany-France-Great Britain triangle. Berlin's skillful balancing act gained them the position of *primus inter pares* (first among equals); however, the financial crisis and then Brexit destabilized this equilibrium.

France had been a key partner for Germany on the continent since the end of World War II. By the time of German unification, successive chancellors at least formally recognized the political leadership of Paris and, in return, could safely build the economic power of their country.

In the early 1990s, the French, struggling with the inability to catch up with the ever-accelerating German locomotive, came up with the diabolical idea of liquidating the symbol of Germany's economic power – the German mark. The introduction of the common currency was not however accompanied by a deepening of political integration, as the political union par excellence, in their opinion, would undermine their own

position as a European leader. President Mitterrand was not so concerned with Europe, but about the growth of power of France at the expense of Germany.

When men plan, God laughs – the effects of this policy turned out to be opposite to their intentions. France’s position relative to Germany has been steadily declining for two decades. The common currency has led to a structural

The eurozone crisis is a textbook example of faith in the primacy of politics over economics.

crisis in the eurozone, to its division into creditors under the leadership of Berlin and debtor states for which Paris has become the leader. Of course, this division has its historical roots connected with the development of nineteenth-century capitalism, which divided the continent into the rich north and the poor south. The introduction of the single currency only deepened and highlighted these developmental differences and will therefore be the major factor destabilizing European politics in the coming years.

The eurozone crisis is a textbook example of faith in the primacy of politics over economics. Already half a century ago, economists devised the theory of an optimal currency area, where a single currency could be introduced. Such an area may consist of many countries, provided their economies are at an equal level of technological and knowledge development, producing similar products, and responding in a similar

way to supply-demand shocks. One of the authors of this theory, Robert Mundell, was awarded the Nobel Prize.

From the beginning, it was clear that the eurozone is not an optimal currency area, and that Greece cannot have the same currency as Germany. The crisis in the eurozone has become an empirical confirmation of Mundell’s theory. The division between debtors from the south and creditors from the north is thus systemic in nature, which means that it will continue for the next decade, because it’s hard to believe that in the meantime the economies of Greece and Spain will reach the level of those in Germany and the Netherlands. All the more so that instead of drawing closer as a result of the so-called “repair programs”, they are moving increasingly apart from each other.

If the convergence of the euro area economies is not possible in the foreseeable future, the only way to reform them is through the controlled dismantling of the eurozone. In this regard, economists suggest many scenarios. The least radical is that debtors could temporarily suspend their membership in the euro area and return to their national currency. Moderating the eurozone division into two groups: one would concentrate the rich countries of the north and the other the poor countries of the south. Finally, the extreme option – the liquidation of the single currency and a return to national currencies.

With stubbornness deserving of a better cause, politicians ignore the rules governing economic reality, on which they try to cast a spell. In May, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* speculated on Chancellor Merkel’s “secret plan”. One of its elements is said to be the curing of the eurozone,

consisting of the creation of a common budget and the appointment of a joint finance minister. This leak was a clear signal to Paris, which has long considered such a proposal to be a remedy for the disease plaguing European integration.

Let us repeat, if the theory of the optimal currency area is valid, then these plans will amount to nothing. The appointment of two institutions, the common budget and minister, will not change the real differences between European economies, and they will certainly not change the fundamental reason for eurozone dysfunctionality, which are the differences in the competitiveness of the individual economies. And it turns out that the French don’t have a burning desire for reforms that would improve the competitiveness thereof. On the contrary, President Macron, instead of lowering labor costs, stands at their guard, demanding that the so-called “posted employees” from the EU in France, earn the same as the French. Stirring tea does not make it sweeter – miracles in economics do not happen.

Since eurozone deconstruction is not on Europe’s political agenda today, for the foreseeable future, the euro area will be a major source of destabilization to integration processes in Europe, which will mean that Germany and France will not lead the EU together because they will be blaming one another for the crisis. The French will accuse Germany of excessive trade expansion, and Germany will accuse the French of reluctance to make deep reforms. There will be no German-French bedrock of unity. Conflict is inevitable, as France, leading the countries of the south, will expect the Germans not only to lend to the debtors, but also to share their wealth with them. This is part of the

French plans for the “transfer union” and Eurobonds. Berlin will not agree, because then it would have to support its current eurozone partners, not at the

The euro area will be a major source of destabilization to integration processes in Europe, which will mean that Germany and France will not lead the EU together because they will be blaming one another for the crisis.

annual 1% of GDP spending level, but many times higher. And the German welfare state won’t be able to afford it, having to soon face the consequences of the growing demographic crisis.

For the future government in Berlin, the crisis of Franco-German relations will be a fundamental problem. Just as, until recently, their skill in taking advantage of integration rules was one of the main reasons for German diplomatic success, so in the near future the integration crisis will weaken Berlin’s position, leading to conflict with Paris and other European capitals.

HEGEMON ON THE RISE

The current crisis of integration proves that Germany is not capable of leading Europe. They aren’t able to play the role of a hegemon, which is what the American economic historian Charles P. Kindleberger described as: a dominant power able to stabilize its international environment. A hegemon, or a leading

power, cannot focus only on pursuing its own interests. Some of its resources have to be devoted to providing security to those states that they want to lead and thus provide them with a regional

Germany, however, has not taken on the main responsibility for fighting the causes of the current crisis in Europe.

common good or global stability. This in turn results in an increase in its soft power, or recognition of leadership by partners. This was, according to Kindleberger, the basis for American politics after World War II.

American-German partnership in post-Cold War leadership was thus associated with double hegemony. Washington was supposed to fill the role of global hegemon, and Berlin, as an associated regional hegemon (junior hegemon).

Germany, however, has not taken on the main responsibility for fighting the causes of the current crisis in Europe, for example by carrying out a controlled deconstruction of the euro area or converting it to a transfer union, which would be equivalent to debt relief for the countries of southern Europe. They did not behave like a leader, but like other regional powers (France and Italy) and joined an opportunistic play for time that was consistent with their own short-term interests.

Subsequently, the policy of savings imposed on partners led to record annual trade surpluses.

However, this was not the first time Berlin failed the regional leadership exam. After 1989, Germany played a leading role in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). Their leadership was legitimized by becoming an advocate of the countries of the region on the road to membership in Euro-Atlantic institutions. It can be said that in the 1990s they took over the role of power-stabilizer in CEE.

However, in the middle of the first decade of the 21st century, after the successful enlargement of NATO and the EU, Berlin itself raised questions about its leadership by building a pipeline with Moscow, bypassing its Central

After the September elections, Germany will probably try to improve relations with CEE countries.

European partners. Nord Stream serves the interests of Germany, which wants to be a continental gas hub. However, this is incompatible with the interests of Central European countries, because it maintains their dependence for energy security on Russia. Another example of their incapacity for leadership was the attempt to use EU institutions to force Central European states to accept migrants. This policy has caused those countries to react by developing various regional groupings (Visegrad Four, Three Seas Initiative), which are bound by opposition to the potential hegemon.

After the September elections, Germany will probably try to improve relations with CEE countries, primarily for two

reasons. After the July visit of President Trump in Poland and his meeting with the Three Seas Initiative member states, the countries of the region felt more like subjects. Berlin will seek to draw closer to them, as they will need them in their political power games, if only to improve relations with Washington. It should not be forgotten that real EU reform will not be possible without the participation of Central European countries.

As a result of Brexit, the Germans lost their main ally in the EU, which had helped them block France’s statist plans and balance its influence in European power plays. Leading the so-called “mark bloc” (Germany, Austria, the Netherlands and Finland), they formed a more liberal-oriented grouping with the United Kingdom and opposed the Mediterranean bloc, led by France (alongside Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal), which was more state-oriented. Today these two blocs have transformed into creditors and debtors. The current balance between them is based on the fact that in the EU Council they have about the same number of votes and a “blocking minority” (35%). After London’s departure from the EU, Germany and the “mark bloc” will represent only 25% of the EU population and will lose the ability to block Council decisions that are incompatible with their interests. The Mediterranean bloc will have 42%, thus dominating the financial and economic policies of the Union. This opens the way for a transfer union that will lead to a new major internal crisis in the EU.

Most Central European countries will not join the eurozone, nor is it in their interest to turn it into a transfer union. Therefore, together with other Central European countries, they can become a valuable partner. After Great Britain leaves the EU, Poland will represent 9%

of the EU population, Hungary – 2%, the Czech Republic – 2%, and Slovakia – 1%. Thus, the V4 countries, along with Germany and the “mark bloc”, together will constitute the blocking minority on the Council.

Such a system would create a new constellation on the continent. Central European countries would no longer be regarded as poor provincial relatives. Rather, they would take an important step towards the political-economic center of the continent. And this would undoubtedly benefit Germany, which could count on them in case of a dispute with the countries of southern Europe.

Such a system would create a new constellation on the continent.

Over the next four years, Germany will face the task of redefining its power status. The future crisis of the European welfare state, which will be the result of a demographic catastrophe and a migration wave, will limit the resources with which Germany can build a leadership position in Europe. That is why they will create a balance of power, that is to build such alliances that will strengthen their position in international affairs, and they will find a partner in Central European countries. However, since no continental configuration by itself will provide stability in Eurasia, they will first of all need to return to a close alliance with the United States.

Krzysztof Rak ■
July 5, 2017



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MOSCOW, RUSSIA, OCTOBER 20, 2015. A PICTURE MADE AVAILABLE ON OCTOBER 21, 2015, SHOWS RUSSIAN PRESIDENT VLADIMIR PUTIN SHAKING HANDS WITH SYRIAN PRESIDENT BASHAR AL-ASSAD DURING THEIR MEETING AT THE KREMLIN. BELEAGUERED SYRIAN PRESIDENT BASHAR AL-ASSAD TRAVELLED TO MOSCOW FOR TALKS WITH HIS RUSSIAN COUNTERPART VLADIMIR PUTIN, THE KREMLIN REVEALED ON OCTOBER 21, 2015. ASSAD AND PUTIN DISCUSSED THE SITUATION IN WAR-TORN SYRIA ON THE EVENING OF OCTOBER 20, 2015. THE TALK HAD NOT BEEN MADE PUBLIC IN ADVANCE, A KREMLIN SPOKESMAN SAID.

PUTIN'S MIDDLE EAST CHESSBOARD

JAN GAJEWSKI

Vladimir Putin's strategic foreign policy goal is to restore Russia's status as a global superpower. According to Kremlin strategists, this cannot be achieved without playing a primary role in the Middle East – the most combustible region in the world.

The window of opportunity for the forceful entry of the Russians opened up under the Barack Obama administration, which initiated what can generally be considered the slow retreat of the United States from the Middle East. As such, the geopolitical vacuum that formed began to be filled by Russia, with Syria turning out to be crucial in this regard. Using conflicts between regional players and offering to serve as mediators, Moscow has already achieved a position that it has not had since the days of the Cold War. However, the change of administration in the United States may thwart the Kremlin's plans. Trump's victory limited Russia's room to maneuver in the Middle East. America began to return to the region and fill the void left behind by Obama, which Russia had not yet filled. Wanting to at least keep a hold on what he has already gained Putin must seek an understanding with Trump on the Middle East, because it is the region of the world where Moscow has something tangible to offer Washington. The possible rapprochement is aided by the fact that the defeat of the Islamic State and the destruction of Islamic terrorist organizations is one of the main priorities of the United States.

During the Cold War, the Middle East was one of the hottest fronts in the rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States. For many decades it was known who was on whose side (although there were instances of about-faces, as in the case of Egypt). The collapse of the USSR also meant the near-total retreat of Moscow from the region – the symbolic end to the Cold War in the Middle East was Saddam Hussein's defeat in 1991. The era of American domination had begun. Until recently, the United States was the number one player in the region, from diplomatic and military influences, to

trade (even arms sales). Changes started with the Arab Spring, which did not bring democracy, but rather instability and radicalism and in extreme cases, civil war as in Syria and Libya. Linking the “color revolutions” in post-Soviet republics and the revolutions in the

Using conflicts between regional players and offering to serve as mediators, Moscow has already achieved a position that it has not had since the days of the Cold War.

Arab world as a similar evil Vladimir Putin convinced many local autocratic regimes. He criticized the Arab Spring from the beginning and supported the political status quo. Only in Libya did Moscow make a huge mistake, from which conclusions were drawn in Syria. It was the intervention in Syria that was a breakthrough moment. Against the backdrop of Obama's indecision, Putin demonstrated his determination and loyalty to his ally (Bashar al-Assad) – something the local regimes had not seen lately from the American side. As a result, even today, the pro-American monarchs of the Persian Gulf take Russian interests and goals into account.

RUSSIAN STRENGTH THROUGH U.S. WEAKNESS

Russia truly emerged once again as a major player in the Middle East at a time when the West decided to seek its services in negotiations with their

difficult partner, Iran. Then, Russia also began to strengthen its position in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. Certainly, their old connections helped.

Russian expansion in the Middle East definitely accelerated after Moscow's military entry into the Syrian conflict (September 2015).

The current leader of the Palestinian Authority, Mahmoud Abbas, completed his doctorate in Moscow in the 1970s, where he was said to have been recruited by the KGB, if the contents of the so-called Mitrokhin Archive are to be believed. Russian diplomatic experience in the Middle East, dating back to the Soviet era, is also important. One of the key roles is played by Mikhail Bogdanov, Putin's special representative in the Middle East since 2012. This former ambassador to Syria, Egypt and Israel, has excellent contacts in the capitals of many countries in the region.

Russian expansion in the Middle East definitely accelerated after Moscow's military entry into the Syrian conflict (September 2015). The West largely underestimated this operation – it was generally thought that it would be short-lived, without much significance to the fate of the war, and perhaps would even lead to a “second Afghanistan” for Moscow. This wasn't the case. The Russians showed the whole world that its allies can count on them in difficult situations, as opposed to America under the Obama administration. In the past two years, Putin has hosted Middle

Eastern leaders more than 30 times, several times more than Obama over the same period. The rise of Russian influence was directly proportional to the loss of confidence in the U.S. by regional states. Even Turkey, a NATO member and one of the main advocates for the removal of Assad, ultimately stood by Russia's side; and this, after the heated crisis caused by the Turks shooting down a Russian fighter plane. At a certain point, the pragmatic Recep Tayyip Erdogan bet on the stronger side. The closer ties between Egypt and Russia are based on similar principles. Russia took advantage of the American retreat. Obama decided to remove U.S. influence from the region under the slogan of ending unpopular military interventions in the Middle East, but he tossed out the baby with the bathwater. The pullout of the U.S. military from Afghanistan and Iraq has not stabilized these countries at all, and the whole region saw this as weakness.

While Americans began to limit their military presence in the region, Russia began to expand it. It not only restored the permanent presence of its naval fleet in the Mediterranean, but it also secured the right to use the ports of Cyprus (February 2015), organized sea maneuvers with Egypt and sent its ships

While Americans began to limit their military presence in the region, Russia began to expand it.

to Alexandria for the first time since 1992. They also resumed arms sales to Algeria and gained access to its ports as well. The appearance of ships flying



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MOSCOW, RUSSIA, MARCH 10, 2017. TURKISH PRESIDENT RECEP TAYYIP ERDOGAN ENTERS A HALL TO HOLD TALKS WITH RUSSIAN PRESIDENT VLADIMIR PUTIN IN THE KREMLIN. PUTIN IS HOSTING HIS TURKISH COUNTERPART FOR TALKS FOCUSING ON SYRIA, WHERE RUSSIA AND TURKEY HAVE LAUNCHED MEDIATION EFFORTS AND COORDINATED MILITARY ACTION.

the St. Andrew's cross flag in Tartus, Alexandria, Limassol and Algiers represents a potential threat to NATO's southern flank – the first time this has been the case since the end of the Cold War. Russia also created an A2/AD (Anti-Access/Area Denial) zone over much of Syria and the eastern Mediterranean. Russian S-300 missile systems have made their way to Iran, Algeria and Egypt. All of this poses a risk for U.S. and NATO air operations in the Black Sea, the eastern Mediterranean and virtually the entire Persian Gulf.

For a long time the West has mistakenly interpreted the increasing Russian presence in the Middle East, seeing Putin as an ally in the war on Islamic terrorism. This is not, however, the main goal of the Russian president. Moscow doesn't

For a long time the West has mistakenly interpreted the increasing Russian presence in the Middle East, seeing Putin as an ally in the war on Islamic terrorism.

strive to defeat the Islamic State and al-Qaeda, but to rewrite the geopolitical rules governing the region. They have the advantage over the Americans in that their Middle East policy is not driven by sentiment and ideology (the United States has always emphasized that their goal

is to democratize the region). Current Russian diplomats, who often started their careers in the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, are guided by extreme pragmatism – they don't have a problem in dealing with bloody dictators like Assad, and terrorist organizations like Hamas, hostile to Israel, Palestine, Iran and Saudi Arabia. Religious criteria are also irrelevant: it is thus equally possible for Russia to come to an understanding with Shiite revolutionaries as with Sunni monarchs.

It must be stressed that their successes so far are not based on Russian strength, but on the weakness of their rivals, headed by the United States.

However, it must be stressed that their successes so far are not based on Russian strength, but on the weakness of their rivals, headed by the United States. Moscow enters the space deserted by the Americans, and does so expansively – leaving the sustainability of Russia's presence and activity in the region a matter of debate. Weaknesses lie in the Kremlin's strategy. One major problem facing Russian diplomacy in the region is a lack of material resources to support it. Moscow, unlike Riyadh, can't afford to subsidize its allies with billions of dollars. Even in Syria, the Russians don't provide assistance to Assad for postwar reconstruction. Their military capabilities are also very limited. Organizing the expedition into Syria stretched the boundaries of their logistics capacity (transport constraints), technology and

personnel. As for diplomacy, Russian connections don't always interest potential partners. The prime example is Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who rejected mediation proposals from Moscow, which has good contacts with the Palestinians. There are obstacles in many areas because by trying to play multiple roles, Russia's effectiveness and value as a partner decrease in the eyes of regional players. Russia is trying to rebuild its partnership with Turkey, but the Kurdish issue remains, while the Iran problem is blocking rapprochement with Israel. Such contradictions and limitations continue to make Moscow a dubious and less attractive partner for serious players in the region.

IN A TRIANGLE WITH DAMASCUS AND TEHRAN

On September 30, 2015, Putin ordered a squadron of Russian fighters to move to the Khmeimim Airbase in Syria near Latakia, a bastion of Assad supporters. For the first time since the war in Afghanistan, the Russian military officially went into combat outside the borders of the former Soviet Union. Thanks to Russian bombardments, rocket attacks and special forces operations – the war shifted in favor of the regime. The intervention was also of great political importance. Suddenly, Russian planes appeared in the same airspace as those of the Americans and their allies fighting the Islamic State. Putin could say that he was actively involved in the war on Islamic terrorism. But these were only appearances. By the end of 2016, according to data supplied by Moscow, Russian aircrafts in Syria completed 30,000 missions and hit 62,000 targets. This Russian air campaign had no influence on the war against ISIS though. The Russians barely attacked the jihadists at all; rather, they focused on the rebels fighting against Assad.

Military and political participation in the Syrian war remains the most important

link for Russian policy in the Middle East. Russia's military presence in Syria includes: military bases and the active participation of aviation forces, air defense systems and "boots on the ground" such as the Chechen military police battalions, engineers and commandos (not to mention mercenaries trained by the Russian military and security services). In return, Moscow secured a permanent military presence in Syria in January of this year, signing two new contracts with Damascus. The first means the expansion of the sea bases in Tartus, while the second is an annex to the August 2015 agreement for the base in Khmeimim. Both contracts were signed for a period of 49 years (with the option of renewal), and provide the Russians with extraterritoriality and no restrictions on the size of the forces stationed there.

Having achieved this goal, as well as having strengthened Assad enough not to lose the war, Moscow is trying to work out political solutions that will lead to the freezing of the conflict, while preserving its dominant position. With help from Iran and Turkey, Russia wants to bring about an agreement or even a lasting truce between Damascus and the rebels – based on a joint struggle against the Islamic State. However, Trump's surprisingly hard and fast response to the use of chemical weapons in Syria, the rocket attack on the Shayrat Airbase, told the Kremlin that without a deal with America it would be impossible to freeze the conflict. Such an agreement will be difficult though because of the particular interests of the two states. For Turkey, the Kurdish issue is paramount, with particular regard to the U.S. – sponsored troops of the Kurdish YPG militia. It is doubtful that Ankara will agree to freeze the conflict in northern Syria. The second, and much bigger, obstacle to establishing a peace plan acceptable to the U.S. is Iran, an ally of both Moscow and

Damascus. Because of the hostility of the Trump administration to Tehran, it will be hard for Putin to reconcile the alliance with the Ayatollahs and Hezbollah in trying to reach out to the Americans (not to mention the impact Iran has on Russia's relations with Israel and Saudi Arabia).

Having achieved this goal, Moscow is trying to work out political solutions lead to the freezing of the conflict, while preserving its dominant position.

Iran's strategic goal in Syria is to defend Assad, and if it turns out to be too costly, to defend the system created by Assad, with its political, military and security apparatus. This is the only way to guarantee that Syria will remain a safe corridor for the transfer of weapons and money to Hezbollah in Lebanon. The presence of Iran in Syria gives the former a better position in any eventual confrontation with Israel. For Tehran, Syria is the key to expanding influence throughout the Middle East, one of the most important regions regarding its rivalry with Saudi Arabia. Damascus is supposed to be part of the so-called "Axis of Resistance" connecting Tehran with Baghdad, Damascus and Beirut. But Moscow is not entirely comfortable with a bloc consisting of Shiites and Alawites. With its large Muslim community (mainly Sunni) and the ambitions of being a power in the Middle East, Russia cannot antagonize the Sunnis. It is also about good relations with the monarchs of the Gulf and Riyadh. Russia's and Iran's relations with Israel are also different.



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MOSCOW, RUSSIA, MARCH 10, 2017. RUSSIAN PRESIDENT VLADIMIR PUTIN (RIGHT) GESTURES AS HE SPEAKS TO TURKISH PRESIDENT RECEP TAYYIP ERDOGAN (LEFT) DURING THEIR MEETING IN THE KREMLIN. THE TWO HEADS OF STATE HELD TALKS WHICH FOCUSED ON SYRIA, WHERE RUSSIA AND TURKEY HAVE LAUNCHED A JOINT MEDIATION EFFORT AND COORDINATED THEIR MILITARY ACTION AGAINST THE ISLAMIC STATE (IS OR ISIS).

Moscow's relations with the Jewish state are among the best in their history. In Syria the Russians aren't doing anything to hurt Israeli interests, and are also restricting Hezbollah and Iran. The Iranians have the right to fear that Putin will abandon Assad if he is able to enter into an agreement that puts someone else in charge in Damascus who is acceptable to both Saudi Arabia and Israel. On the other hand, Russia is also aware that if Iran had to make a choice, it would choose the West. This is not only because of their historical distrust of Moscow, but also due

to the fact that Russia, unlike the West, cannot supply the modern technology or capital necessary to modernize the Iranian economy.

OFFERS FOR ALL

At present, apart from the Syrian conflict, most Russian activity is seen in four areas:

- Inducing Turkey to cooperate in Syria,
- Attempting to mediate between Saudi Arabia and Iran,
- Offering to broker between Israel and the Palestinians,



attempted military coup. Mass repressions and demands for Fethullah Gulen's release worsened relations with the West. This was conducive to Turkey getting along with the Kremlin. In August, before meeting Putin, Erdogan declared: "Without Russia, finding a solution to the problems in Syria is impossible." Ankara's increasingly poor

Russia's big success was to pull Turkey over to its side, the key outside player (next to Iran) in Syria.

relations with the Obama administration greatly influenced its growing closeness with Russia. Americans did not want to give up their support for the Kurds in Syria and refused to extradite Gulen.

After the U.S. elections, Ankara counted on changes in Washington's policy on Syria – assuming that Trump would come to an understanding with Putin. Turkey first stood on the side of Russia and Iran, when, after the fall of Aleppo, it seemed that the fate of the Syrian war had turned in favor of Assad's allies. Then, after the surprise attack by the Americans on the regime's base, they changed their stance and returned to the side of the United States. Then again, after U.S. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson's visit to Moscow and the passing of several days, it turned out that this was an incidental military move by the Americans and did not signify a radical change in their strategy in Syria, and the Turks turned once more to Russia and Iran. In early May, Erdogan flew to Sochi to support a new Russian plan for Syria during a meeting with Putin, namely the establishment of security zones. But all of these about-faces mean that the Kremlin cannot be sure of Turkey as a reliable partner.

- Building military influence in Egypt and Libya.

Russia's big success was to pull Turkey over to its side, the key outside player (next to Iran) in Syria. Moscow's entry into the conflict was seen as a hostile move by Ankara – both countries differed above all in their position toward Assad. Add to this the fact that Turkey is a NATO member. It is little wonder that in November 2015, after a Russian bomber flew into Turkish airspace for a few seconds, it was shot down. This led to the collapse of relations between the two states and a trade war. Russia emerged victorious from the crisis. After six months, the hatchet was buried with Erdogan, who had just neutralized an

For Russia, the normalization of relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia is of paramount importance. It is a guarantee of stability in Syria and several other countries in the region. The influence of

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the Saudis on part of the Syrian opposition is as large as that of Iran on Hezbollah. Riyadh had clear moments of warming to Russia, but Moscow's close relations with Tehran always served as a brake. The differences of opinion still remain with regard to the political future of the Syrian dictator. In mid-April, Saudi Arabia hosted a delegation from the Federation Council, the upper chamber of the Russian parliament. King Salman bin Abdulaziz Al Saud personally greeted the Russians. The monarch confirmed that Riyadh's position is unchanged: Assad must go. After Trump came to power, the Saudis are again much closer to the United States, primarily due to the stance of the new administration towards the Ayatollahs, which suits Saudi interests perfectly. Russia finds itself in a difficult situation and is trying to balance relations with all partners in the region: Iran, Saudi Arabia and Turkey, while having an uneasy relationship with Tehran.

Putin has even managed to improve relations with Israel, the primary and traditional U.S. ally in the Middle East. The best possible cooperation between Moscow and Israel is also important for Russia because of the stable relations of the Jewish state with Turkey, Egypt and

Jordan. Netanyahu has visited Putin in Moscow four times since September 2015, more often than Obama. Moscow is trying to replace the Middle East Quartet (UN, EU, Russia, U.S.) with a new format of negotiations, as in the case of Syria, where they found an alternative to negotiations in Geneva by organizing talks in Astana, Kazakhstan. In December 2016, the Russians stepped up their initiative to hold a peace conference in Moscow, although it was clear that due to objections from Netanyahu, this wasn't very realistic. In mid-January, Russia acted as a meeting organizer and intermediary between the main Palestinian political forces. Back then, the Palestinians didn't conceal that they were convinced that Russia and Trump would cooperate closely in the Middle East and that it would help their cause. The events in Syria in April showed, however, that this was a false hope. Israel supported the U.S. attack on Shayrat, which was criticized by Moscow. It's not just Netanyahu's distrust of the Palestinian mediation offer; but also Israel is most worried by Russia's cooperation with the two traditional enemies of the Jewish state: Iran and Hezbollah. Although Moscow does not oppose Israeli air attacks on Hezbollah's positions in Syria, it will not give up its Iranian ally, and Jerusalem will never agree to the presence of Iran in the peace process in Syria. In this context, the appointment of General James Mattis as Pentagon chief was bad news for Moscow. After all, five years ago, as the commander of American forces in the Middle East, he said that the three most pressing problems in the region for the United States are: "Number one Iran, number two Iran. Number three Iran". In February of this year, Mattis stated that Iran is "the largest state sponsor of terrorism in the world", and in April he praised the alliance with Riyadh and announced the development of an Israeli-Sunni coalition against the so-called "Shiite crescent" bloc.



MOSCOW, RUSSIA, JUNE 7, 2016. ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER BENJAMIN NETANYAHU SPEAKS DURING A JOINT NEWS CONFERENCE FOLLOWING HIS TALKS WITH RUSSIAN PRESIDENT VLADIMIR PUTIN IN THE KREMLIN. BENJAMIN NETANYAHU IS ON AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO RUSSIA ON THE OCCASION OF THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND RUSSIA.

At present, it seems that the best prospects for Russian diplomats and generals are in Egypt and neighboring Libya. Cairo, from the moment of reaching full independence, generally clung to the pro-American line, although under Nasser there was a brief period of cooperation with the Soviets. But under Mubarak, the Egyptians received huge, annual, military and economic assistance from the United States. After the Arab Spring, the fall of the regime, the rule of the Muslim Brotherhood, and finally another coup and the takeover by military rule, Cairo saw an alternative to the U.S. in Moscow. This was even more so when Obama began to drastically reduce aid. Since 2012, Russia has sold Egypt arms worth more than \$4 billion, and the Egyptian government, which opposed U.S. intervention in Syria in the summer of 2013, backed Russia's intervention two years later. Another factor that brings current President of Egypt Abdel Fattah el-Sisi closer to Putin is Moscow's position on the Libyan conflict. The Russians have established close relations with General

Khalifa Haftar, the virtual ruler of the eastern part of the country, and a sworn enemy of the Islamists. Egypt and the UAE strongly support the Libyan general. Moscow has placed its bets on Haftar to gain access to the natural resources of Libya if he wins, to sell them weapons and, possibly, to build military installations. According to some Italian sources, Haftar has even signed an agreement with Moscow to allow Russia to create two military bases near Tobruk and Benghazi. There is also unofficial information that the Russians want to lease a former Soviet base in Sidi Barrani from Egypt. Until 1972, the Soviets had a small naval military installation there to monitor the movements of the U.S. Navy in the eastern Mediterranean. From this location, the Russians could threaten the Suez Canal. Acting from Tartus, they can also threaten the Turkish straits. Possibilities like these to paralyze traffic in the eastern Mediterranean did not even exist for Moscow in Soviet times.

Jan Gajewski ■
May 14, 2017



FALSE MORAL IMPERATIVE

ALEKSANDRA RYBIŃSKA

For every epoch there are images that can be considered symbolic. Images of Germans joyfully welcoming refugees in September 2015 at train stations have become a symbol of the inner condition of their society, which succumbed to the “vanity of good”.



SALZBURG, AUSTRIA, SEPTEMBER 16, 2015. REFUGEES WAITING TO BOARD TRAINS AT THE CITY'S MAIN RAILWAY STATION.

© BARBARA GINDL (PAP/EPA)

Nowhere else in Europe has the so-called “welcoming culture” adopted such a hysterical form. The Germans, delighted with themselves and their own goodness, equated politics with morality, and fell into a sense of exhilaration. It did not last long, but as the Bulgarian philosopher Ivan Krastev, president of the Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia, wrote in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, a million refugees from Ukraine would not be able to trigger such a wave of solidarity and help in Germany, as did immigrants from Afghanistan, Syria, Iraq or northern Africa. Why? “Compassion can be shown towards Muslims, precisely because they are different from us. It allows us to demonstrate moral superiority. Look:

these people are radically different from us but we help them anyway. Nothing else reinforces self-esteem to that extent,”¹ stressed Krastev.

Because it is impossible to help everyone living in poverty or under dictatorship, the Syrian refugee has become a symbol of the needy, absolving a society that drew lessons from the grimmest pages of its history. Anyone who carried even a bottle of water or clothes to the newcomers could consider themselves as part of the new, good Germany, which gave up its own national and thus selfish identity.

¹ I. Krastev, “Die Utopie vom Leben jenseits der Grenze”, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 1, 2016, <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/zerfaellt-europa/zerfaellt-europa-3-die-utopie-vom-leben-jenseits-der-grenze-14082761.html>.

The more foreign the refugee was, the more exotic, poor and persecuted, the greater was the willingness to set aside all rationality and take care of him. Nothing really cures one's own guilt complex

Syrian refugee has become a symbol of the needy, absolving a society that drew lessons from the grimmest pages of its history.

as effectively as “the other”. “We are so rich because they are poor” – this is the deep conviction of the followers of the “Willkommenskultur”. Consequently, anyone who ventured to criticize the open door policy was immediately proclaimed a racist, xenophobic, right-wing populist. In this readiness to help, a heavy dose of paternalism, disguised as anti-racism, served as an undercurrent. Germany, Europe's most important political and economic force, took on a new role in the face of the immigration crisis: the chief moral authority.

UNDER PRESSURE

Much has already been written about why Chancellor Angela Merkel decided to open the country's borders. Some hints are provided by Robin Alexander, a journalist for *Die Welt*, in his book *Die Getriebenen (Under Pressure)*.² According to Alexander, it was because neither the chancellor nor the Federal Minister of the Interior, Thomas de Maizière, wanted to take political responsibility for the closure of the borders and

consequently the brutal repelling of the refugees by border guards. The author claims that the closure of the German borders was already *de facto* decided and that the corresponding order had been signed. Only was there a lack of political will to carry it out. Merkel was convinced that voters would not forgive her images showing the brutal treatment of immigrants. All the more so since an earlier video, in which Merkel explains to a young girl from Lebanon why she will have to go back home, was circulated by the German media.³ Afterwards Merkel was named the “Ice Chancellor” by *Der Spiegel*. A loss of image was thus avoided, with serious consequences for Germany and Europe as a result.

The welcome party has long since ended, the “Welcome” posters in English and Arabic have disappeared from city streets, but most of the guests have remained and more are joining them, generating a variety of problems and costs. Many Germans, including those who had happily welcomed the new arrivals, are now dealing with a serious hangover and are questioning the Chancellor's decision. To calm them, and to divert attention from Germany's responsibility for the crisis and Berlin's isolation on the refugee problem (Sweden and Denmark closed their borders), the relocation quota scheme was invented. The impression meant to be created was that, despite resistance, the remaining members of the EU accepted the unilateral decision of Germany to break the Dublin agreement, and showed solidarity with them. It's no coincidence that the brains behind the relocation mechanism was German professor Dr. Martin Selmayr, the right-hand man of Jean-Claude Juncker,

² “Grenzen der Kanzlerin”, *Die Zeit*, March 30, 2017, <http://www.zeit.de/2017/14/angela-merkel-die-getriebenen-fluechtlingspolitik-robin-alexander>.

³ “Die Kanzlerin und das weinende Flüchtlingsmädchen”, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, July 16, 2015, <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/inland/merkel-video-kanzlerin-und-das-weinende-maedchen-13705652.html>.



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PARIS, FRANCE, JULY 13, 2017. GERMAN FEDERAL MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR THOMAS DE MAIZIÈRE ARRIVES TO ATTEND A FRANCO-GERMAN JOINT CABINET MEETING AT THE ÉLYSÉE PALACE IN PARIS.

and the most influential civil servant of the European Commission (EC), a man known and valued in Berlin for his capacity for creative legal interpretation of EU treaties.⁴ Selmayr, called the “bulldozer” by his critics, repeatedly stated that he will stop at nothing until Europe is “united and free”, which in his case means open and moving towards a bright future in a single, uniform line. In September, two years will have passed since the establishment of the migrant relocation system, which was supposed to be temporary and voluntary, and which has turned out to be compulsory and possibly permanent, as discussions on its extension are already underway. And it doesn’t matter that it does not work in practice, and that even countries such as France have accepted only a few hundred migrants. In Germany, the elections are approaching, so it is necessary to tighten

the screws again to give German citizens the impression that their government is doing the right thing; hence, the disciplinary procedure initiated by the European Commission against Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic.

BREAK UP THE VISEGRAD GROUP

We learned from an interview the President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, gave to the German newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, that there is a “a primary mission of the EU.”⁵ And this primary mission consists of, according to the head of the EC, accepting “people of different color or religion”. That is, the creation of a multicultural society, by force if necessary. But that’s not all. Juncker further suggested that in the face of

⁴ “Monster at the Berlaymont”, *Politico*, November 22, 2016, <http://www.politico.eu/article/monster-at-the-berlaymont-martin-selmayr-european-commission-jean-claude-juncker/>.

⁵ “EU-Kommissionspräsident Juncker ‘Wir müssen unseren Laden in Ordnung bringen’”, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, June 15, 2017, <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/interview-eu-kommissionspraesident-juncker-wir-muessen-unseren-laden-in-Ordnung-bringen-1.3546838>.

the refusal of East-Central European countries to accept the so-called refugees from Africa and the Middle East, the admittance of these countries into the Union “was a mistake.” It was not the first time since the outbreak of the refugee crisis that such words were pronounced

Primary mission consists of, according to the head of the EC, accepting “people of different color or religion”.

by a representative of the Brussels establishment. There have already been proposals of supervision, threats to freeze EU funds, tying funds to the acceptance of migrants and a number of other moves taken to at least elicit a sense of shame in the defiant governments. The launch of discipline procedures is another element of the strategy, based on the belief that “if the pressure is strong enough, they will finally get in line.” And if only one bends, then the others will be forced to follow. This is why Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary, and not Slovakia or Austria, who also rejected the relocation mechanism, found themselves in the dock. It’s an ideal opportunity to break up the Visegrad Group. This also echoes the belief that the Pole, the Czech or the Hungarian, who wants to be recognized as a full-fledged European, must uncritically follow a set of appropriate views on the role of their country in Europe. His European duty involves kowtowing to all the ideas of the most equal among equal EU countries, namely Germany and (sometimes) France, and to show feelings of embarrassment when some politician says something about national interests or security.

It’s just that Poland cannot be formally penalized for failing to respect the outcome of the EU summit in Brussels in September 2015. At that summit, there was no talk at all about, and no penalties delineated for, those countries that refused to accept the mainly Muslim immigrants. There is not a word on this subject in the conclusions of the summit. Any attempt at sanctions against Poland would therefore face a challenge from the Polish government in the European Court of Justice. The Commission’s actions should therefore be regarded as political pressure, primarily dictated by the German election calendar. The head of the German government has drawn lessons from Brexit and at all costs wants to show that this time they have the situation under control and will “handle” the problem of immigrants, pushing them, even forcibly, into countries that have not and do not want them, like Poland. The government in Warsaw is guided in this by the will of its own citizens. According to a poll conducted by the CBOS public opinion polling institute, conducted in April 2017, as many as 74% of Poles oppose the acceptance of refugees from the Middle East and Africa. Poles are decidedly more inclined towards accepting refugees from eastern Ukraine. More than half (55%) of respondents were in favor of giving them refuge.⁶ Poland has already accepted – according to various estimates – from 800,000 up to 1.2 million immigrants from Ukraine. The European Commission and our Western European partners do not seem to notice that. This shows that Ivan Krastev, mentioned earlier, was right in saying that solidarity with Ukrainians, suffering in their country due to war and poverty, will

⁶ CBOS: “74% Poles against the reception of refugees from the Middle East and Africa”, *Rzeczpospolita*, April 14, 2017, <http://www.rp.pl/Kraj/170419416-CBOS-74-proc-Polakow-intervention-international-international-in-the-Western-and-Afryki.html>.

never be able to match solidarity with those who differ from us culturally. Multiculturalism and enlightened humanism, the new religion that Western Europeans adopted after turning away from God, is a moral imperative to which there can be no exceptions.

A MATTER OF SECURITY

Some argue that after all, Poland could accept 7,000 immigrants from camps in Italy and Greece, as agreed to by the previous government of Ewa Kopacz, and that Polish citizens would not even feel it. Except that this isn't the point, it's about principle. A given country and not the European Union should decide who it wants to accept onto its territory. It's an issue of internal security, especially since neither the Italians nor the Greeks are able to cope with identifying the immigrants, more than a third of whom have ditched their passports on their way to Europe, or use fake documents. In 2015, Interpol recorded 250,000 lost or stolen Syrian and Iraqi passports.⁷ Among the Islamic terrorists who attacked the Bataclan concert hall on November 13, 2015 in Paris, two used stolen Syrian passports and arrived in the refugee wave via the Balkan route to Europe. This was the same way the Tunisian refugee Anis Amri, who carried out the truck attack at the Christmas market in Berlin, arrived in Europe. Entire criminal networks in Turkey now produce fake Syrian passports, because Syrians still have the best chance for asylum on the old continent. In June 2016, the Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA) admitted that 80% of immigrants arriving in Germany did not have any identification documents, which made it difficult to identify them and dragged out asylum procedures to such an extent that they were practically at

a standstill.⁸ Recently, the German media has reported that a Bundeswehr (German army) soldier, an indigenous German and a Ukrainian family, managed to receive asylum as Syrian refugees. It is difficult to imagine a more absurd situation, and there may have been more such cases,

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perhaps even thousands. And the British watched with amazement on television the arrival of 350 "Syrian refugee minors" coming from camps in the south of Europe to the island, where it was plain to see that they were over thirty or even forty years old. At first, the British Home Office attempted to explain that the war had "aged" them, but later admitted that two-thirds were adults. Dental verification of their age was deemed "unethical".⁹

⁸ "80 Prozent der Flüchtlinge kommen ohne Pass nach Deutschland", *Augsburger Allgemeine*, June 8, 2016, <http://www.augsburger-allgemeine.de/politik/80-Prozent-der-Fluechtlinge-kommen-ohne-Pass-nach-Deutschland-id38036332.html>.

⁹ "Two thirds of disputed Calais 'child refugees' are adults, Home Office figures reveal", *The Independent*, October 19, 2016, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/child-refugees-migrants-two-thirds-home-office-dental-teeth-david-Davies-a7369186.html>.

⁷ "EU's passport fraud 'epidemic' ", *Politico*, January 28, 2016, <http://www.politico.eu/article/europes-fake-forged-stolen-passport-epidemic-visa-free-travel-rights/>.



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STRASBOURG, FRANCE, MAY 17, 2017. MARTIN SELMAYR, HEAD OF CABINET TO THE EU COMMISSION PRESIDENT JEAN-CLAUDE JUNCKER, AT THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT.

Israeli security expert, Martin van Creveld and German critic of Islam, Bassam Tibi, have developed a report on the threat of terrorism stemming from the unrestricted flow of immigration titled “Countering Modern Terrorism”.¹⁰ They identified the dangers of so-called “undesirable immigrants” (Islamists, immigrants who reject the culture and laws of the host):

- Using the country of residence and its society to carry out actions against the home country (“home regimes”). Islamists persecuted in their own countries are fighting, for example, from Germany, to establish a state based on sharia law in their homelands, creating the necessary logistics network. In their asylum application, many Afghan

immigrants in Germany claim they fled their homeland because they belong to the Taliban.

- The rejection of Western values and the law in force in the country that accepted them. Islamists use asylum rights in Europe while at the same time despising Europeans as “non-believers”.

- Threatening the cultural identity of the host country. Muslims often present an attitude of entitlement, demanding more and more concessions to their faith, such as clothing, religious holidays or halal meat.

- Generate high economic and social costs. Many immigrants come to Europe only because of generous social systems and do not intend to work. They often commit common crimes. In 2016, in Germany, refugees committed 174,438 crimes, ranging from petty theft to rape.

¹⁰ “Countering Ideological Terrorism”, Bassam Tibi, *Defense Against Terrorism Review*, Cornell University, 2008, http://www.coedat.nato.int/publication/datr/volume1/06-Countering_Ideological_Terrorism.pdf.

NO DEPORTATIONS

So it's hard to believe the assurances of the Commission that refugees who would be relocated to Poland would be 100% vetted. All the more so because both the Italians and the Greeks – and it's hard to fault them for it –, are trying to get rid of the most problematic individuals. The argument that current immigration does not have much in common with the attacks that swept Europe in the last three years, because the attacks are often carried out by radicalized, third-generation immigrants, does not justify bringing in any high-risk group. All the more since the BKA in Germany announced that since 2011, the terrorist potential among refugees there has quadrupled. They counted one thousand people among the new arrivals, capable and ready to carry out attacks.¹¹ This is also not about symbolic “solidarity,” because today's symbolic action (“let's take even one hundred”) can turn into a mass program tomorrow. Let us recall: the relocation mechanism did not gain the support of all EU member states, which is contrary to the unanimity rule of the European Council. Despite this, it was voted down. If Poland would succumb to the pressure of its Western partners, it would give them a tool to demand further concessions. First we accept 7,000, and then we will have to accept more, and so on. The immigration crisis that Europe has been wrestling with since 2014 has not been resolved, and it does not look like it will be anytime soon. Although the wave of immigrants heading to Europe in search of a better life today is somewhat smaller than in the disastrous year 2015, when – according to Frontex (the EU border protection agency) – there were 1.8 million illegal border crossings into the Union, there isn't much

¹¹ “Terror potential in Germany's immigrant population quadruples, German feds say,” *Fox News*, May 25, 2017, <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2017/05/25/terror-potential-in-germanys-immigrant-population-quadruples-german-feds-say.html>.

evidence to speak for the disappearance of this phenomenon. The German Federal Minister of Economic Cooperation and Development, Gerd Müller, has recently raised alarm that in the coming years we should count on the possibility of as many as 100 million immigrants arriving in Europe from Africa. Europe, with just over 500 million inhabitants, even with a great dose of good will, would not be able to absorb all of them.¹²

All the more so because both the Italians and the Greeks – and it's hard to fault them for it – are trying to get rid of the most problematic individuals.

At the same time, the Italians, Greeks, Germans, French and Swedes are unable to deal with deportations of illegal immigrants, who have no chance for asylum, back to their countries of origin. In 2016, the Italians only deported 3,670 people. All destination countries in the EU have been talking about increasing deportations since 2016. However, in reality they are not doing so, as the German daily *Die Welt* reports, citing a study by the European Stability Initiative (ESI), Germany deported only 7,451 immigrants last year. According to the think tank, “the great deportation offensive is an illusion”.¹³ Of 14,000 Nigerians who sought asylum in Germany last year, only 120 have been sent back to their homeland.

¹² “Müller warnt vor 100 Millionen Flüchtlingen aus Afrika”, *Der Spiegel*, June 18, 2017, <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/gerd-mueller-warnt-vor-100-millionen-fluechtlingen-aus-afrika-a-1152670.html>.

¹³ “Europas großer Selbstbetrug in der Flüchtlingsfrage”, *Die Welt*, June 20, 2017, <https://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article165720206/Europas-grosser-Selbstbetrug-in-der-Fluechtlingsfrage.html>.

BENEFITTING SMUGGLERS

The relocation system, in line with quotas tied to the efforts of refugee rights organizations like “No Borders” and the lack of deportations, serves as an incentive for immigrants to come to Europe. In this way the European Union plays into the hands of smugglers who have already earned billions from the refugee crisis. Marc Micallef of the Global Initiative think tank, called what is happening now, the “the human conveyor belt” stretching from Libya and Turkey into the depths of the African continent and the Middle East. This business is so profitable that it allows for numerous Libyan warlords to live in abundance, deepening instability in this fallen state, where the Islamic State is gaining more and more influence.¹⁴ In this way, the European Union also pays for the mistake of removing Muammar Gaddafi. According to Micallef, ISIS fighters,

The European Union plays into the hands of smugglers who have already earned billions from the refugee crisis.

smugglers and the Libyan coastguard all collaborate in this. The occasion is also used for the trafficking of women and children, some people are murdered for their organs, and women are raped on their way to the European El Dorado.

According to Frontex, in the first quarter of this year, most immigrants came

¹⁴ “The human conveyor belt. Trends in human trafficking and smuggling in post-revolution Libya”, March 2017, <http://globalinitiative.net/report-the-human-conveyor-belt-trends-in-human-trafficking-and-smuggling-in-post-revolution-libya/>.

to Europe from Nigeria, followed by Bangladesh, and Guinea ranked third. Syria is only fourth.¹⁵ From 80 to 100 immigrants reach the coast of Greece daily and 40% come from West Africa. Frontex boss Fabio Leggieri says they are not the poorest of the poor, because they “can afford to pay smugglers.” These are the victims of the phenomenon Ivan Krastev calls “the dictatorship of global comparison.”¹⁶ They are not so poor that they have to leave their country, but they want what is in the West. In the first quarter of this year, as many as 80,000 people arrived in Italy. They crossed the Mediterranean by boat, often with the help of NGOs, who bear the banner of creating an open and borderless world.

Organizations like Sea-Watch and Mission Lifeline are picking up immigrants just off the coast of Libya and transporting them to Italy; and often with the help of Frontex, whose task is supposed to be protecting Europe’s borders. The government in Rome informed the EC at the end of June that regarding the never-ending flow of immigrants, Italy is considering the possibility of closing its ports to foreign ships carrying migrants rescued at sea, and also the confiscation of ships of non-governmental organizations. The authorities in Rome no longer accept the current rules for rescuing immigrants on boats and pontoons, according to which ships sailing under different flags participate in patrolling the Mediterranean and take immigrants on board, then bring them exclusively to Italian ports. According to interior minister Marco Minniti, foreign vessels

¹⁵ “Frontex chief: Migrant influx shifting but no let-up”, *Euractiv.com*, June 13, 2017, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/justice-home-affairs/news/frontex-chief-migrant-influx-shifting-but-no-let-up/>.

¹⁶ “Solidarity! Why?“, I. Krastev, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 1, 2016, <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/die-gegenwart/europe-solidarity-why-14085960.html>.



CADIZ, SOUTHERN SPAIN, JULY 29, 2017. SPANISH MARITIME RESCUE SERVICES TRANSFER SOME OF THE 60 MIGRANTS TO THE PORT OF TARIFA.

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should also take immigrants to other European ports, such as those in France or Malta, as Italy is “overloaded” and there is no room left in asylum centers. However, these countries have not agreed on this.¹⁷ A better solution, according to experts, would be closing the borders, i.e. sealing off the Mediterranean route, just as the Balkan route was sealed off and the establishment of asylum centers (hot spots) in the countries from which immigrants travel to Europe, as well as the return of boats to Libya; but as of yet, the decision to implement this idea hasn’t been made.

THE XENOPHOBIC WEST

For now, immigrants are being admitted to Europe in unlimited numbers. Only a fraction receive asylum, yet, at the same time, only few are deported. The inflow

to Greece has been considerably reduced by the agreement the European Union concluded last year with Turkey, but this is a precarious solution, as it depends on the whims of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Europe is at his mercy, and at least 3 million refugees, who escaped the war in Syria and Iraq, are camped out in Turkey. Many of them had originally planned to travel on to Germany, France or Sweden. As Erdogan said in his meeting with Juncker and European Council President Donald Tusk in February 2016, he can “load them onto buses and bring them to the border with Bulgaria” at any time, if his demands for EU financial aid are not met.¹⁸ Absent the wisdom of the Balkan-route countries like Hungary, who decided not only to close their borders but to build barriers on them, the 1.8 million refugees of 2015 would not have been the end of it.

¹⁷ “Italy is considering the confiscation of ships of migrant rescue organizations”, *tvn24.pl*, June 30, 2017, <http://www.tvn24.pl/knowledge-of-news2/wlochy-rozwazaja-konfiskate-statkow-organism-ratujacych-migrantow,753352.html>.

¹⁸ “Turkey’s Erdogan threatens to flood Europe with migrants: Greek website”, *Reuters*, February 8, 2016, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-eu-turkey-idUSKCN0VH1R0>.

In gratitude, some European politicians have described Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán as a “fascist”.

Currently, the rhetoric of the Union remains essentially the same. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe, scornfully called the “Euro-poor” on this occasion in one of the articles in *Deutsche Welle*, are expected to accept immigrants, against their will and against the will of the immigrants themselves. Otherwise, they are accused of xenophobia. Meanwhile, as polls show, it is not the Poles who most critically view the EU’s open door policy, but the Greeks and Italians. Islamic extremism is feared by 67% of Poles, but by as much as 82% of Germans and 87% of Italians. Among Belgians, 64% believe that the influx of Muslim immigrants should be halted, as do 61% of the French and 65% of Austrians.¹⁹ And, it is not xenophobia that allegedly causes immigrants to refuse to settle in Poland, but the fact that thanks to smugglers, they are well aware of the countries in which the

The countries of Central and Eastern Europe are expected to accept immigrants, against their will and against the will of the immigrants themselves.

social system is most beneficial to them. Their targets are Germany, Great Britain, Sweden and France. They are very determined, as their continuous attempts

¹⁹ “What Do Europeans Think About Muslim Immigration?”, *Chatham House*, February 7, 2017, <https://www.chathamhouse.org/expert/comment/what-do-europeans-think-about-muslim-immigration>.

to get through Calais from the English Channel to the British Isles show. Neither fences, nor high voltage power lines above trains, nor penalties for blocking roads, are able to dissuade them. How Poland could possibly force them to remain on its territory, is a question to which EU elites have no answer, and it is easy to predict that they would soon escape to neighboring Germany, as was the case with Syrian Christians, brought to Poland by The Estera Foundation in the summer of 2015.²⁰ In fact, after escaping to Germany, the Syrians attempted to persuade the Polish authorities to withdraw their earlier refugee status, “because for this reason they were not entitled to German family benefits.” In their letters to the government they even claimed that they were forced to apply for asylum in Poland, although “they did not at all feel like refugees”. We’re talking about 50 families in this case. And the EU wants us to accept 7,000, most of whom probably do not want to live in Poland either. Should they also escape to Germany, will they too write applications asking to withdraw their refugee status?

SOCIAL CRISIS INSTEAD OF ECONOMIC MIRACLE

And even if they stay in Poland, it’s about more than keeping them in asylum centers. They will need language courses, jobs, education, housing, in short: integration. And the Poles have already seen how Germany, a much richer and far more experienced country than ours, handled this issue. For the dominant left-liberal elite beyond the Oder river, cultural differences are simple ornaments diversifying aesthetic experiences. For refugees from Muslim countries, however, they

²⁰ „Porażka Miriam Shaded. Wszyscy uchodźcy, których sprowadziła do Polski Fundacja Estera wyjechali?”, *Newsweek*, March 29, 2017, <http://www.newsweek.pl/swiat/polityka/miriam-shaded-uchodzcy-ktorych-sprowadzila-do-polski-estera-wyjechali-,artykuly,407851,1.html>.

are essential and define their identity. The newcomers brought their conflicts and divisions with them to Germany, between Sunnis and Shiites, Muslims and Christians, and an attitude toward women typical to Islam. In the refugee camps in Germany, fights regularly explode, children are raped, volunteers are sexually abused by their wards, and Christians are victims of aggression on the part of Muslims, and to such a degree that the German government considered opening separate centers for Christians and women with children.²¹ Ultimately, they decided against this so as not to create the impression that Muslims were intolerant. The hopes for professionally skilled and highly educated refugees from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan, also failed to materialize. Their real level of education, as German economist Hans-Werner Sinn points out, corresponds to “functional illiterates”.²² They are unable to understand written text and to solve simple mathematical problems.

According to German education expert Ludger Wößmann, 65% of Syrian children who came with the last immigration wave to Germany, have knowledge and skills far below the minimum required by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). Even if they learned German, “they would not be able to absorb what they are taught in their lessons.” Rather than solve Germany’s demographic problem and cause an economic miracle, as hoped by the authorities in Berlin, entrepreneurs, who lack skilled manpower and other

proponents of “Willkommenskultur”, could face a serious social crisis caused by the massive influx of immigrants. Most newcomers do not want to educate themselves. Many quit apprenticeship programs after a maximum of six months²³ and appear to prefer to even do the lowest paid work, just to earn something. Many have to pay back debts they incurred to smugglers and send money home to their families. Others,

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as the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* notes, simply do not understand the benefits of having an education. As Ilse Aigner, Bavarian Minister of Economic Affairs, said, “only one in ten refugees is actually fit for work.” Germany spent 22 billion euros on refugees in 2016, of which 1.4 billion was for integration and 1.7 billion for the payment of benefits. Federal Minister of Finance Wolfgang Schäuble has planned similar expenses for the current year.²⁴

²¹ “Muslimische Flüchtlinge bedrohen Christen mit dem Tod”, *Die Welt*, September 8, 2016, <https://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article157586994/Muslimische-Fluechtlinge-bedrohen-Christen-mit-dem-Tod.html>.

²² “Flüchtlinge verschärfen Probleme des alternden Sozialstaats”, Hans-Werner Sinn, *fnp.de*, March 18, 2016, http://www.hanswernersinn.de/de/Interview_FNP_18032016.

²³ “Ernüchternde Bilanz: Flüchtlinge sind für den deutschen Arbeitsmarkt unbrauchbar”, *epochtimes.de*, July 2, 2017, <http://www.epochtimes.de/politik/deutschland/ernuechternde-bilanz-fluechtlinge-sind-fuer-den-deutschen-arbeitsmarkt-unbrauchbar-a2157031.html>.

²⁴ “Flüchtlingskrise kostet Deutschland jährlich 22 Milliarden Euro”, *Die Welt*, January 27, 2017, <https://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article161565378/Fluechtlingskrise-kostet-Deutschland-jaehrlich-22-Milliarden-Euro.html>.



BERLIN, GERMANY, SEPTEMBER 10, 2015. GERMAN CHANCELLOR ANGELA MERKEL HAS A SELFIE TAKEN WITH A REFUGEE DURING A VISIT TO A REFUGEE RECEPTION CENTER IN GERMANY.

If the integration of immigrants, especially in the labor market, does not succeed however, it may cost Germany the considerable sum of 400 billion euros over the next 20 years – as concluded by the Center for Economic Research in Mannheim (ZEW) on behalf of the Heinrich Böll Foundation.²⁵ Then, social transfers, like family benefits, will far outweigh the taxes and other fees paid

²⁵ “Flüchtlinge kosten bis zu 400 Milliarden Euro”, *Die Zeit*, April 27, 2016, <http://www.zeit.de/wirtschaft/2016-04/fluechtlinge-arbeitsmarkt-integration-kosten-studie-zew>.

by immigrants. This is all the more so because German law permits so-called “family reunification”. German municipalities already pay a huge sum for asylum centers, most of which are managed by private entities. Some municipalities pay up to 20,000 euros per month for food and accommodation for one refugee.

ON-SITE HELP

That is why Poland, already at the beginning of the migration crisis, stressed that it was necessary to help



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refugees on the spot, because it is less expensive, so you can help a lot more people, and in addition, those who really need help. Poland has long been involved in on-site assistance, including the reconstruction of hospitals, financing the purchase of prostheses for children and the reconstruction of homes for those who lost them as a result of the war in Syria. The value of Polish humanitarian aid to the Middle East has increased almost fourfold – from 12.8 million PLN in 2015 to about 46 million PLN in 2016. Poland's response

FALSE MORAL IMPERATIVE

to the humanitarian and migration crisis also includes participation in special EU funds, such as the EU Regional Trust Fund (MADAD) and the EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey,

Poland has long been involved in on-site assistance, including the reconstruction of hospitals, financing the purchase of prostheses for children and the reconstruction of homes for those who lost them as a result of the war in Syria.

and support through specialized humanitarian agencies appropriately prepared for work in war zones. The total amount of Poland's comprehensive assistance in response to the Syrian conflict and the migration crisis in 2016 amounted to over 119 million PLN. In July 2016, the government also adopted a "humanitarian aid package for the Middle East". This year, it will assist refugees in countries neighboring Syria, run educational programs (with Germany) in Lebanon, and make their own contribution to non-governmental organizations, which will seek refugee assistance from the European Commission. Thanks to this, the Syrians and Iraqis will not have to come to Europe to beg, paying mafia organizations for transportation.

Aleksandra Rybińska ■

July 10, 2017

A STRONG POLAND IN EUROPE

RAFAŁ ZGORZELSKI, PHD

Poland, interested in good cooperation with France, Germany and its other European partners, has an essential role to play in the process of returning to the roots and ideas that illuminated the founding of the European Union. Poland needs a strong Europe, and Europe, the European Union, needs a strong Poland, open to cooperation with countries of the “Old Union”, and politically active in East-Central Europe.

On Sunday, May 7, 2017, the second round of the French presidential election took place, ending in the victory of center-left politician Emmanuel Macron, the leader of the En Marche! movement (which recently changed its name to République En Marche!). Macron received 66.1% (20,753,798 votes), with 33.9% (10,644,118 votes) cast for his opponent, Marine Le Pen, president of the Front National (a position that she temporarily stepped down from on April 24, 2017, to focus on campaigning during the second round of elections), amidst 74.62% voter

turnout, the lowest in France since 1969. It's worth noting that 12 million eligible voters did not take part in the election, while over 4 million voters cast incomplete or invalid ballots.

In his presidential campaign, Emmanuel Macron repeatedly stressed that he would do everything in his power to keep France faithful to its republican principles of “freedom, equality and fraternity,” and declared the building of a strong position for his country in the European Union, as well as the implementation of reforms that would bring flexibility to the labor



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PARIS, FRANCE, JUNE 3, 2017. FRENCH PRESIDENT EMMANUEL MACRON ATTENDS A WREATH-LAYING CEREMONY AT THE TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER AT THE ARC DE TRIOMPHE.

market and restore the competitiveness of the French economy. In foreign policy, Macron clearly wants to tighten relations with Berlin, which is meant to strengthen the French economy.

During the election campaign, Macron repeatedly issued strong warnings that he would push to introduce EU sanctions against Poland for alleged labor cost dumping (social dumping), especially after the Whirlpool Corporation decided to relocate its facilities from Amiens in France to Poland, and for Poland's disloyalty regarding the migrant situation (Emmanuel Macron is in favor of the uniform distribution of refugees across EU countries). He was particularly uncomplimentary towards Jarosław Kaczyński, President of Law and Justice, the party currently governing Poland. He not only called him Marine Le Pen's "friend and ally", but more notably lumped him into the same group as Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán and Russian President Vladimir Putin.

This last judgement, to put it very gently, leaves doubt as to his competence in international diplomacy.

Emmanuel Macron eagerly uses rhetoric and slogans of democratic values such as freedom, equality and fraternity, that speaks to a large part of European public opinion.

Emmanuel Macron eagerly uses rhetoric and slogans of democratic values such as freedom, equality and fraternity, that speaks to a large part of European public opinion. On the other hand – and it's hard to fault him for it – he is pushing slogans in favor of strengthening the

position of the French economy (leaving aside the question of whether his proposed reforms can actually achieve their stated goals). He understands the terms “freedom, equality and brotherhood”, as correct when it comes to securing the interests of his own country and the interests of his closest allies for the purpose of bringing his political visions to reality. The same concepts are seen as wrong, when respect for such rights (including the right to strengthen one’s own position, economy, place in international politics and the presentation and implementation of one’s own ideas) is demanded by other countries, like Poland and Hungary.

As an example, Macron underscores the need for Poland’s loyalty towards the EU. Nevertheless, as Minister of Economy, Industry and Digital Affairs (2014–2016), in the government of Manuel Valls, the current President of France co-created the Loi Macron act of 2015, which was strongly opposed by his Polish allies, and was de facto aimed at Polish truck drivers, with the goal of weakening their strong position in the international transport sector. He supported a legal regulation that clearly discriminated against foreign competition. We will return to the question of France and loyalty later.

One of the leading critics of the reforms being implemented by the Law and Justice government, is the left-wing, Dutch politician and diplomat, national deputy, foreign minister in the government of Mark Rutte (2012–2014), and the current Vice-President of the European Commission, Frans Timmermans. He has repeatedly pointed out that the current situation in Poland allegedly constitutes a “fundamental threat to the rule of law” and has threatened EU sanctions against Poland. He has spoken out about Hungary in a similar way. He

also emphasized that the European Union is built on values that include respect for democracy. Timmermans has been especially critical towards the Polish authorities’ actions against the judiciary, which is perhaps one of the most pathologically functioning institutions in the country, and undoubtedly in need of thorough reforms. The justice system today being one of the key legacies of the postcommunist reality.

The same type of rhetoric as used by Timmermans has been repeatedly used against Poland by Martin Schulz, the German politician, Eurodeputy, leader of the socialists in the European Parliament, and President of the European Parliament (January 17, 2012–June 18, 2014 and July 1, 2014–January 17, 2017), and current Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. He is known for his sharp tongue and aggressive rhetoric, and has accused the Polish government of seeking a coup d’état. Also, from the floor of the European Parliament, he has insulted not only Jarosław Kaczyński and Viktor Orbán, but also Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi. Schulz, like Macron, demanded “solidarity” from Poland on the refugee issue.

It is not possible, for the purposes of this text, to list all of the admonitions leveled against Poland or Hungary by Timmermans, Schulz and others, especially leftist politicians from the European Union. It also doesn’t make sense to explain the differences in foreign policy between Law and Justice and the National Front for example (in matters such as relations with the United States, the annexation of Crimea by Russia and the deployment of NATO troops on the eastern flank of the European Union), or the differences in the political views of Jarosław Kaczyński and Viktor Orbán on issues such as cooperation with Putin’s Russia. It also wouldn’t be appropriate

STRASBOURG, FRANCE, JANUARY 17, 2017. MARTIN SCHULZ, PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, REACTS DURING A PARLIAMENT MEETING.

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to explain to the President of France the differences, including civilizational ones, between the traditions and models of governance in Poland, Hungary and Russia.

It should be stressed, however, that the people who are criticizing Poland either do not have sufficient knowledge about the situation that it finds itself in and the changes taking place there, or are applying the principle that it is right for their own countries to seek their own interests, but completely inappropriate when other countries do the same. Following this idea, the European Union is expected to operate according to principles that the French, Dutch, or Germans, and politicians such as Macron or Timmermans or Schulz expect, and countries like Poland should submit to their vision of community and democracy. It is worthwhile in this situation, when leftist, Western politicians, either on their own initiative or at the suggestion of their Polish allies, obviously distort reality, to respond with

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a few words about how things really are, and what role Poland plays in the European Union.

WHAT IS POLAND'S ROLE IN THE EU?

Poland today is a country that, through successive aspects of the political transformation it went through after communism's collapse in Poland and East-Central Europe at the end of the last century, is steadily developing. This is also due to the intellectual attitude and

entrepreneurship of Poles themselves, which is not necessarily connected with the legislative approach or the policy of various authorities or the state.

A lively emancipation is occurring in Polish education, culture and art, the economy, sports and other fields, in which Poles and Poland often achieve

A lively emancipation is occurring in Polish education, culture and art, the economy, sports and other fields, in which Poles and Poland often achieve significant success, including in the international arena.

significant success, including in the international arena. The internal politics of the state have also changed, in which, apart from the central administration, territorial self-government plays an increasingly important role. Numerous non-governmental organizations – associations, foundations, trade unions and business associations, civic movements and other voluntary associations – are formed and have developed without serious hurdles by all those who feel the need for social activation and commitment.

IN POLAND, CITIZENS ENJOY FREEDOMS THAT AREN'T IN ANY WAY LIMITED

Poles can freely express their beliefs and manifest their values, worldviews and philosophies during many conferences organized around the country, symposia, debates, protests, demonstrations, anniversary celebrations and marches.

They are equally free to create and develop political parties in order to influence the shape of national politics. They can organize religious life under the equal protection of the law, conduct business activities freely, develop family farms and everyone also has the right to the legal protection of private life, family life, the right to their good name and to decide about their personal life. Polish citizens also have the right to obtain information on the activities of public authorities, including economic and professional, self-governing bodies, as well as individuals and organizational units, insofar as they carry out the tasks of public authority and manage the assets of the state. Every citizen of Poland also has the full right to property and the freedom to dispose of it as they see fit, freedom to choose and carry out an occupation and their place of work, the right to safe and hygienic working conditions, education, and health and social security in case of disability.

Poland is a fully democratic country in which citizens' freedoms are fully respected, and in which every citizen can freely articulate their views. It's a country where full freedom of the press and other mass media, and the acquisition and dissemination of information is guaranteed, as well as the free exchange of thought and discussion; a country where everyone is equal before the law and can expect equal treatment by public authorities, and where no one can be discriminated against in political, social or economic life, for any reason. Poland also provides its citizens of national and ethnic minorities the freedom to preserve their own language, customs and traditions, and to develop their own culture.

Poland today is a country where the democratic freedoms of its citizens – with all the problems and shortcomings of

contemporary democracy – have never been as strong as they are now.

Poland, like other countries of the EU already mentioned (France, Germany and the Netherlands), struggles with various problems, the creation and resolution of which is part of everyday reality. These problems are largely analogous, including the phenomenon of over-regulation, bureaucracy and (to varying degrees) unemployment. In Poland, as well as in other countries, these are issues around which often heated political disagreements take place. In evaluating these issues, it's worth remembering though that many of these difficulties are largely the result of the former, ineffective, unrealistic, socialist system, or the incomplete systemic or economic reforms of the state. These types of pathologies appear in the judiciary, and the health and social security systems, and hamper the functioning of many government agencies.

Poland's leaders have been tasked with rebuilding and strengthening the country's internal position, as well as its external position in international politics. In the domestic politics of the country, a natural strengthening of socio-political currents is occurring, towards national solidarity, the elimination of systemic pathologies, the equalization of social opportunities, the development of Polish families and internal independence. After years of functioning in the communist system, it also turned out to be necessary to rebuild national identity, through the active historical policy of the state. Poles are proudly restoring the memory and history of those who gave their lives for a free and independent Poland during the German occupation of World War II, as well as the Soviet domination in East-Central Europe, such as the memory of the Steadfast Soldiers (*Żołnierze Niezłomni*) of the Independence

Underground (the special duty of the state is also to care for veterans who fought for independence), who took up arms against two occupiers in the name of a free and democratic Poland. But also the memory of those who shed blood for "freedom, equality and brotherhood" (Macron's slogan), for an independent and

Poland's leaders have been tasked with rebuilding and strengthening the country's internal position, as well as its external position in international politics.

democratic France, Netherlands, Belgium, and the United Kingdom (democracy, the likes of which Timmermans and Schulz readily argue for), and whose homeland, against their will, was given away at the Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam conferences, under the domination of Soviet Russia for forty-five years.

MULTI-SPEED EUROPE?

At present in the European Union, different views are clashing, as each country is fighting for its own political and economic goals. This doesn't change the fact that Europe needs, besides expressive and wise leaders with real political ideas, the solidarity that underlie its unification. In a changing world, the position of the European Union depends to a great extent on the good cooperation of the "Old Union" states and members admitted to the community after the political transformations in East-Central Europe, states which are in Europe and co-create it – like France and Germany. These states have the full right to convince their political partners of their own political

ideas, to necessary changes in European law and the preservation and full respect of one's own identity and national sovereignty.

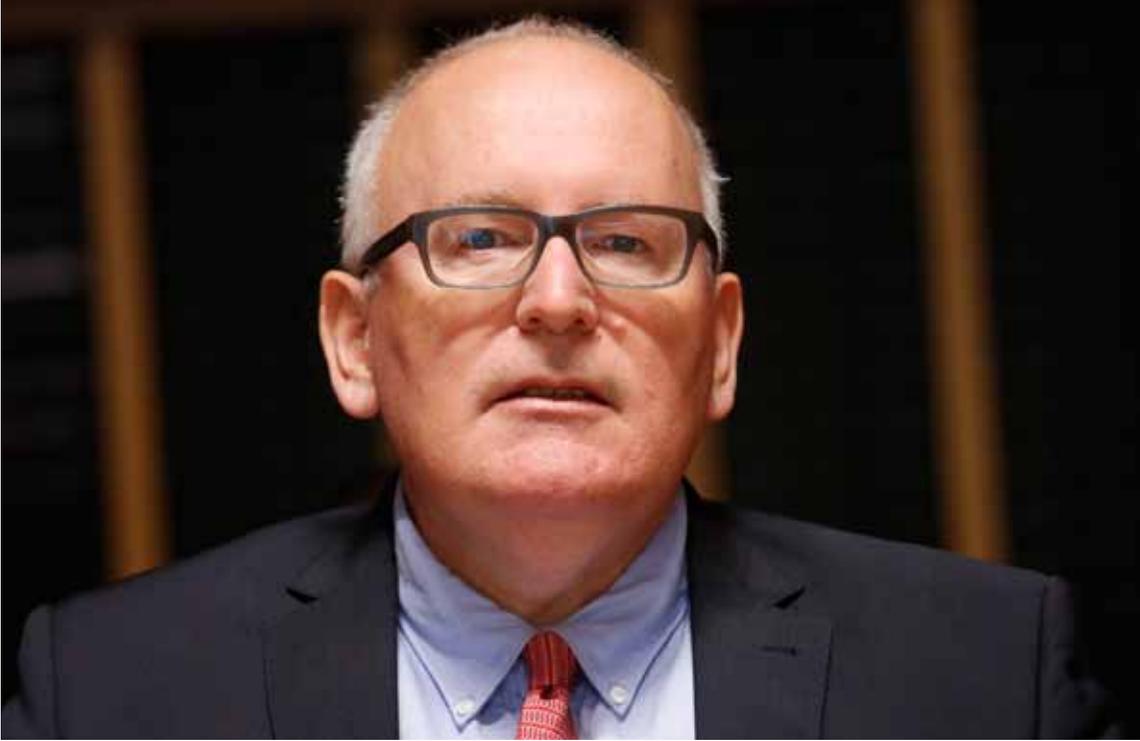
Politicians like Macron, Timmermans and Schulz have the obvious right to express their views, but not to speak untruths about or insult Poles and Hungarians. They also have the right

These politicians, however, are simply not entitled to demand the loyalty of all EU Member States to the established principles of the functioning of the community, but also have the obligation to pursue the interests of all EU citizens.

to disagree with Jarosław Kaczyński or the views of the Polish government, and to build a political majority for the promotion of their own purposes. These politicians, however, are simply not entitled to demand the loyalty of all EU Member States to the established principles of the functioning of the community, but also have the obligation to pursue the interests of all EU citizens. Mainstream politicians, accustomed to unilaterally deciding on the fate of the EU, cannot not draw conclusions from Brexit. There's a need to change the narrative – slogans that increasingly serve the purpose of demagoguery, mainly from the European left, which serve as threats to all those who dare to have contrary opinions, different approaches or views of reality; or those who are

just steadfast in pursuing their national interests. Understood in this way, “freedom, equality and brotherhood” cannot be accepted by Poland. Poland, and Hungary for that matter, is a fully democratic state where the authorities have taken power based on the mandate of the people, with the right to implement the political programs that millions of their countrymen have opted for. European public opinion deserves reliable information and genuine knowledge about Poland and its approach to European affairs.

In Poland, the overwhelming majority of society not only supports EU membership, but also identifies with the political project of the Law and Justice party, and expects a radical change in the country's existing domestic policy. Hence, all the support in the parliamentary elections for Law and Justice (which received 37.58% or 5,711,687 votes in elections to the Sejm [lower house of parliament] and 39.99% or 5,993,433 votes in elections to the Senate [upper house]) and the Kukiz '15 party (with 8.81% support in the Sejm elections or 1,339,094 votes, and, nominating a limited number of candidates to the Senate, obtained 1.38% or 207,156 votes). The main opposition party, the Civic Platform, received 24.09% or 3,661,474 votes in the election to the Sejm and 28.85% or 4,323,759 votes in the Senate elections. Ryszard Petru's Modern party received 7.60% or 1,155,370 votes to the Sejm, and also with a limited number of candidates, 2.63% or 394,817 votes to the Senate. It should be emphasized that, according to various electoral polls carried out in Poland, the support for Law and Justice has remained steady since the parliamentary elections in 2015, which means that Poles are strongly identifying with the reforms proposed by the government of Prime Minister Beata Szydło. It is also worth adding that



LUXEMBOURG, JUNE 20, 2017. FRANS TIMMERMANS, DUTCH FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION AND THE EUROPEAN COMMISSIONER FOR THE PORTFOLIO OF BETTER REGULATION, INTER-INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS, RULE OF LAW AND CHARTER OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS, AT THE START OF THE GENERAL AFFAIRS COUNCIL MEETING.

in the last presidential election in Poland in 2015, the Law and Justice candidate, Andrzej Duda, was victorious (receiving 51.55% or 8,630,627 votes, compared to 48.45% or 8,112,311 votes for the Civic Platform candidate, outgoing President Bronisław Komorowski).

In respect to the appeals of European politicians such as Macron, Timmermans, and Schulz, it is important to remember that Law and Justice has the full mandate of Poles to exercise power. The opposition can and should criticize the work of the authorities, but any potential criticism should be substantive and constructive by proposing solutions that are better than those recommended by Law and Justice. The proclamation of egregious falsehoods about the threat to democracy under the rule of Jarosław Kaczyński is both unwarranted and harmful.

Let us return again to the question of expecting loyalty. In demanding loyalty regarding the migrant issue from a country like Poland, whose leaders see the growing risks and threats of Islamic terrorism, and which was never a colonial

empire, nor did it dominate the societies of other continents for decades, or interfered in the construction of other states' political systems, it is countries such as France that have an obligation to act loyally towards Poland.

A test for this could be the approach of Poland's political partners in the European Union or the European Commission to the issue of building the Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline, which is opposed by Poland, the Baltic States and Ukraine (the same Ukraine that the "Old Union" countries frequently declared favor for, although it is not a member of the community). Nord Stream 2 is to be built at the bottom of the Baltic Sea, parallel to the Nord Stream gas pipeline launched in 2011, as a twin pipeline system with a transmission capacity of 55 billion cubic meters from Russia to Germany. Russia, criticized by Macron and much of France's political elite, the Netherlands and other EU countries, announced it will stop gas distribution into pipelines running through Ukraine. Based on publicly available information, the five European partners of Gazprom

– Engie (France), Royal Dutch Shell (Netherlands-United Kingdom), Uniper and BASF-Wintershall (Germany) and OMV (Austria) – intend to co-finance the project with loans of approximately 950 million euros, which will constitute 10% of the cost of the whole project, estimated at 9.5 billion euros. Russian Gazprom and its Western partners intend to provide the Nord Stream 2 AG corporation, responsible for the construction of the pipeline, with a loan of up to 6.65 billion euros.

A Europe with a strong foundation, a community built upon the values of Greek philosophy, Roman law and Christianity, as well as the independence of the nation-states that co-created it.

So what's up with French loyalty and their questioning of cooperation with Putin's Russia? What will be the future of this *de facto* Russian-German project, around which a lot of controversy has arisen, including whether Nord Stream 2 is consistent with European Union law, as well as key assumptions of the Energy Union? The solution to this issue will not only be essential for the development of European energy policy and the energy security of East-Central European countries, including the Member States of the European Union, but also for the credibility of the European Commission and of the entire community. Besides hearing the opinions of Macron or Timmermans or Schulz on this matter, consequences and decent behavior should be demanded from them, as well as truthfulness in commenting on political

and economic realities. In this sense, it appears that Russia is bad when it occupies Crimea, but is good when it comes to making specific economic or political deals.

What then does the European Union need today? A Europe with a strong foundation, a community built upon the values of Greek philosophy, Roman law and Christianity, as well as the independence of the nation-states that co-created it. A return to the ideas of its founders. If it doesn't hoist itself out of crisis, it will permanently lose its place in the world and will be replaced by Asia. Building the European Union on these foundations is certainly not a guarantee given by left-wing politicians, seeking in the long-term perspective, to transform the community into a more homogenous political and economic body, contrary to the expectations of European societies and the foundational ideas of the EU.

I write these words from the position of a politically uninvolved person, an average participant in social life, who has, like other citizens of Poland or the European Union, the right to express their beliefs and – in perceiving various problems – by no means feels in any way restricted by anyone or anything. I write about it because I feel the need to. For I think that Poles need a proud and strong Poland, a strong Poland in Europe as a stable state, and one that respects its own sovereignty as an entity, and an actor in and not simply subject to international politics.

A person who, if he did not try to understand the mechanisms of politics, and the playing on human emotions to build political capital, could be somewhat astonished at positions or claims that things are otherwise.

Rafał Zgorzelski ■
May 15, 2017

FOREIGN MEDIA REPORTS: POLAND'S IMAGE IN THE WESTERN PRESS

AGATA WERESZCZYŃSKA

What does the average German, Briton, Parisian or Brussels resident know about Poland? What comes to mind when they think of Poland? They probably know that Pope John Paul II was Polish and that the social movement *Solidarity* was born in Poland.

In school they may have learned about the victory at the Battle of Vienna, in other words the defeat of the Ottoman Turks by King John III Sobieski in 1683, and the introduction of the first constitution on the Old Continent in the Polish Republic in 1793. Polish accents may be heard by them on a daily basis. Maybe at home their furniture was *made in Poland*; they perhaps ride to work in Solaris buses, and spend their free time playing “The Witcher”. Some people, encouraged by the country’s peace and security, may

be planning their holidays this year on the Baltic Sea or at the Masurian lakes.

For foreigners, the picture of Poland can also be influenced by stereotypes of Polish people, information heard in passing, contacts with Poles, or experiences in business, trade or academic exchanges. Another important aspect is media coverage, which to varying degrees of accuracy relays what is happening in the country on the Vistula. What picture emerges from these reports?

POLAND “IN COMMENTARY”

First and foremost, Poland is presented as a country in which the “populist” and “Eurosceptic” governments of the Law and Justice party (PiS), “bring the democratic order to ruin” and “destroy the separation of powers”, “restrict civil liberties” and “override” state institutions by taking control of them. “Since taking power in 2015”, it has been in a dispute with the European Commission about “fundamental European values” and “the rule of law”, through which Poland – “completely isolated in the EU arena”

– has become a real *enfant terrible* of the community. The government of Prime Minister Beata Szydło is said to be fighting other battles as well – “re-writing Polish history”, “conducting a cultural counterrevolution”, “destroying the independence of the judiciary”, introducing an “embarrassing core program” into schools, and “destroying unfavorable media”. In the face of these government actions, Poles are engaging in huge protests and going out into the streets en masse under the leadership of a united opposition, because “the situation is worse than under communism and martial law,” and the whole government policy is leading to “the introduction of authoritarian rule through the backdoor.”

Poland is presented as a country in which the “populist” and “Eurosceptic” governments of the Law and Justice party (PiS), “bring the democratic order to ruin”.

Bombarded with such information, the Western European listener has few means of verification. First of all, they may not hear any alternative message, so the information does not raise suspicion. Secondly, why would they doubt the stories of recognized news agencies like Reuters or the Associated

FINANCIAL TIMES

“ Tens of thousands protest against Poland’s ruling party

Tens of thousands of Poles took part in an opposition protest in Warsaw on Saturday, accusing the ruling nationalist Law and Justice party of curtailing freedoms in the biggest show of popular discontent so far this year.

As many as 90,000 marched chanting “We will defend democracy” and “Here is European Poland!” in the three-hour protest, organised by the opposition Civic Platform party, in conjunction with other opposition groups.

POLITICO

“ Thousands take to streets to protest Poland’s Law and Justice party

As many as 90,000 people demonstrated in Warsaw on Saturday in protest of the government’s perceived anti-democratic tendencies and anti-Brussels rhetoric.

TRUTH: according to Polish police, 12,000 demonstrators took to the streets

WARSAWINSTITUTE.REVIEW

The Washington Post



This is what the gradual erosion of rule of law looks like in Poland

President Andrzej Duda from the Law and Justice (PiS) party refused to swear in three justices who had been elected in the previous term to replace judges whose terms were running out.

TRUTH: the judges had been appointed by the previous parliament illegally, that is prior to the end of the term of office of their predecessors

WARSAWINSTITUTE.REVIEW

Press, republished in such prominent places as the *Financial Times*, *Le Monde* or *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*? Finally, how could these articles describe an alternative reality in which Poles themselves are cited?

“POLISH” MEDIA

Here we should clarify the mechanism of how these articles are written, which is a result of the functioning of the Polish media market. Though unthinkable in countries like France and Germany, foreign capital controls 76% of the Polish media market, and an overwhelming majority of regional publications belong to German media companies. It just so happens that journalists working in Poland in these corporations are often the only source of information for their colleagues in foreign editorial offices. Moreover, they are often the authors of articles about Poland. Inside the country, these publications harshly criticize the actions of the current government while supporting the opposition and the same message is being sent abroad. One cannot fail to ask whether their disdain for the Law and Justice government has something to do with the project to restore pluralism in the domestic media market.

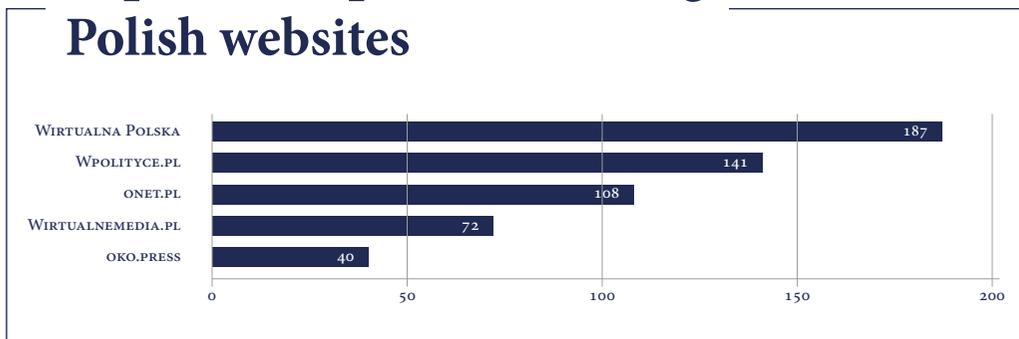
Apart from the issues relating to ownership, the reason for this situation is the long-standing dominance of the

Foreign capital controls 76% of the Polish media market, and an overwhelming majority of regional publications belong to German media companies.

so-called mainstream media, which openly supported the former ruling party, the Civic Platform (PO). The source of this domination was the process of granting media concessions after 1989, controlled by people associated with the communist system. For this reason, there was an imbalance in the Polish media market from the beginning. Conservative media was niche, founded and run on the money of journalists and donations from ordinary citizens. Their voice was not heard abroad. Although much on the Polish scene has changed over the years, one

Conservative media was niche, founded and run on the money of journalists and donations from ordinary citizens.

Top Polish opinion-forming Polish websites



© SOURCE: INSTYTUT MONITOROWANIA MEDIÓW (IMM), JUNE 2017

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gets the impression that the contact lists of foreign correspondents of newspapers like *Le Monde* for example, have been filled for 25 years with the same phone numbers of journalists from *Gazeta Wyborcza* who are leading the attack against the government, and whose days of popularity and high circulation have passed. The sales of this paper, oft-cited abroad, have been falling sharply for a long time, and conservative media, especially online, enjoys the trust of many Poles. Wpolityce.pl is the most influential opinion-shaping internet portal and leads Onet.pl in this regard, which is owned by the Ringier Axel Springer Media group. In turn, *Gazeta Polska* and *wSieci* are winning opinion-making rankings among weeklies.

CONFLICT OF VALUES

There is a further reason for such a negative attitude towards Law and Justice to exist. This concerns a fundamental dispute currently taking place in Poland, which has a deep historical basis. This is not a conflict between the two largest parties or the personal animosity of their leaders, as it is often misrepresented; rather, this is a conflict between the present political leadership and the elites, who obtained their privileges at the expense of Polish society. It is a conflict over the foundation and course of the

entire democratic transformation after 1989. Indeed, the two dominant Polish political formations – PiS and PO – emerged from the legacy of Solidarity and bring together in their ranks people who once fought arm in arm against communism. However, divergent views on fundamental issues such as decommunization, privatization and

This is a conflict between the present political leadership and the elites, who obtained their privileges at the expense of Polish society. It is a conflict over the foundation and course of the entire democratic transformation after 1989.

economic transformation, have led to the current divisions. The groups affiliated with Law and Justice fought to settle accounts with the past and for social

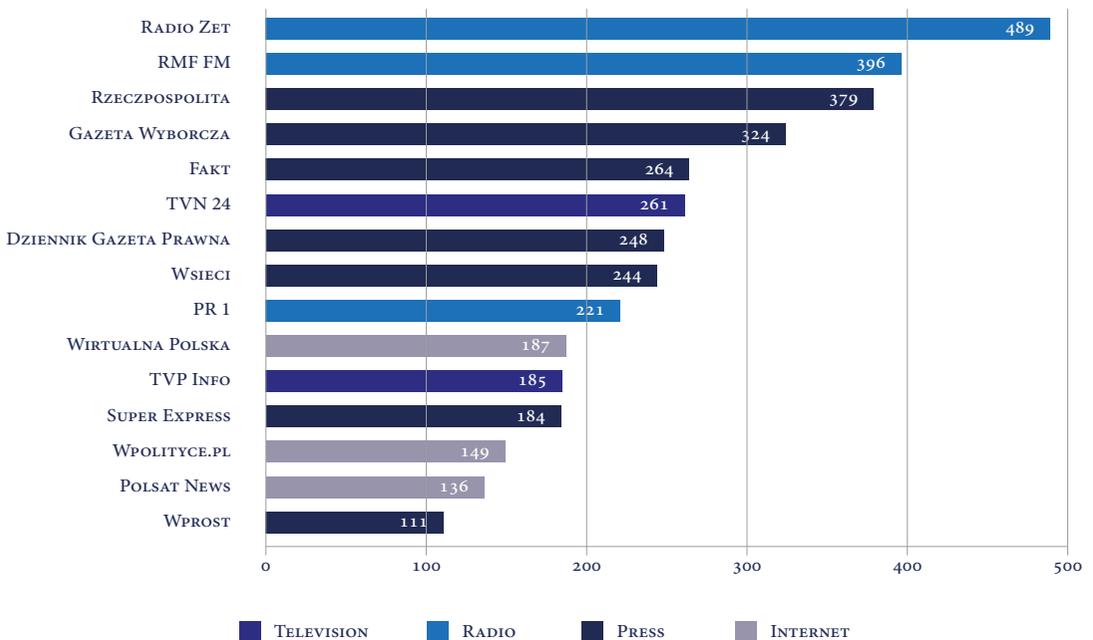
justice. The other side made deals with the post-communist elites and created the dominant establishment in politics, business and the media for the past quarter century. Although we have gone through a democratic transformation, economic reforms, and have joined NATO and the European Union, the average citizen has benefitted the least from this transformation, while a narrow elite has benefitted the most.

Today, the government of Beata Szydło has been consistently implementing a program of social justice for regular Poles, which conflicts with the interests of the elites, hence the vehement criticism of the introduced reforms. Closing loopholes in the tax system prevents dishonest practices. Supporting domestic entrepreneurs and products is a strike against international companies.

Striving for Polish capital to prevail in the media market threatens those affiliated with foreign entities. The reform of the judiciary is a chance to settle the big scandals of recent years.

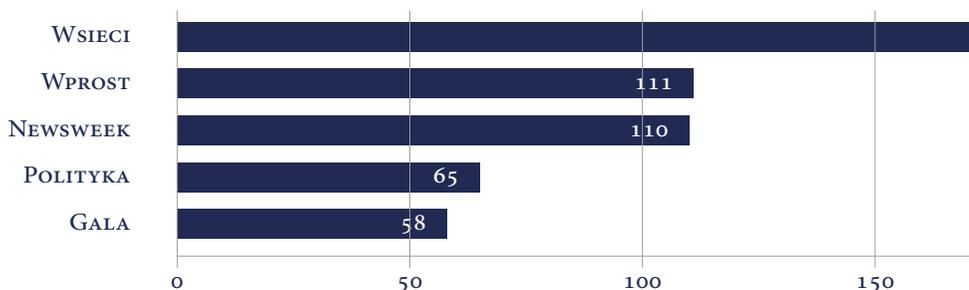
The numbers speak for themselves. Thanks to the introduction of family benefits of 120 euros monthly for the second and each subsequent child, the situation of families has improved significantly, and child poverty has virtually been eliminated. At 7.5%, unemployment in Poland is the lowest it has been in 26 years. State budget revenues are rising and Poland is among the fastest growing economies in Europe. We have the lowest deficit in years, and our currency, the złoty, is strengthening. We are second in the EU in terms of economic growth, and credit agencies are raising Poland

Top Polish opinion-forming media



© SOURCE: INSTYTUT MONITOROWANIA MEDIÓW (IMM), JUNE 2017

Top Polish opinion-forming weeklies and bi-weeklies



© SOURCE: INSTYTUT MONITOROWANIA MEDIÓW (IMM), JUNE 2017

ratings. A completely different message, however, is going out to the rest of the world, which operates on specific principles.

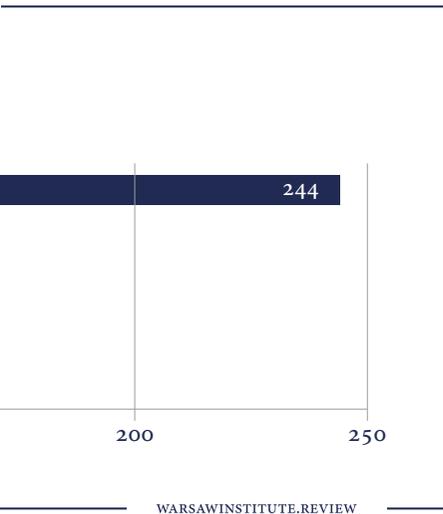
THE MECHANISM OF DISINFORMATION

First of all, the very selection of subjects covered in news stories falsifies the image of Poland. For example, one of the dominant and frequently recurring stories in the German, British, French and even American media is the issue of changes in the Museum of the Second World War in Gdańsk. Probably it is not the most pertinent issue for foreign readers but they may learn about the proceedings in the Gdańsk museum, with detailed descriptions of court judgments in each instance. At the same time they will not find out from the Western media about events more important from the international point of view – about the Warsaw Declaration of the Visegrad Group countries and about the spiritedly prepared Congress of Innovators, or – apart from brief mentions – the Belt and Road Initiative proposed for Europe by

Foreign media occasionally repeats “fake news” about Poland, without verifying the information provided.

China. Someone may say that the issue of the Innovators Summit is not important enough for foreign correspondents to deal with. Is then the issue of the cancellation of the Polish Song Festival in Opole so crucial that even the Financial Times took it up?

Secondly, foreign media occasionally repeats “fake news” about Poland, without verifying the information provided. This was the case during the coverage of one of the many opposition protests. Information appeared in the Polish media given by the organizers, that the so-called “march of freedom” was attended by 90,000 people and that it was



the biggest protest in many years. This figure was picked up by foreign editors, and so the Associated Press, *Suddeutsche Zeitung* and *Financial Times* reported on a nearly 100,000-strong demonstration in Warsaw. However, according to official police data, 12,000 people participated in the protest - even the media supportive of the opposition wrote the following day that there were about 15,000 demonstrators. It is true that some stories included a qualifier about the divergent figures, but placed it in the last paragraph and in a tone questioning the lower numbers. By contrast, the 90,000 number dominated the headlines and was presented as fact. The very subject of anti-government protests, which have been held regularly since the PiS took over, is very much welcomed by foreign media. Interestingly, the same articles that cover these freely organized demonstrations report on the threat to democratic and civic freedoms in Poland.

Lastly, many texts present the Polish reality in a one-sided manner. Foreign reporters quote opposition politicians,

Many texts present the Polish reality in a one-sided manner.

experts critical of the PiS changes, European diplomats and Polish journalists representing liberal media. On the other hand, it is difficult to find in their texts opinions of conservative experts and journalists. In consequence, the government's opponents are virtually the only source of information. During the past 18 months the majority of articles about Poland concerned the conflict around the Constitutional Tribunal. It was reported that the PiS government did not want to swear in the judges selected by the previous parliament, but it was not explained that this selection itself was illegal. In articles describing the education reform measures, the lines "creating new Poles" and "educating obedient, xenophobic traditionalists" are repeated over and over. There is no analysis though of why the reform is being carried out in the first place and what the public's opinion is on this matter.

I want to believe that the distorted image of our reality is not always the result of bad will. The representatives of the victims of the political transformation must do more to make think-tanks or projects like The Warsaw Institute Review accessible to our Western partners. We invite you to come to Poland. News that flows from only one side of a conflict will always be distorted and incomplete. It is time for journalists' contact books to reflect the full spectrum of views.

Agata Wereszczyńska ■

June 22, 2017

DEFENSE COOPERATION BETWEEN POLAND AND UKRAINE: PRESENT STATE AND PROSPECTS

ALEKSANDRA ROMANOWSKA

For the first time since the collapse of the Soviet empire and Poland and Ukraine's recovery of independence, the same opponent has appeared in the defense doctrines of both states: the Russian Federation.

Poland and Ukraine have very similar assessments of the threats to peace in Europe and the security of their citizens – the primary source of instability and aggression is Russia: “The Russian Federation seeks to strengthen its position in the global balance of power through various methods. Among them are: violations of international law, the regular application of force and coercion in relations with other states, and attempts to destabilize Western integration structures. This poses a threat mainly to Poland and other countries in the region, but also to other countries interested in a stable international order.”¹

The current military threat to Ukraine, according to President Petro Poroshenko, “is the armed aggression and the violation of the territorial integrity of Ukraine (the

temporary occupation by the Russian Federation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Sevastopol and military aggression by the Russian Federation in certain regions of Donetsk and Lugansk). Also, the military presence at the Ukrainian border, including the potential deployment of tactical nuclear weapons in Crimea, as well as the militarization of the temporarily-occupied territory through the formation of new military units, as well as the provision of fighter jets, military vehicles and logistics. The presence of Russian troops in the Transnistrian region of Moldova could also be used to destabilize the situation in the southern regions of Ukraine.”²

For the first time since the fall of the Soviet empire and the recovery of Poland and Ukraine's independence, the same opponent has appeared in the defense

¹ Defense Concept of the Republic of Poland, http://www.mon.gov.pl/d/pliki/dokumenty/rozne/2017/06/korp_web_13_06_2017.pdf, p. 24.

² President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko, <http://www.president.gov.ua/documents/5552015-19443>, point 9.



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doctrines of both states – the Russian Federation: “We assume that until 2032 Moscow will maintain an aggressive line in foreign and security policy. This poses an immediate threat to Poland and other states of NATO’s eastern flank, due to the asymmetry of military capabilities between Russia and those states.”³

DEFENSE ISSUES FOR POLAND AND UKRAINE

It is also worth noting that Poland and Ukraine similarly define the tasks of their countries in the sphere of defense: increasing defense budgets, modernizing the army, increasing its numerical strength, developing territorial defense, modernizing and developing the defense industry, and most importantly, recognizing maximum participation in NATO structures as a cornerstone of their defense policy (Poland as a full member of the alliance; Ukraine, as evidenced by recent statements by the president and the parliament of Ukraine, has resolved to overcome all obstacles on its way to membership).

³ Defense Concept of the Republic of Poland, http://www.mon.gov.pl/d/pliki/dokumenty/rozne/2017/06/korp_web_13_06_2017.pdf, p. 24.

WARSAW, POLAND, DECEMBER 12, 2016. PRESIDENT OF POLAND ANDRZEJ DUDA AND PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE PETRO POROSHENKO, DURING A MEETING IN THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE. PETRO POROSHENKO’S VISIT TOOK PLACE ON THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF POLAND’S RECOGNITION OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE.

These two countries and societies have used the opportunities created after the collapse of the Soviet empire and regaining independence in different ways, and due to historical reasons we can say that they are in differing phases of building independence, democracy and the armed forces: “Ukraine finds itself in the most difficult moment of its modern history. Part of its territory is occupied by Russia, while in the east there is an ongoing conflict, fueled by the aggressor. At the same time, Kiev has to undertake reforms, the burden of which is borne by society or which hit at powerful interests. We observe internal problems that will hinder the development of the Ukrainian state, including reforms of its security sector. We hope that the revival of Ukrainian identity, based on the fight against the aggressor, will help to strengthen the structures of the state.”⁴

⁴ Defense Concept of the Republic of Poland; http://www.mon.gov.pl/d/pliki/dokumenty/rozne/2017/06/korp_web_13_06_2017.pdf, p. 25.



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MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE FOR POLAND ANTONI MACIEREWICZ AND MINISTER OF DEFENSE OF UKRAINE STEPAN POLTORAK, SIGNING A GENERAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND AND UKRAINE ON MUTUAL COOPERATION IN THE AREA OF DEFENSE.

For many years, Poland has supported the European aspirations of a large part of Ukrainian society, sometimes doubting whether the process of joining Ukraine to Europe will find a positive end in the foreseeable future. Today, when international order is questioned, when international law and human rights are violated, our actions must be firm. The defense of the borders and sovereignty of Ukraine is not only an obligation of its citizens, but also of the international community. The deliberate and consistent strategy of the West on the “Ukrainian issue” will decide more than just the future of European security. In this situation, military cooperation between Poland and Ukraine is the logical consequence of the defense concepts they’ve adopted. NATO is the most effective and promising platform for its implementation.

COOPERATION WITHIN NATO

Poland consistently advocates the continuation and expansion of the open door policy for Ukraine, upheld at the NATO summit in Warsaw in July 2016. It supports the ambitious program of President Poroshenko, which assumes that the Ukrainian army will achieve NATO standards by 2020 and will strengthen its combat capabilities, which is the first step in its possible membership in the Alliance. In the coming years, however, Ukraine’s accession into NATO is not likely. Although the final declaration of the summit in Warsaw upheld the Alliance’s open door policy and condemned Russian attempts to influence Ukraine’s foreign

policy, Ukraine was not among the countries listed as potential candidates for NATO membership (Georgia, Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina).

The Alliance declared its intention to deepen cooperation with Ukraine in areas of common interest. Acts of aggression in the immediate region, such as the annexation of Crimea by Russia and the war in Donbas, undermine the existing international order and destabilize the situation in NATO member states. Increased aid for Ukrainian border security, especially along the Ukrainian-Russian border, should be an element of strengthening the Alliance's eastern flank.

During the Warsaw summit, the heads of state of the North Atlantic Alliance approved a comprehensive aid package for Ukraine. It provides additional support in five thematic areas: advising (including critical infrastructure protection), security and defense sector reform, education and training, de-mining and countering improvised explosive devices in Donbas, and the operation of outdated weaponry. The package complements the instruments adopted by NATO in 2014 during the Wales summit. The decision was made at the time to create special trust funds for cybersecurity, logistics and standardization, communication and command, medical rehabilitation, and the social adaptation of veterans of the war in Donbas. Many of these instruments, adopted at the NATO summit in Wales in 2014 and at the Warsaw summit in 2016, are supported by Poland financially, through personnel, and technically.

NATO supported the formation process for rapid reaction units of the Ukrainian border guard. To this end, it implemented a "train-and-equip" program, covering the training and arming of these units. Members of the Alliance have experience in this area – the United States already

conducted such activities for Georgia and Syria. For the purposes of the program, the Joint Multinational Training Group Ukraine was utilized, which organizes exercises for the Ukrainian armed forces

Support in five thematic areas: advising (including critical infrastructure protection), security and defense sector reform, education and training, de-mining and countering improvised explosive devices in Donbas, and the operation of outdated weaponry.

at the training ground in Jaworow near Lviv, Ukraine, in the framework of the operations of the International Security Assistance Force, and included the participation of Polish soldiers from the 21st Podhale Rifles Brigade.

A very important initiative, particularly in terms of sharing experience and preparing Ukraine for the process of joining NATO, is the establishment of the LITPOLUKRBRIG Multinational Brigade, composed of soldiers from Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine. The Lithuanian-Polish-Ukrainian Brigade includes over 4,000 soldiers, who are stationed with their home units on a day-to-day basis. The brigade headquarters is located in Lublin, Poland. There are currently 58 Polish officers, 18 Ukrainian officers and 5 Lithuanian officers stationed here. Their term of office lasts three years, with the possibility of further extension.

ARMY

Poland was the first to receive the right to appoint a commander of the Multinational Brigade. This summer, Brigade soldiers will take part in the “Saber Guardian” command-and-control exercise in Bulgaria, and in September in the “Rapid Trident” exercise conducted by the United States Army in Ukraine. LITPOLUKRBRIG will also, together with the Canadian army, be the main organizer of November exercises under the codename “Maple Arch 17” at the training ground in Nowa Dęba, Poland. The key task for the Brigade is to participate in foreign stabilization operations, mainly under the aegis of the UN. “We see this brigade as a driving force that is changing our army”, said Minister of Defense of Ukraine Stepan Poltorak. According to the Polish National Defense Minister Antoni Macierewicz, the “multinational brigade is a sign, a symbol and a very clear signal for anyone who wants to undermine peace in Europe.”

One of the experiences of the “Ukrainian lesson” is the search for new forms of bilateral cooperation in military equipment modernization and production.

NEW EXPERIENCES AND NEW ASSIGNMENTS

After the start of the fighting in Donbas, Ukraine was interested in purchasing personal equipment for soldiers in Poland, namely modern helmets and bulletproof vests. The first deliveries were successfully completed in the summer of 2014. The supplier was “Lubawa SA”. On December 19, 2014 in Kiev, the Polish company entered into an agreement

on “Strategic Cooperation” with the Ukrainian state armaments company UKROBORONPROM. Its main goal is to introduce products offered by “Lubawa SA” into the Ukrainian market, based on multi-year government contracts.

The entrance of “WB Electronics” into the Ukrainian market, a producer of unmanned aerial vehicles (drones) and observation systems, capable of operating day and night, was very important for military operations in eastern Ukraine. It’s difficult to imagine any modern armed conflict without drones, transmitting battlefield images in real time, that allow for command, effective coordination, and guiding artillery fire. Contracts signed by “WB Electronics”, the largest Polish private armaments company, significantly improved the equipment of unmanned systems in Ukrainian units.

Ukraine is interested in the participation of Polish companies in modernizing military equipment that doesn’t meet NATO standards. Ukrainian tanks should be equipped with state-of-the-art fire control systems, target tracking, observation capability in various conditions, and especially communications. Poland has experience in modernizing T-72 tanks. Their new version is known as PT-91 Twardy (“Resilient”). Polish companies can also solicit contracts for advanced command and communication equipment in artillery, reconnaissance and infantry units.

One of the experiences of the “Ukrainian lesson” is the search for new forms of bilateral cooperation in military equipment modernization and production. One potentially interesting project is the plan to build a Polish-Ukrainian multi-role helicopter. This idea came about in discussions during the procurement of helicopters for the Polish army. The development of such a machine within



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**LUBLIN, POLAND, OCTOBER 7, 2016.
CELEBRATION OF THE COMMAND BATTALION
HOLIDAY OF THE LITPOLUKRBRIG
MULTINATIONAL BRIGADE. DURING THE
CEREMONY, MINISTER OF DEFENSE ANTONI
MACIEREWICZ CONFIRMED THE DECISION
TO APPOINT COLONEL ZENON BRZUSZKO
AS COMMANDER OF THE MULTINATIONAL
BRIGADE.**

the framework of Polish and Ukrainian aviation industry cooperation is feasible, though of course, one which requires considerable financial resources and time, optimally from 7 to 10 years. The prospect of modernizing the Mil Mi-8 and Mi-17 transport helicopters already owned by the Polish army is an interesting one. This could be realized with the participation of Ukrainian aircraft manufacturers producing Motor Sich engines. Also, from our point of view, the achievements of the Ukrainian defense industry in missile technology (both artillery rocket and space industry) and the design of radar and early warning systems, are promising.

Ukrainian partners are also paying attention to the possibility of Ukrainian-Polish cooperation in the modernization of post-Soviet military equipment in the armies of countries in Africa and Asia, Ukraine's traditional markets for armament sales.

The search for new areas of military and technical cooperation is paralleled by the discussion of legal issues. It centers on maintaining the principles of equal access to state procurement, while not limiting the rights of private sector companies

interested in defense contracting, the reduction of corruption and providing intelligence and counterintelligence protection to companies, defense systems and professionals working for both armies. The first, and not the last, attempt to summarize what was gained from the "Ukrainian lesson" in the context of Polish-Ukrainian defense cooperation, is the "General Agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of the Republic of Poland on Cooperation in Defense Sphere". It was signed in Warsaw on December 2, 2016, on the 25th anniversary of Poland's recognition of Ukraine's independence, in the presence of presidents Andrzej Duda and Petro Poroshenko. The agreement between Poland and Ukraine is the basis for further cooperation and gives a strategic impetus to the partnership between Kiev and Warsaw, in the face of contemporary security challenges in East-Central Europe. The general agreement establishes 24 areas for future cooperation,

which will be implemented by the parties in various forms.

Defense Minister Antoni Macierewicz said that “the signed agreement was accompanied by a protocol which underpins the extension of the agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of Ukraine, concerning the supply of military equipment and technology and the provision of military and technical services. The protocol deals with industrial cooperation in the field of rocket technology, including those used in orbital systems and other technologies for land forces.”⁵

A NEW CHALLENGE

The “Ukrainian lesson” is Russian unconventional warfare using a whole arsenal of tools in the “gray zone”: “top-notch cybernetics and electronics, intelligence actions, disinformation campaigns, sabotage, murder, bribery and forgery”, said Dr. Michael R. Carpenter, of the Biden Center for Diplomacy and Global Engagement at the University of Pennsylvania.⁶ The concept of the “gray zone” has thus far mainly concerned the economy, and in particular tax avoidance, VAT embezzlement and unbridled speculation. Russia is extending it to international politics, by initiating unconventional warfare and information operations at the limits of international law, blurring the lines between law and lawlessness, making it impossible to determine who is responsible for the consequences.

Moscow realizes that its conventional capabilities lag behind those of NATO, and that in order to gain an advantage over the traditionally stronger Western forces,

⁵ Ministry of National Defense; <http://www.mon.gov.pl/news/article/article/bottest-certification-of-the-intervention-of-the-ukraina-d2016-12-02/>.

⁶ United States Senate, Hearing to Receive Testimony on Russian Influence and Unconventional Warfare Operations in the “Gray Zone”: Lessons from Ukraine, https://www.armed-services.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/17-27_03-29-17.pdf, 7.

it must invest in the “gray zone”, when counting on achieving its strategic goals: to undermine the North Atlantic Alliance and the values of the Western world. There is no doubt that Russia is taking actions across the spectrum: political, diplomatic and military power on a global scale. Russia is constantly testing its approach and drawing conclusions, thus improving its arsenal of tactical and technical resources in the “gray zone”. Having succeeded in Crimea, they attempted to replicate this scenario in eastern Ukraine, but they did not gain support from the local population, outside the border areas (currently occupied by the separatists), and encountered defensive

The concept of the “gray zone” has thus far mainly concerned the economy, and in particular tax avoidance, VAT embezzlement and unbridled speculation.

operations of the Ukrainian army and the forces of the national movement born of the Maidan protests.

If we assume that Russia is trying to achieve its strategic goals in its Western policy, which it is currently testing in Ukraine by conducting warfare in the “gray zone”, at the same time denying international legal responsibility for its actions, then the condition of each European army, its preparation for a new kind of war and defense cooperation between countries, should be paramount considerations.

Aleksandra Romanowska ■

June 26, 2017

CHANGES IN THE DESIGN OF THE EU BUDGET AFTER BREXIT. THE NEW FINANCIAL OUTLOOK FOR 2021–2027 AND CONSEQUENCES FOR LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

GRZEGORZ GÓRSKI, PHD

In 2020, decisions will be made by the relevant bodies of the European Union, which will sanction its financial outlook for the years 2021–2027. The organization’s annual budgets will be constructed over the next seven years based on this framework.

In recent months, the European public has received a variety of information on the direction of work on this new financial outlook. Already at this stage, from the Polish perspective, it must raise the utmost concern. In this context, it seems that attempts by the European Commission to exert pressure on Poland are becoming easier to understand. The European

Commission first struck out at Poland under the guise of the “defense of democratic values”, an argument used exclusively in a clear attempt to reverse democratic electoral decisions in Poland through outside interference. Next, the European Commission launched further procedures under the pretext of bringing countries to heel (besides Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic also



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BRUSSELS, BELGIUM, NOVEMBER 9, 2015. JEAN-CLAUDE JUNCKER, THE PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION AND KRISTALINA GEORGIEVA, EUROPEAN COMMISSIONER FOR BUDGET AND HUMAN RESOURCES, REFLECT OVER THE EUROPEAN FLAG WHICH COVERS A PIECE OF THE BERLIN WALL DURING THE INAUGURATION OF THE “KENNEDY PIECE”.

became victims of this action) that were allegedly boycotting the EU mechanism of migrant relocation. Without delving too deeply at this point into the analysis of these two games being played by the European Commission, it must be said that the real reason for these actions is an attempt to lay the groundwork

Union, the simplest solution is to save money at the expense of the largest beneficiary of the EU.

Returning to the issue of the intentions of Brussels in the fundamental reconstruction of the budgetary principles of the European Union, two serious facts should be taken into consideration.

In first place is the report of the so-called “Mario Monti Commission”.¹ Several months ago, this document formulated the basic direction of changes in the new EU financial framework. Further expansion and next steps are being

¹ For the full text of the report of the Mario Monti group see: http://ec.europa.eu/budget/mff/hlgor/library/reports-communication/hlgor-report_20170104.pdf. In addition to identifying new sources of EU revenue, the team also calls for the concentration of spending on strengthening the single market and the technological progress of EU economies, in order to make its budget more independent of member state contributions.

The report of the so-called “Mario Monti Commission” formulated the basic direction of changes in the new EU financial framework.

for radically reducing the financial benefits that Poland has thus far received from EU membership. Faced with the mounting budgetary problems of the

taken through the pronouncements in recent weeks of the new European Commissioner for Budget and Human Resources, Gunther Oettinger.²

In both cases, the authors of the positions point to the fact that the proposed solutions being prepared will be a serious threat to Poland's current position. Next to France, Poland is the largest recipient of EU funds. While in the case of France these are funds received under the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), for Poland, they also include resources from the Structural Funds and the Cohesion Fund. It's easy to imagine, that by looking for ways to make the necessary savings, the suggested changes will lead to a radical reduction in the financial benefits of Poland's membership in the EU, by changing the way money is spent in the area most critical to Poland.

Before we move on, it is necessary first to summarize the current financial benefits to Poland from our presence in the EU.

FINANCIAL FLOWS TO POLAND IN 2004–2016

Poland officially entered the European Union on May 1, 2004. From that moment on, it became a full-fledged participant in the formulation of the organization's budget.

Starting from that point, until the end of 2016, Poland received over 135.72 billion EUR (600 billion PLN) from the EU budget.³ At the same time, Poland's contribution to the budget amounted to over 44.47 billion EUR (190 billion PLN).

² The new budget commissioner presented his first proposals which went in the same direction as the ideas presented by the Monti group in early 2017: <http://www.bankier.pl/news/new-company-eu-ds-budzetu'sreform-EU-financial-7492730.html>.

³ For the conversion of the euro (EUR) against the Polish zloty (PLN) I use the rate of 4.3 PLN per EUR. This averaging facilitates the presentation of the issues at hand.

The balance of cash flows for this period was less than 91.1 billion EUR, which is around 400 billion PLN. That means that the average annual support for Poland is 7 billion EUR (30 billion PLN).

It must be stated, however, that it's difficult to characterize the scale of these financial benefits as an epochal and pivotal moment in Poland's civilizational development.

In relation to our national budget, this represents roughly 10% of annual revenue, and corresponds to approximately the annual forecast CIT (corporate income tax) in 2017. The total amount of EU funding is slightly higher than the planned national budget of 2017.

On average, it can be said that Poland received about two annual national budgets from the European Union over approximately 12 years. Not to underestimate the importance of these measures, it must be stated, however, that it's difficult to characterize the scale of these financial benefits as an epochal and pivotal moment in Poland's civilizational development.

It should also be pointed out that the largest contributions from the EU budget relate to expenditures:

- for the Common Agricultural Policy (about 46.5 billion EUR in the indicated period, i.e. 210 billion PLN, or 16 billion PLN annually);
- on the Cohesion Policy (over 27.1 billion EUR, i.e. 115 billion PLN, or 8.8 billion PLN annually) and



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BRUSSELS, BELGIUM, NOVEMBER 23, 2012. GERMAN CHANCELLOR ANGELA MERKEL AS SHE ARRIVES FOR A MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL HERMAN VAN ROMPUY, ON THE SECOND DAY OF A EUROPEAN SUMMIT AT THE EU HEADQUARTERS IN BRUSSELS. EUROPEAN HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENTS ARE DISCUSSING THE EU BUDGET, THE EURO SINGLE CURRENCY AND THE FUTURE OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION.

- on Structural Funds (over 55.4 billion EUR, i.e. 240 billion PLN, or 18.5 billion PLN annually).

By adjusting the aforementioned amounts by the coefficient resulting from our contributions to the Union's budget, the above items should be reduced by approximately 25%, which means that in real terms, annually they are actually:

- 12 billion PLN for the Agricultural Policy,
- 6.6 billion PLN for the Cohesion Policy and
- 14 billion PLN for Structural Funds.

Without entering into a more detailed analysis, it can be reiterated that, in

real terms, these amounts are not overwhelming and certainly do not correspond to the popular, but largely mythological (or rather propagandistic) idea of the “stream of money flowing from Brussels”. They certainly played a role in spurring a number of areas of life in Poland, but these funds aren't equal to various expenditures of the national budget, and can't be conclusively regarded as a breakthrough factor for our country.

It should also be kept in mind that these averaged parameters had different dimensions depending on the year. In this way, it can also be said that the measures used in certain funding waves did not uniformly influence the harmonious civilizational progress of Poland.

In addition, it is important to be aware that since 2008, as the main beneficiaries of the Union's budget, our contribution, created primarily as a percentage of GDP, has grown disproportionately faster. The economic stagnation in EU countries, which began in 2008–2009, with a relatively high GDP growth rate in Poland, has led to a progressive reduction in Poland's real “return” from the EU budget.⁴

BREXIT, THE EU INSTITUTIONAL CRISIS AND THE NEW FINANCIAL OUTLOOK

Great Britain is a net payer into the EU budget. This contribution amounts to 12 billion EUR per year, almost twice the annual average “yield” for Poland. These funds will certainly not be in the budget as early as 2021. It can't be excluded that problems will appear even sooner. The open attempt by major Western countries (Germany, France, Italy, Spain and the Benelux Union) to “punish” Great Britain for Brexit, which also serves as a kind

⁴ All data published on the website of the Ministry of Finance: http://www.mf.gov.pl/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=09c8b121-0a19-4960-a331-145bd2340f42&groupId=764034.

of warning for potential imitators, may lead to a very hard breakup. And it will consequently mean a catastrophe for the Union's budgets as soon as 2019 and 2020. If this happens, very serious effects will be felt even sooner in Poland. Poland's focus on securing the social rights for Poles seeking to stay in Britain after Brexit is, in essence, a marginal issue in relation to the scale of the financial consequences of that country's withdrawal from the EU.

It must also be kept in mind that in the work on the new financial outlook of the EU, Great Britain will no longer be taken into account. What does this mean for Poland? It's not just a matter of the departure of a country which was a huge net payer into the common budget. Great Britain, a very rich country with a powerful economy, clearly drew the EU average upwards in all economic indicators. The exit of Great Britain will cause a very serious reduction of these averages. At the same time, the growth of Poland's GDP and other parameters, against the background of stagnation in other leading countries, will automatically bring Poland closer to these EU averages. Poland will move very close to the position of an EU "average joe". It is, however, a function not so much of the real progress of Poland, but of the aforementioned merciless mathematics. A country's place in this informal EU ranking directly influences the decision-making process for the allocation of resources from the Structural Funds and Cohesion Fund. It seems that it is precisely the awareness of these consequences of Brexit among the Brussels bureaucracy, in which we can see the extremely consistent pursuit to program the financial framework in a way which will take into account the quite obvious consequences of Great Britain's departure.

But this is not the only critical issue we face. The gigantic migration problem,

caused by Germany's carelessness, makes it necessary to immediately increase the financial outlay against the resulting turbulence. Look at the huge costs of the contract with Turkey, and the inevitable

Poland's focus on securing the social rights for Poles seeking to stay in Britain after Brexit is, in essence, a marginal issue in relation to the scale of the financial consequences of that country's withdrawal from the EU.

similar agreements, probably coming soon with Libya, Tunisia or Algeria. As a result, the costs of discharging the critical situation in Syria, Jordan and Lebanon will inevitably also increase. Without these actions, there is little chance of putting a brake on the growing scale of the migration crisis. There will also be an increase in the cost of adaptation policies for hundreds of thousands, and soon enough, millions of migrants in the EU itself.

Already today, it is estimated that the cost of this policy will be, in modest estimation, a minimum of 10 billion EUR per year. After all, this does not include all the outlays on other elements proclaimed as a priority like common defense and security policy. This in particular concerns the protection of the EU's external borders, which requires a huge amount of funding.

This means that for just these two reasons, namely Brexit and the migration

crisis, there will be a need to either supplement the budget by an additional 25 billion EUR per year from 2021, or cut spending by that amount to shift the saved funds to new priorities. In addition, assuming that negotiations with the United Kingdom end badly, it will lead to a comparable gap in 2019–2020.

Commissioner Oettinger has stated openly that finding such a huge amount of money can only happen by limiting spending in two spheres – in the Cohesion Policy and Structural Funds, and the Common Agricultural Policy.

Already today, as mentioned earlier, Commissioner Oettinger has stated openly that finding such a huge amount of money can only happen by limiting spending in two spheres – in the Cohesion Policy and Structural Funds, and the Common Agricultural Policy, which together cover more than 70% of EU spending. It is clear that the margin of freedom under the CAP revision is extremely limited,⁵ which, consequently, means that the cuts will have to come at the expense of Structural Funds and the Cohesion Policy, because it is rather difficult to imagine the consent of the Union's main contributors to an

⁵ After the elections in France, it can be said with great certainty that major changes in agricultural policy will not take place. France, as the largest beneficiary of this construct, in the absence of the largest EU opponent of the CAP, the UK, will certainly not allow any major revisions to this program, which absorbs half of the EU budget.

even greater increase in benefits from the common budget. It also does not appear to be possible for all members of the Union to be allowed to introduce taxes to directly feed the budget of Brussels, because this solution would result in practically the total alienation of this center from any control by national governments.

But that is not all. Even within the confines of the Cohesion Policy and Structural Funds, significant changes are being proposed in the way they are spent, especially relevant to Poland. First of all, this includes increasing spending on fighting unemployment, which mainly affects Mediterranean countries. Fortunately, Poland has this problem behind it, at least for the time being, but it actually means further limiting EU funds for our use. In addition, it has been suggested that more funds be shifted to economic innovation and research. And in the use of these resources we remain outsiders and there is no significant improvement expected. Our scientific centers are entirely incapable of utilizing these funds, and none of the proposed solutions in Poland bring us closer to increasing these capabilities.

CONSEQUENCES FOR POLAND

It is clear today that there is little chance to maintain comparable financial benefits for Poland based on the forthcoming outlook of the EU budget. We would not be mistaken to assume that in the coming years, starting at the latest from 2021 (and unfortunately, maybe earlier) the net transfer of funds for Poland will oscillate around a relative equilibrium.⁶

⁶ It is characteristic that even today we see systemic restrictions on the use of these resources. For example, the balance of transfer of these funds in April 2017 amounted to only 80 million EUR, which means that the monthly net impact to Poland fell in 2017 to barely 6 billion EUR. http://www.mf.gov.pl/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=90d98cf8-1201-4422-b9b2-b21c65640fb5&groupId=764034.



© GERRY PENNY (PAP/EPA)

DOVER, ENGLAND, MAY 8, 2017. A CLOSE-UP VIEW OF THE BREXIT-INSPIRED MURAL BY BANKSY, SHOWING A WORKER CHIPPING AWAY AT A STAR ON AN EU FLAG THAT HAS BEEN PAINTED ON THE SIDE OF A BUILDING IN DOVER. THE ARTWORK EMERGED OVERNIGHT UNDER DOVER CASTLE NEAR THE FERRY TERMINAL, WHICH CONNECTS THE UK WITH MAINLAND EUROPE. THE MURAL, WHICH WAS CONFIRMED BY BANKSY'S REPRESENTATIVES TO BE A GENUINE WORK BY THE BRITISH STREET ARTIST, IS HIS FIRST COMMENT ON THE BREXIT VOTE.

We don't know which direction the possible evolution of the CAP will take. However, given the various aspects of the ongoing debate, we can assume with great certainty that it will proceed in an even worse direction for Poland than the present situation. And it must be remembered that today, Polish farmers receive only two-thirds of the amount received by French, German or Italian farmers and half of what Belgian or Dutch farmers receive. This creates a situation that systematically restricts fair competition in the EU agricultural market and discriminates against Polish

agriculture, under the guise of partial support. There can be no doubt as to what Poland and Polish agriculture would look like if Polish farmers received subsidies at the level of German farmers, and what the EU food market would look like if there was a level playing field for all countries.

However, if we omit the subsidies from the CAP, then Poland will in all likelihood become a net financial payer into the EU budget in this new financial era. It seems that the awareness of this state of affairs is completely unnoticed in Poland today.

We should emphasize that the proposed changes in the structure of EU spending will also drastically reduce the funds for regional policy that aims to equalize the standard the standard of living in various parts of Europe. Conducting this policy was one of the flagship undertakings of the European Union

since its inception. From the Polish perspective, it was treated as a sort of compensation for cutting us off from the Marshall Plan, thanks to which the countries of Western Europe lifted

That the proposed changes in the structure of EU spending will also drastically reduce the funds for regional policy that aims to equalize the standard the standard of living in various parts of Europe.

themselves from the effects of World War II. We therefore have the right to treat the Cohesion Fund as a sort of redress for the effects of the war, from those that caused it (Germany, Italy and Austria), or those who, to a greater or lesser degree, collaborated with them (France, Belgium, Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Spain or Portugal), and despite this, benefited from American support.

There is one more important element relating to the Structural Funds. The claim made by certain European leaders, headed by Germany, that the funds transferred to Poland (among other countries) are an expression of their benevolence, is the pinnacle of cynicism. Since Poland's association with the Union in 1991, these funds have been handed over to us solely as a form of opening up our market to unequal competition with European companies. Taking advantage

of their upper hand at that time, often with the tremendous support of their own governments, they literally colonized Poland, gaining a disproportionate advantage over Polish companies in European markets. Forgetting that the small Polish market has become one of the four main consumers of European exports today, delicately speaking, is incredulous.

However, while looking at the formulated proposals for the new structure and preferences of resources under the Cohesion Policy and Structural Funds, it must be stated that from the perspective of the needs of Polish provinces, constructed mainly for the implementation of the Cohesion Policy based on EU funds, bluntly stated, will result in systematic disaster

It is easy to predict that all these actions will result in a drastic reduction of funds available to Polish territorial self-government. The particular prosperity of past years is certainly behind us and it will be necessary to create such systemic and financial solutions in order to generate the necessary development funds. Expecting that their problems will be solved by means of EU funds is not rational in light of the presented information. Today, we have to look for completely new solutions.

Against this background, two issues are worth considering. First of all, the question arises whether this radical change in our financial relations with the EU will be accompanied by a change in the attitude of Poles towards the presence of Poland in this organization. If it is possible to draw conclusions from earlier changes in the attitude of Poles to replacing the złoty with the euro, then we can expect that at the beginning of the 2020s, the overwhelming majority of Poles will want Poland to leave



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the EU.⁷ Poles have a pragmatic attitude towards the euro and the European Union. The lack of real benefits of being in the EU will lead to a radical change in attitudes towards it. This is not unusual, as the attitude of most European nations to the European Union evolves in a similar way, with a close dependence on the real benefits to their nations from belonging to the EU. The Germans are of course the exception, for whom the euro and the Union are tools to achieve their hegemonic dreams.

Secondly, in light of the above projections, attempts to blackmail Poland with the reduction of benefits from the EU budget take on a comical character. This threat, in the context of the real budgetary problems of the Union, is becoming more understandable as it can be one of the tools to generate savings at the expense of Poland and to allocate them to new priorities.

⁷ An April 7 CBOS survey yielded data showing that only 22% of Poles support the introduction of the euro. In 2002 it was 64%. In the same study, a record 88% of Poles supported Poland's membership in the EU <http://wyborcza.pl/7,75398,21703900,nowy-sondaz-cbos-polacy-chca-unii-europejskie-ale-nie-euro.html>.

Poland is becoming aware of the changing situation, but can acquire entirely new opportunities in the ongoing negotiations with the European Commission.

Poland is becoming aware of the changing situation, but can acquire entirely new opportunities in the ongoing negotiations with the European Commission. Bearing in mind that the annual EU budgets need unanimous support from the European Council, we should move on to more decisive action to influence the finances of this organization in the very difficult period ahead. Since Poland has at most two to three years of limited, but still real benefits from its presence in the European Union, it is best to exploit them as effectively as possible.

Grzegorz Górski ■
June 26, 2017



THE POLISH BANKING SECTOR IN AN INNOVATION RACE

ŁUKASZ CZERNICKI

Changes in the financial markets caused by the spread of digital technology pose a challenge for banking institutions in many countries; however, the starting position of the Polish banking sector in this innovative race is a good one.

technology, especially through the Internet, has dramatically changed the way financial services are used. Bank branches are visited less and less, as most banking can be done online. Thanks to innovative solutions, financial products are better adapted to the individual needs of customers. New payment methods are appearing, such as payments through mobile devices.

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Digitization in the financial sphere manifests itself in yet another way. New technologies have enabled companies outside the banking sector to offer services that were previously solely in the domain of banks. So-called Fintech (short for: Financial Technology) has appeared on the market – small technology companies whose business is usually focused on specific segments. For example, online platforms such as the British Zopa and German auxmoney, allow for lending between private individuals, without banks as the intermediary. Along with the progressing digitization of the financial services industry, large companies in the new technology sector have become increasingly interested in the sector. Apple has successfully developed the Apple Pay system for mobile devices in recent years. Facebook and Google have also experimented with similar solutions in the area of payment transactions.

DIGITIZATION OF THE FINANCIAL SECTOR IN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Non-bank financial companies have entered the financial services market



WARSAW, POLAND, APRIL 5, 2016.
NATIONAL BANK OF POLAND.

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BANKS IN THE POST-CRISIS ECONOMIC REALITY

In recent years, the financial services market has undergone dynamic changes. The measures taken by monetary authorities and regulators in response to the outbreak of the financial crisis – the reduction of interest rates and the introduction of new legislation to reduce the risk of similar turmoil in the financial system – are the driving force behind the changes currently taking place in the financial world. From the perspective of banks, these actions mean lower interest income on the one hand, and additional burdens associated with the implementation of new regulations on the other.

A trend that is having an equally strong influence on financial institutions is digitization. The rapid spread of digital

in developed countries where modern banking systems were created decades ago. It was there that whispers began that new players posed a serious threat to traditional financial institutions. How can the success of technology companies in this area be explained?

Small tech companies are no longer seen as rivals to the banks, but are beginning to be treated as allies.

The computer systems of many banking institutions in Western countries were established relatively early. Due to the lack of competition from other industries, the banks have been slow to adapt to changing technological standards. To date, some of the functionalities in banking systems in Germany are based on outdated software languages. This lack of urgency in the implementation of new technologies has also meant that an institutional culture, adaptive to innovation, never developed in banks. In addition, the turmoil in the financial markets at the end of the past decade has severely affected the condition of banking institutions in Western countries. Banks were forced to implement large-scale corrective measures and implement new regulations. This fact severely damaged the reputation of banks in Western societies.

Tech companies have been able to address all of the structural problems of banking institutions: they are agile and adapt quickly to innovation, they understand the laws governing the digital economy much better than banks do, they use the latest technological advances, and they are not burdened with the baggage of negative experiences related to the crisis.

For some time now, a certain distinction has been made in the narrative about the future of the financial sector. Small tech companies are no longer seen as rivals to the banks, but are beginning to be treated as allies. Fintech, despite having a number of interesting, innovative products, has thus far experienced a number of problems with acquiring customers. Banking institutions have come to realize that specialized tech companies can deliver exactly what they lack: innovative solutions that address the needs of customers using digital technology. Big technology companies on the other hand could become the real threat, because they have access to both technology and a large customer base.

The importance of Fintech began to be recognized by governments of developed countries. The United Kingdom has been the leading player in this area (it is unclear how their exit from the European Union will weaken London's position as a place to develop new technologies in the financial world). They were the first to introduce the "regulatory sandbox" – a safe space where innovative technology companies can test their solutions without having to comply with regulatory requirements pertaining to normal market players. Numerous accommodations for Fintech companies have also been introduced in Switzerland.

DIGITIZATION AND THE POLISH BANKING SECTOR

Against the backdrop of the current dynamic changes in the financial world, the situation of the Polish banking sector¹ is slightly different than in Western countries. After the political transformation of the late 1980s, the banking sector was basically built from the ground up. Thanks to this, the

¹ The arguments presented here probably relate to other countries in East-Central Europe, but this text focuses exclusively on Polish experiences.

technical infrastructure in Polish banks was already more modern from the beginning, than that of their counterparts in developed countries.

Banks in Poland are eager to experiment with innovative solutions and are among the world's leaders in technological change. From 2012–2015 they won 24 honors in 12 prestigious international competitions.²

Polish banks are capable of producing innovations on their own, far more so than Western financial institutions: as much as 70% of German, 53% of American and 43% of British banks, are considering a partnership with Fintech companies, while in Poland, only 17% are interested in such cooperation.³

This pro-innovation attitude of Polish banks created a different perspective towards Fintech companies, from their first appearance in the financial services sector, than in developed countries – not as potential rivals threatening the existence of banking institutions, but as providers of technology that could be adapted to their use. Moreover, Polish financial institutions are starting to increasingly export their solutions: mBank has recently granted a license to the French La Banque Postale for the use of internet banking and banking apps based on solutions developed by the bank.⁴ At the beginning of June of this

² PWC, “Financial Sector Increasingly #fintech”, 12/2016.

³ M. Ciesielski, Upcoming Fintech 2.0, <https://www.obserwatorfinansowy.pl/tematyka/business/investments/fintech-2-0/>.

⁴ <https://www.cashless.co.uk/message/content/2754-to-the-best-modern-modernity-policies-sector-bank-mbank-the-the-value-of-the-france>.



PRESTIGIOUS INTERNATIONAL CONTESTS AND AWARDS
THAT CONFIRM A HIGH LEVEL OF INNOVATIVENESS
OF THE POLISH BANKING SECTOR IN THE YEARS 2012–2015

CONTEST NAME	PRIZES
BAI – FINANCE GLOBAL BANKING INNOVATION	4
EUROPE BANKING AWARDS	3
CONTACTLESS & MOBILE AWARDS	3
THE INNOVATORS BY GLOBAL FINANCE	3
DIGITAL MODEL BANK	2
BANKING TECHNOLOGY AWARDS	2
FINTECH INNOVATION AWARDS	2
SAP QUALITY AWARDS	1
BEST OF SHOW	1
VISA EUROPE BEST AWARD	1
RETAIL BANKER INTERNATIONAL	1
WORLD'S BEST CORPORATE INTERNET BANKS	1

© SOURCE: PWC, FINANCIAL SECTOR INCREASINGLY #FINTECH, 12/2016

WARSAWINSTITUTE.REVIEW

year, ZenCard, a technology company belonging to the PKO Bank Polski Group, signed an agreement to provide software for managing loyalty programs for banks from Italy and the Netherlands.⁵

Achieving a high position in innovation rankings was also possible thanks to two other factors: relatively high social acceptance for innovative solutions and having a well-developed reserve of excellent IT specialists. In Poland, as much as 60% of smartphone owners have already used mobile banking, which is the third highest in Europe. Almost 80% of debit cards in our country are equipped

⁵ <https://www.cashless.co.uk/consulting/articles/2693-polski-fintech-taxes-export-to-a-exterior-agricultural-contracts-content>.



WARSAW, POLAND, JANUARY 29, 2016.
A BRANCH OF PKO BP BANK, LOCATED IN THE
HISTORIC ROTUNDA BUILDING IN WARSAW.

© RADEK PIETRUSZKA (PAP)

with contactless functionality, while in the UK, this is one-third less.⁶ Polish IT professionals regularly rank among the world's top ten in various international competitions. It is also worth noting that the Polish banks suffered to a lesser extent than Western ones, as a result of the financial crisis. This enabled them to focus more on the adaptation of technological innovations rather than spending time and money on post-crisis “cleanup”.

Innovations in the financial sector in Poland have hitherto mainly encountered barriers in the form of unfriendly market regulators and the low availability of capital. However, positive changes in both areas can be detected. At the end of last year, a working group led by the Polish Financial Supervision Commission was formed, composed of representatives of the public administration and financial industry. The group's goal is to develop proposals for regulatory changes to facilitate the development of innovation. The new government also managed to mobilize a large sum of money for investments in start-up projects

⁶ FinTech in the CEE Region, Charting the course for innovation in financial services technology, Deloitte, 12/2016.

(including those in the financial services market). Through the Polish Development Fund, the fledgling companies are expected to receive almost 3 billion PLN (\$800 million).

The biggest threat to the Polish banking sector – in the long term – seems to be, as in the case of banking institutions in developed countries, large technology companies like Google and Apple, which have enormous financial resources and a huge user base. It does not appear, however, that Polish banks will easily roll over, as they are able to cooperate effectively with one another in the face of the challenges of digitization. In this context, we must certainly mention the BLIK mobile payment system, which is being developed and managed by a group of some of Poland's largest banks. Nearly 1.5 million Poles now have access to this technology; while more than 130,000 points of sale accept transactions in this standard.⁷

Łukasz Czernicki ■
June 26, 2017

⁷ Ibid.

WARTIME LOSSES OF PRIVATE ART COLLECTIONS OF WARSAW RESIDENTS

MARIUSZ KLARECKI, PHD

In addition to the physical destruction of the inhabitants of Warsaw and the city itself, pre-war private art collections of the city's residents were almost entirely lost. While some museums and libraries managed to recover after the war, largely uncatalogued private collections were gone.

Surviving documents and numerous witness reports clearly indicate that not everything was destroyed, and that a considerable part was plundered by the German occupiers.

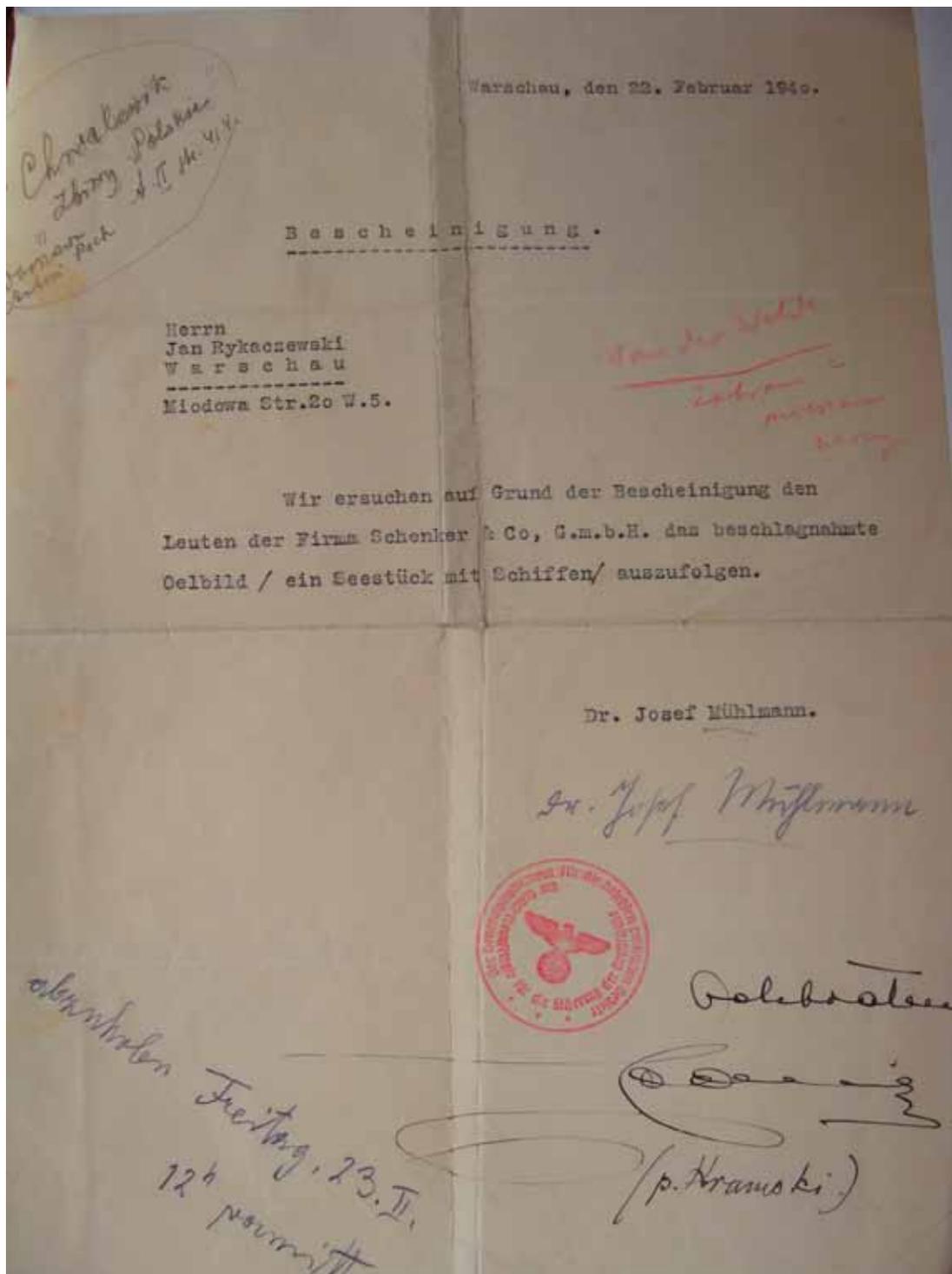
Before the war, Warsaw had a population of nearly 1.3 million.¹ In many homes, each subsequent generation had collected works of art, antiques and historical memorabilia, expanding the family's collection of cultural heritage over time. Works of art were acquired with difficulty both in Poland and abroad, and with substantial cost and effort. Alongside

the rich interiors and furnishings of houses, there were outstanding items, including European and Polish masterpieces. After the war, the historic architecture of the most precious Warsaw apartment houses and palaces was rebuilt, but the richness of the old interiors could not be recreated.

SEPTEMBER 1939

The aerial bombardment of the capital began on September 1, 1939. After a week, the first Wehrmacht units arrived at the gates of the city, launching a regular siege and artillery barrage from all directions. Amidst the fires and exploding projectiles, the historic center of the city suffered the most. As a result of the bombings in September, the Leopold Kronenberg Palace at Małachowski Square 4, which contained

¹ *Warszawa w liczbach – 1939 r.*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Wydziału Statystycznego Zarządu Miejskiego w m.st. Warszawie, 1947), p. 11–16. At the beginning of 1939, the number of residents of Warsaw totaled 1,289,500 people.



Warschau, den 22. Februar 1940.

B e s c h e i n i g u n g .

Herrn
Jan Rykaczewski
W a r s c h a u

Miodowa Str.20 W.5.

*Van der Welde
Seascape
museum
Kramski*

Wir ersuchen auf Grund der Bescheinigung den
Leuten der Firma Schenker & Co, G.m.b.H. das beschlagnahmte
Oelbild / ein Seestück mit Schiffen/ auszufolgen.

Dr. Josef Mühlmann.

Dr. Josef Mühlmann



Sebastian

(p. Kramski)

*abgeschloßen Freitag, 23. II,
12^h nachmitt*

CERTIFICATE SIGNED BY THE OVERSEER OF ART THEFT – DR. JOSEF MÜHLMANN, AUTHORIZING THE TRANSPORTATION COMPANY SCHENKER & CO. G.M.B.H. TO CONFISCATE THE PAINTING “SEASCAPE WITH SHIPS”, BY THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY DUTCH PAINTER WILLEM VAN DER WELDE THE ELDER, FROM 1660. THE PAINTING WAS TAKEN FROM THE APARTMENT ON FEBRUARY 22, 1940 AND HAS NOT BEEN FOUND EVER SINCE. PHOTO FROM FAMILY ARCHIVE.

splendid collections of both paintings and artisanal crafts, were burned down completely.² During the first raids on the capital, the large collection of industrialist Edward Natanson, on Królewska Street, was entirely lost to fire. The collector lost 60 paintings of outstanding artistic value by, among others, J. Matejko, A. Gierymski, J. Chełmoński, Juliusz and Wojciech Kossak, J. Fałat, S. Wyspiański, J. Brandt, W. Podkowiński, J. Malczewski, J. Lampi, M. Bacciarelli and excellent Western European painters: JB Greuze, F. Boucher, G. Reni, Dutch masters and others. On top of this, eighteenth-century furniture and artistic objects were also destroyed.³

September 25, 1939, held particular significance in the accounts of Warsaw's inhabitants. Given the resilient defense of the Polish capital, the German command decided to take more drastic measures. As Władysław Bartoszewski wrote: "After the shelling of the city that lasted all night, from 7am until dusk, an aerial bombardment of an unprecedented intensity is taking place. Several hundred planes, arriving systematically in waves, drop loads of demolition and incendiary charges on the central districts of Warsaw."⁴ That day the Luftwaffe made more than 1,176 flights over the city. Throughout the day, the city was bombarded by more than 400

planes, dropping 560 tons of demolition bombs and 72 tons of incendiary bombs on Warsaw.⁵ The bombings on that day destroyed the Preździecki Library and

As a result of the bombings in September, the Leopold Kronenberg Palace at Małachowski Square 4, which contained splendid collections of both paintings and artisanal crafts, were burned down completely.

Museum, including a valuable collection of 60,000 volumes and 500 manuscripts. There were 800 historical documents in the family archive and a cartographic collection including 350 maps and atlases. Among the most valuable was a collection of 10,000 engravings and drawings, mainly by the most outstanding Polish artists. The gallery of Polish and foreign art consisted of 200 paintings. Separate collections included sets of tapestries, furniture, porcelain, glass, bronze and militaria. Significant losses were suffered by the Zamojski Library and Museum, where 50,000 works were lost, or about 30% of the collection.⁶

² Archiwum Państwowe m.st. Warszawy, Zarząd Miasta Wydział Strat Wojennych (APW ZM WSW), sygn. 119, nr kwestionariusza 22297, p. 233, załącznik do kwestionariusza p. 234; K. Estreicher, *Cultural losses of Poland, Index of Polish cultural losses during the German occupation, 1939–1944*, London 1944, p. 393; A. Tyczyńska, K. Znojewska, *Straty Wojenne. Malarstwo polskie*, Poznań 2007, vol. 1, poz. 71.

³ APW, ZM WSW, sygn. 91, nr kw. 15268, p. 74; E. Chwalewik, *Zbiory polskie. Archiwa, biblioteki, gabinety, galerie, muzea i inne zbiory pamiątek przeszłości w ojczyźnie i na obczyźnie w porządku alfabetycznym według miejscowości ułożone*, Warszawa 1927, vol. 2, p. 407; K. Estreicher, op. cit., p. 395; A. Tyczyńska, K. Znojewska, *Straty Wojenne*, op. cit., vol. 1, poz. 39, 89, 134, 236.

⁴ W. Bartoszewski, *Warszawa w kampanii wrześniowej, kronika ważniejszych wydarzeń*, [in:] „Cywilna Obrona...”, op. cit., p. XXIV.

⁵ M. Cieplewicz, Eugeniusz Kozłowski, *Obrona Warszawy: 1939 we wspomnieniach*, Warszawa 1984, p. 114; H. Stańczyk, *Bombardować i szturmować* [in:] „Warszawa we wrześniu 1939 roku. Obrona i życie codzienne”, red. C. Grzelak, Warszawa 2004, p. 167–168; M. Porwitt, *Komentarze do historii polskich działań obronnych 1939 roku*, Warszawa 1983, vol. III, p. 355; L. Głowacki, *Obrona Warszawy i Modlina 1939*, Warszawa 1985, p. 256, *Okaleczone miasto – Warszawa '39. Wojenne zniszczenia obiektów stolicy w fotografiach Antoniego Snawadzkiego*, opr. M. Majewski, Warszawa 2009, p. 60.

⁶ APW, ZM WSW, sygn. 271, nr kw. 8, p. 46.

In the face of high human and material losses, on September 28, the Polish side decided to capitulate and surrender the city. According to calculations, from September 8–28, about 6,000 soldiers and 25,000 civilians perished.⁷ Bombardment of the capital destroyed approximately ten to 20 percent of the buildings.⁸ Unfortunately, the collections housed inside them shared the same fate as the buildings.

Sometimes the intruders knew exactly what to look for and where.

UNDER GERMAN OCCUPATION

Starting with the first days of the occupation, German soldiers and officials forced their way into Warsaw homes to plunder them. The pillaging was often done by surprise, terrorizing the victimized family. Sometimes the intruders knew exactly what to look for and where. The history of the looting of the most outstanding collections, described by Kazimierz Moszkowski, is an example of how well the Germans prepared themselves for the looting of Polish cultural goods, even before the assault on Poland. The passionate collector, living on Śniadeckich Street, owned several rare musical instruments of exceptional artistic and historical value. Before the war, he had tried to obtain certifications and sought experts to authenticate the items. For

this purpose he likely traveled with the instruments to Germany and Austria, and perhaps also presented his collection in exhibitions. Before the war, there were cases where Polish collectors had consulted experts from Vienna and Berlin to obtain certificates of authenticity for their valuable antiques. As noted by K. Moszkowski: "... all four instruments were taken by three young German aviators who came to my apartment on the 4th or 5th day after they entered Warsaw, in October 1939. They showed up at my apartment with a list of my instruments and demanded that I turn them over under threat of arrest or use of firearms. These aviators were not professionals, although they had a sense of the value of the items and were sent by professionals from Berlin." Kazimierz Moszkowski's collection included an original Antoni Stradivarius violin from 1705. This instrument belonged for many years to the Polish composer and internationally famous violinist – Henryk Wieniawski. The collection also contained the violin by J. Guarneri del Gesu from 1741, the cello of A.H. Amati from 1604, the viola of J.B. Guadagnini from 1710 and other vintage instruments. A collection of 20 high-value eighteenth-century rugs were taken by the Germans from Moszkowski's estate in Winnica near Warsaw.⁹

Private homes were initially broken into under the pretext of conducting searches for weapons or radios. Entire homes were ransacked and valuables, money, paintings, carpets, furniture, clothing and food were taken. The process of robbing private homes was not only conducted by ordinary soldiers or officers, but also by German civilian officials at every opportunity. Employees of the district office and the office of the German city governor were allotted apartments in Warsaw, fully-fitted with furnishings,

⁷ T. Szarota, *Naloty na Warszawę podczas II wojny światowej* [in:] W. Fałkowski, „Straty Warszawy 1939–1945. Raport”, Miasto Stołeczne Warszawa, Warszawa 2005. op. cit., p. 263. The author found these materials in the archival collection: *Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj*, Archiwum Akt Nowych, VI oddział, sygn. 202/I-43, vol. I, k. 6–10.

⁸ J. Majewski, *Śródmieście i jego mieszkańcy w latach niemieckiej okupacji: październik 1939 – 1 sierpnia 1944. Dzień powszedni* [in:] W. Fałkowski, op. cit., p. 66.

⁹ APW, ZM WSW, sygn. 32, nr kw. 470, zał. do kwest.



WILLEM VAN DER WELDE, "SEASCAPE WITH SHIPS", 1660, PHOTO FROM MARIA ROMANOWSKA-ZADROŻNA, TADEUSZ ZADROŻNY, STRATY WOJENNE. MALARSTWO OBCE, VOL. I, POZNAŃ, 2000, POSITION 225, 332.

carpets and works of art. During Gestapo arrests of Poles, the property belonging to the detainee was confiscated and their immediate family residing in the apartment was sent to concentration camps. During his wartime stay in Warsaw, Ludwig Fischer, the district governor, decorated the interior of his headquarters – Brühl's Palace, with artwork stolen from museums and homes. On October 1, 1939, Helmut Otto was appointed as the Commissioner of the Reich for Warsaw. A few weeks later, this position was taken over by Oskar Dengel, who was exceptionally negatively disposed towards the residents of Warsaw. Both German officials left Warsaw, taking with them a large amount of stolen goods.¹⁰

The family of pre-war Warsaw collector, Jan Rykaczewski, have in their possession an original document pertaining to the plundering of works of art, written on

¹⁰ M. Getter, *Władze niemieckie okupowanej Warszawy*, [in:] W. Falkowski, op. cit., p. 213–214, 218.

Ludwig Fischer, the district governor, decorated the interior of his headquarters – Brühl's Palace, with artwork stolen from museums and homes.

the letterhead of the shipping company Schenker & Co. G.m.b.H., and signed by the overseer of the art theft – Dr. Josef Mühlmann. It is a certificate authorizing the company to confiscate the painting "Sea-view with ships" by the seventeenth-century Dutch painter Willem van der Welde the Elder, from 1660. The painting was taken from the apartment on February 22, 1940, and has not yet been found. The seascape was included in the special catalog "Sichergestellte Kunstwerke



COLLECTOR WŁADYSŁAW MICHALSKI WITH HIS SON AS THEY SIT BESIDE A DISPLAY CASE WITH ANTIQUE PORCELAIN AND GLASS ART. PHOTO FROM FAMILY ARCHIVE.

im Generalgouvernement” personally presented by Kajetan Mühlmann to Hitler. A full description of 172 objects or groups of items found its way into the catalog, largely originating from Warsaw museum collections. The total destruction of Rykaczewski’s collection was completed in the burned out and demolished house at Miodowa Street during the Warsaw Uprising, on August 22, 1944. Thirty paintings by well-known Polish and European artists were lost. Among the rarities were 16 decorative sash belts (worn by Polish nobility), “including ten of pure gold”. Among other valuable items was a table “Venetian-made – a souvenir left

after the parents of Chopin” (the table was decorated with a mother-of-pearl inlay with “12 butterflies and 12 chrysalises of these butterflies”), a collection of artistic porcelain, “old-fashioned silver”, militaria and bronzes.¹¹

During the occupation, the greatest losses in the sphere of material culture occurred among Warsaw’s Jews. In the ghettos and concentration camps almost all residents of Jewish origin were murdered. Along with most of Jewish society, people associated with art and culture were also killed, as well as passionate antiquarians and collectors. Ludwik Hirszfeld, forced to leave his home in Saska Kępa and to go to the ghetto, learned that the next day the Germans had already taken furniture, paintings, carpets and “everything they liked” from his villa.¹² The wife of architect Jerzy Gelbard, Izabella Gelbard – pseudonym “Stefania Czajka”, miraculously survived the Holocaust. As she wrote after the war: “In 1940 they came to the house [at Sienna Street] with flatbed trucks and took all the furniture, including authentic furniture from the Duchy of Warsaw era. In 1942 they took 250 oil paintings, watercolors, sepias and drawings – I won’t mention everything, but note the most valuable: a Picasso from the so-called ‘blue era’; H. Matisse, ‘Half-undressed woman lying on the couch’ (I posed for it myself); M. Kisling, ‘portrait of my sister Madame Dumus’; M. Kisling, ‘Field Flowers on a Blue Background’; Raoul Dufy, ‘Horse Racing in Austerlitz’, watercolor; Chaim Soutine, ‘my portrait in a pink blouse’ (his only painting in Poland). The most conservative estimate of the value of these six paintings in today’s money [1946] is 10–15 million zlotys.”

¹¹ APW, ZM WSW, sygn. 54, nr kw. 5795, p. 207; M. Romanowska-Zadrozna, T. Zadrozny, *Straty Wojenne. Malarstwo obce*, Poznań 2000, vol. 1, poz. 225, p. 332.

¹² L. Hirszfeld, *Historia jednego życia*, Warszawa 1946, p. 192.

The Gelbard collection has not been found to the present day.

WARSAW UPRISING 1944

Just before the outbreak of the Uprising, Warsaw's population numbered about 950,000 inhabitants.¹³ It is estimated that up to the day of the outbreak of the insurgent battles, the exterminated Jewish population, counting the forced removal to concentration camps, consisted of approximately 370–400,000 in Warsaw. According to Władysław Bartoszewski's calculations, about 30,000 Poles were murdered as a result of the occupation of the capital, up to August 1944 and nearly 100,000 people were sentenced to forced labor in the Reich.¹⁴ Taking into account the demise of the Jewish population, which before the war accounted for more than a quarter of the population of the capital, as well as shootings, arrests and the sending of non-Jewish residents of the city to concentration camps, the loss of artistic property during the occupation can be estimated at around 20 to 30 percent of the pre-war state.

In July 1944, the battlefront was approaching Warsaw. Many people living in the suburbs, having learned from the experience of World War I, where the main battles took place on the outskirts and not inside the city, transported their more valuable possessions to Warsaw. This way, a large number of artworks from villas, manor houses and palaces near Warsaw, were brought to family or friends living in the central districts. On August 1, 1944,

the Warsaw Uprising broke out, lasting 63 days. The Germans decided to deal with the insurgents, and also civilians, in an extremely bloody and ruthless manner. Detailed instructions on how to deal

A large number of artworks from villas, manor houses and palaces near Warsaw, were brought to family or friends living in the central districts.

with the uprising in Warsaw were issued by Heinrich Himmler: "1. Insurgents should be killed, no matter whether they are fighting in accordance with the Hague Convention or violating it; 2. The noncombatant part of the population, women and children, are also to be killed; 3. The whole city is to be leveled with the earth, that is houses, streets, equipment in this city and everything that is in it."¹⁵ One of the soldiers from the RONA SS division reported: "We received the order that Warsaw be wiped off the face of the earth, and that those who were even hiding in the ruins, should be slaughtered without mercy."¹⁶ During the pacification of the first districts, Wola and Ochota, operations were undertaken according to a fixed pattern. The SS men first came to the houses and beat the people they found, then they searched them frantically and searched the residents as well. After the inhabitants were thrown into the yard,

¹³ J. Marszałec, *Ochrona porządku i bezpieczeństwa publicznego w Powstaniu Warszawskim*, Warszawa 1999, p. 48.

¹⁴ J. Marszałec, op. cit., p. 48; B. Krajewska, *Ludność Warszawy w latach 1939–1945*, [in:] „Warszawa lat wojny i okupacji, 1939–1944”, Instytut Historii PAN, Studia Warszawskie, vol. 7, z. 1, p. 198–200; W. Bartoszewski, *Warszawski pierścień śmierci*, op. cit., p. 39–59, 439, 445, 592; K. Komorowski, *Bitwa o Warszawę '44. Militarne aspekty Powstania Warszawskiego*, Warszawa 2004, przypis 9, p. 95.

¹⁵ J.K. Wroniszewski, *Ochota 1944*, Warszawa 1970, p. 128–129. Testimony given by General Von dem Bach to the Polish prosecutor at the Nuremberg Trials.

¹⁶ T. Sawicki, *Rozkaz: zdławić powstanie. Siły zbrojne III Rzeszy w walce z Powstaniem Warszawskim 1944*, Warszawa 2001, p. 243–244.



BROKEN AND BURNED PORCELAIN FIGURINES FROM W. MICHALSKI'S COLLECTION, TAKEN FROM THE RUINS OF HIS HOUSE AFTER THE WAR. AUTHOR'S PHOTO.

All of the furnishings of the homes were loaded onto rail and road transports to be sent to the Reich.

executions were carried out on the men, and the women were raped and then killed along with the children. At this time, a more thorough search was carried out, accompanied by the demolition of almost everything: smashing furniture, breaking mirrors and glass, destroying paintings, ripping curtains, mattresses and bed linen. Upon completion of the pacification of the home or apartment block, soldiers set fire to both the buildings and the executed victims, hurrying to the next house. Survivors were taken to a transit camp. Intrusions into those houses next in line were accompanied by wild screams. The looters, impatient with the overly slow removal of a watch or a ring, beat their victims. Earrings were ripped from the

ears of women, and rings were removed from the fingers of the dead by cutting them off. Soldiers primarily sought money and jewelry that could easily be taken with them. During robberies, various random objects were grabbed, such as clocks, which were either smashed or taken away. When a different or more valuable item was found in another apartment, the one they were holding was thrown away. Starting August 7, the SS stopped the arsons, coming to the conclusion that too much precious property was being consumed in the fires. From that point on, all of the furnishings of the homes were loaded onto rail and road transports to be sent to the Reich.

During the fight with insurgents in the northern city center, German soldiers took the most valuable spoils from nearby houses. Military trucks arrived regularly to pick up the looted goods. In the early days of the Uprising, only officers took up the plunder, but in time, regular soldiers began to follow their example. Items stuffed into suitcases were taken most often from apartments on the Krakowskie

Przedmieście and the Powiśle district. According to Waclaw Borowy, “every one of them sent 6 to 10 suitcases every few days.”¹⁷ The robbers put “a whole series of bracelet watches” on their hands and their fingers were covered with rings from top to bottom.¹⁸ As Maria Grajkowska-Bryjowa remembers, she lived at Pieracki Street (now Foksal Street), immediately after entering the house that had been abandoned by insurgents, “the Germans were somewhat anxious, running from house to house. Somewhere nearby were drunken, screaming Germans singing in the pitch of lively gramophone music. Every now and then an SS man came in, rummaging through the closets, claiming that they did not steal, they just want to send their wives ‘Andenken aus Warschau’ (‘Souvenirs from Warsaw’).”¹⁹ An interesting account was recorded by Jan Damski, who was hired to work with his fiancée to arrange an improvised hospital in the outbuildings of Brühl’s Palace. He met an SS man “with a basket of beautiful crystal that he had obviously stolen”. The German confided in the author that: “Every day at four o’clock we will send to Jabłonna our shipments for Germany.” What the SS men managed to steal, was taken out of town and there loaded on a “big truck” from where the transport probably went to the families of the soldiers.²⁰

The palace belonging to Benedict Tyszkiewicz was located on Matejko Street. The interiors of the building held unrivaled amounts of magnificent antique

objects, covering all art forms from the oldest historical epochs. On the first day of August 1944, German soldiers appeared at the door of the palace, threatening to burn down the building in 20 minutes.

In order to save as many of the antiques from fire as possible, Benedict Tyszkiewicz

What the SS men managed to steal, was taken out of town and there loaded on a “big truck” from where the transport probably went to the families of the soldiers.

and the butler, as quickly as they were able to, threw what they could out of the windows into the garden. These included: “paintings by Baciarelli, paintings by Italian, French and Dutch masters, excellent engravings and drawings ... a lot of beautiful furniture, clocks, silver and carpets.” The palace and all the buildings on this street were burned down.²¹

After two months of heavy fighting and the lack of help from the Red Army, which was standing on the other side of the Vistula River, Warsaw, exhausted to the limit, was forced to surrender. The remaining civilians were expelled to the transit camp in Pruszków near the city and then to extermination camps and labor camps in Germany. On Hitler’s orders, the complete destruction, preceded by the looting of every house of the fighting capital, commenced. The suppression of the Warsaw Uprising and the elimination

¹⁷ W. Borowy, *Okres Powstania 1944. W Bibliotece Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie*, [in:] S. Lorentz, „Walka o dobra kultury Warszawa 1939–1945”, Warszawa 1970, vol. 1, p. 355.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 356.

¹⁹ M. Grajkowska-Bryjowa, *Relacja o działalności środowiska aktywnego ruchu ludowego*, [in:] *Ludność cywilna w Powstaniu Warszawskim*, Warszawa 1974, t. 1, cz. 2, p. 236.

²⁰ „Handlarz”, relacja Johna Damskiego, [in:] N. Davies, *Powstanie '44*, Kraków 2006, p. 397–398.

²¹ J. Zachwatowicz, *Wspomnienia z lat okupacji*, [in:] S. Lorentz, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 119–120.



COLLECTOR ANDRZEJ BONI SURROUNDED BY HIS COLLECTIONS. BEHIND HIM IS THE PAINTING "HOLY FAMILY" BY DOMENECHIN. PHOTO FROM: *ILUSTROWANY MAGAZYN TYGODNIOWY* (ACE: *ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY MAGAZINE*).

of the owners of the homes, allowed for the fully-organized mass-plunder without witnesses. During the pillaging, there was an acute awareness of how coins and jewelry were hidden, as hiding places and cellars were torn apart.

One of the witnesses, Karol Pędrowski, vividly remembered the day after the definitive end of the uprising in Mokotów and the eviction of the population from the whole district. "To the district, completely abandoned by the inhabitants, groups and individual soldiers from

different German units began to move in from all sides. The small streets all around were filled with both ordinary soldiers and officers, going in one direction – into the depths of Mokotów. Among the crowd of people, it was easy to recognize senior officers in freshly-ironed uniforms. We did not understand at first why they were going there, what the aim of the roaming soldiers was. Soon we saw the first one returning. He carried a giant bundle on his back, he was bending under the weight, he was walking against the current, so he paused, rested a moment, and walked on. Something was said to him, but he did not pay attention to it. He was the first to carry out the stolen property of fighting Mokotów. Then a second returning soldier appeared, heaving two suitcases and he also had something hanging around his neck. And after this there were two waves of soldiers and officers flowing in both directions. Those who were returning were loaded with things. An officer was carrying paintings in their frames under each arm. He could not hold them because they were too big, they slipped out, he adjusted them, put them on the ground, wiped his forehead with a handkerchief. [...] Lamps, standing clocks and hanging clocks, rolled carpets in rolls, porcelain baskets and crystals, sometimes even furniture, wandered along upon shoulders. There were intellectuals among the thieves, carrying baskets and pushing carts filled with books – big books bound in leather, gilded on the spines, manuscripts, books on world art. The representatives of the *Herrenvolk* [master race] were very much in a hurry, they carried their suitcases stuffed with other people's goods, they were pushing bicycles strapped with packages." He noted that among the soldiers plundering the houses, there were instances of solidarity. During the robberies, they pointed out the more richly stocked houses and streets to one another. The thieves were in such a hurry

to carry out the greatest amount of goods in the shortest possible time. Sometimes it was even a race to reach the choicest apartments, and to find rooms that had been passed over or had not yet been discovered. According to the diarist, taking part in the mass plundering were “not hundreds, but thousands of soldiers, maybe even tens of thousands.”²²

Over 150,000 non-combatants died or were murdered in the Warsaw Uprising. The fallen and missing insurgents amounted to about 18,000 soldiers.²³ We should add to this number a large proportion of both soldiers and civilians who died as a result of injuries and war experiences in the months after capitulation. The greatest damage to Warsaw’s buildings was caused by air raids. German aircraft conducted 1,408 combat flights over the city, dropping 1,580 tons of bombs. Artillery and even anti-aircraft artillery was used to destroy buildings.²⁴ As a result of the two-month-long bombing and artillery barrage, 25 percent of residential homes in the city were destroyed. An additional 30 percent of the buildings were burned down and blown up after the Warsaw Uprising.²⁵

Contrary to popular belief, the destruction of art collections in the heat of battle did not take place on the same scale as the plunder of surviving homes. In my view, the balance of losses associated with the confiscation and removal of private

²² BN, Karol Pędrowski, *Pamiętnik*, sygn. akc. 12254, p. 120.

²³ W. Bartoszewski, *Przedmowa*, [in:] Andrzej K. Kunert, „Rzeczpospolita walcząca. Powstanie warszawskie 1944”, Warszawa 1994, p. VIII–IX. German casualties during the Warsaw Uprising, according to the estimates of Von dem Bach, included approximately 26,000 people, including at least 17,000 killed and 9,000 wounded.

²⁴ K. Komorowski, *Bitwa o Warszawę`44...*, op. cit., p. 83.

²⁵ W. Bartoszewski, *Ibid.*



THE INTERIOR OF STANISŁAW SUKIERT'S APARTMENT IN LUBLIN AFTER BEING PLUNDERED BY RETREATING GERMAN SOLDIERS. THIS WAS HOW APARTMENTS IN WARSAW LOOKED AFTER THEY WERE DESERTED AND BEFORE THEY WERE BURNED DOWN AND DEMOLISHED. PHOTO ATTACHED TO A QUESTIONNAIRE ABOUT LOSSES TO STATE ARCHIVES IN WARSAW, ZM WSW, REF. 65, KW. 8745, 1131.

Contrary to popular belief, the destruction of art collections in the heat of battle did not take place on the same scale as the plunder of surviving homes.

property from Warsaw to the Reich, during the occupation and destruction of the city by both German officials and the military, as well as the private German looting, should be estimated at 70 percent. Another ten percent included the destruction of works of art and antiques that took place in September 1939 and about 20 percent as a result of two months of warfare in the Warsaw Uprising.

Mariusz Klarecki ■

June 10, 2017

A DISPUTE OVER WORDS: “GERMAN CAMPS” AND “GERMAN CRIMES” IN GERMAN AND POLISH HISTORICAL NARRATIVES

JOANNA LUBECKA, PhD

We owe the conscious formulation and use of the concept of historical politics to the Germans (Geschichtspolitik). The term “honestly” is crucial here. Historical policy is a fact, and conducting it is not in itself a negative phenomenon.

In German history, the best example of the imposition of a narrative by the authorities was the period of fascism in which the entire semantic system, corresponding to the new power, was created.¹

CASE: GERMANY

If we agree that the goal of external historical politics is to take care of the best possible international image of a country, then we will probably agree that

the task put before the Federal Republic of Germany (formed in 1949) was not an easy one. The international situation turned out to be favorable – the Cold War pushed Germany into the “embrace” of the West, sensitive questions remained unanswered, and even worse, indifference prevailed in West German society towards the Third Reich, as some called it, the “calming of the German conscience.”²

¹ The most famous work on semantic manipulation in the Third Reich was written by prominent German philologist Victor Klemperer, *LTI (Lingua Tertio Imperia). Notizbuch eines Philologen*, Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin, 1947.

² Between 1945 and 1949, several works by prominent authors on the moral accountability of Germans to the Third Reich appeared: K. Jaspers, *Die Schuldfrage*, Lambert Schneider, Heidelberg 1946; A. Weber, *Haben wir Deutsche nach 1945 versagt?*, Piper Verlag, München 1949; F. Meinecke, *Die Deutsche Katastrophe. Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen*, Eberhard Brackhaus Verlag, Wiesbaden 1946; G. Ritter, *Europa*



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Those who noticed this tendency, wrote with indignation and shame about “Germany’s second guilt,” of suppressing and denying the former, or “cold amnesia” or even sarcastically, about “the greatest work of social rehabilitation” for war criminals.³ For the new German authorities, headed by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, the internal integration of German society and the reconstruction of the war-ravaged economy took priority. Adenauer considered the German crimes as settled in the Nuremberg trials and revisiting them as harmful and anti-national activities. His words, spoken in 1951, reflected the convictions of West German society well: “It is time to stop sniffing around for Nazis. Once we start, we do not know where it will

und die deutsche Frage, Betrachtungen über die geschichtliche Eigenart des deutschen Staatsdenkens, Münchner Verlag, Munich 1948; and others. These works did not, however, trigger a nationwide debate on German guilt.

³ R. Giordano, *Die zweite Schuld oder Von Last Deutscher zu sein*, Rasch und Röhring, Hamburg 1987; J. Friedrich, *Die kalte Amnestie. NS-Täter in der Bundesrepublik*, Fischer, Frankfurt a.M. 1985.

LONDON, GREAT BRITAIN, FEBRUARY 4, 2017. A MOBILE BILLBOARD WITH THE CAPTION “DEATH CAMPS WERE NAZI GERMAN” IN FRONT OF THE POLISH EMBASSY. PICTURED ON THE ILLUMINATED BANNER IS THE GATE OF THE AUSCHWITZ CAMP, ON WHICH AN OUTLINE OF THE IMAGE OF ADOLF HITLER APPEARS. NEXT TO THE GRAPHICS ARE THE CAPTIONS “DEATH CAMPS WERE NAZI GERMAN” AND “ZDF APOLOGIZE!”. THE BILLBOARD, WHICH SET OFF FROM WROCLAW, WAS EXHIBITED ON THE WAY, AMONG OTHER PLACES, IN FRONT OF THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE GERMAN ZDF TELEVISION STATION IN WIESBADEN, IN FRONT OF THE DEUTSCHE WELLE STATION IN BONN AND NEAR THE HEADQUARTERS OF EU INSTITUTIONS IN BRUSSELS. THE ACTION IS A PROTEST AGAINST THE USE OF THE FORMULATION “POLISH DEATH CAMPS” BY FOREIGN MEDIA.

lead us...”⁴. The German government did not recognize Nuremberg law, so war criminals were judged, like ordinary criminals, for murder and, in the worst case, faced the threat of life imprisonment. The German criminologist, Dieter Schenk, called the government, administration and justice policy in the 1950s and 1960s the “structural non-pursuit of murderers.”⁵

⁴ N. Frei, *Vergangenheitspolitik: Die Anfänge der Bundesrepublik und die NS-Vergangenheit*, C.H. Beck, Munich, 1996, p. 60.

⁵ D. Schenk, *Noc morderców. Każñ polskich profesorów we Lwowie i holokaust w Galicji Wschodniej*, Wysoki Zamek, Kraków, 2011, p. 305.

HISTORY

Schenk reported that in 1950, 66–75% of judges and prosecutors were former members of the NSDAP.⁶ If someone was already brought before the court, defense attorneys and judges used a few simple procedures. The defendants were recognized as having acted in a totalitarian system, and therefore could not be held

were rejected; however, they represented only a marginal viewpoint in German society. Today, the German narrative is part of modern soft power and uses political marketing instruments. Such actions in the context of the role of the words described above seem to be much more dangerous in effect, as they can slowly and imperceptibly alter the image of the past.

Winston Churchill, in saying: “History will be kind to me, because I am going to write it myself”, grasped the meaning of “fighting with words”. Proper word combinations and concepts create a new hierarchy of past events, change their context and allow them to be categorized differently (e.g. to move away from national aspects and move towards more universal ones, such as human rights). Three examples of “semantic disputes”, which are essential in both Polish and German historical narratives, are presented and discussed below.

EXAMPLE 1: GERMAN CRIMES

The terminology related to German war crimes on Polish lands still hasn’t been settled. Both in the professional literature and in everyday language, many terms are used alongside one another: German crimes, Nazi crimes, Hitlerite crimes. Terminological precision seems necessary in this case. Coherent, logically-derived recommendations for using specific terms to identify the crimes of the German occupier prevent confusion and even historical relativism, and also serve historical education and the development of responsible patriotism. Consistent use of the right terms also enables state and local authorities to synchronize and unambiguously respond to both accidental and deliberate distortions emerging in the international public sphere. In Germany, the concept of German crimes was not used in principle. Politicians especially tried not to conflate the crimes of World

Today, the German narrative is part of modern soft power and uses political marketing instruments.

responsible as perpetrators, because they acted “in a state of higher necessity induced by an order.” Besides, their actions were not genocide, but so-called “acts of war”, and therefore permitted by international law. Acting to the benefit of the accused, there was also the characteristic German respect for power and the state. The trials were accompanied by the social conviction that it was an injustice to punish the perpetrators, while those that gave the orders (Hitler, Himmler, etc.) escaped responsibility. Without getting into the details of historical debates and the handful of trials that took place in postwar Germany, it is worth emphasizing the obvious change that took place in the historical narrative of World War II after the reunification of Germany in 1990. Groups of “revisionists” such as Herbert Chai and Herbert Hupki,⁷ questioning the German-Polish border,

⁶ Ibid. 311.

⁷ Herbert Czaja (1914–1997), Herbert Hupka (1915–2006) - German Christian Democrats (CDU) activists of the German Federation of Expellees, questioning the German-Polish border on the Oder and Neisse, known for their sharp anti-Polish statements, in the 1990s, these two engaged in Polish-German reconciliation.

OŚWIĘCIM, POLAND, FEBRUARY 8, 2017.
GATE TO THE AUSCHWITZ II-BIRKENAU
GERMAN CONCENTRATION CAMP.



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War II with the German people, and the principle of using the term “Nazi” instead of “German” was introduced by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. Formulations such as “Nazi crimes,” “Hitler’s crimes,” “crimes committed in the name of the German people” were used in public discourse. Today, “Nazi-Verbrechen” (Nazi crimes) is used most often.

This terminology has, over time, helped to blur the public consciousness about who the Nazis were. A great example of the German argumentation is a column by a German professor, Klaus Bachmann, otherwise very friendly to Poland.⁸ In response to a letter from the Polish Institute of National Remembrance to local authorities on the use of “German” (i.e. German crimes, German

⁸ K. Bachmann, „Historia w krzywym zwierciadle”, *Gazeta Wrocław*, December 14, 2008.

Both in the professional literature and in everyday language, many terms are used alongside one another: German crimes, Nazi crimes, Hitlerite crimes.

concentration camps and extermination camps, German occupation, etc.) in commemorating the victims of World War II, Bachmann notes that the name “German crimes” changes the categories from ideological to national and leads to identifying the perpetrators with only one nation. He also writes that this term distorts history because “not all Germans were Nazis, and many fanatical Nazi followers were not Germans.” In support

of his own arguments, he presents the possible consequences of such a change: “The crimes of some Italians against others would cease to be fascist crimes, and would become Italian crimes. Soviet crimes would become Russian crimes.”⁹ Klaus Bachmann is not mistaken about the facts, but does not take into account one essential issue – both a Austrian Nazi and a German official working in the General Government or a concentration camp, without even being national socialists, were representatives of the German Reich – Deutsches Reich.¹⁰ They represented its interests, and through their work legitimated, though often not directly, the activities of the country, including

people in public opinion, as evidenced by many studies in the United States, Australia, Canada, and unfortunately, in Europe as well.¹² The Nazis become a mythical people, of unknown origin. Or in time, in the narrative about World War II, the Nazis become Lithuanians, Ukrainians or Poles (more on this later).

Finally, it is worthwhile to show how the “semantic struggle” can be pursued with the use of modern technologies. When you enter “deutsche Verbrechen in Polen” (German crimes in Poland) in the web browser Google.de, only the first two results are pages on the Wehrmacht’s crimes in Poland and the German occupation of Poland, the others refer to Polish crimes committed against Germans and the Volksdeutsch (one of which covers the time period from 1681 to 1939).¹³

EXAMPLE 2: POLISH CAMPS

The use of “Polish camps” caused quite a stir, when President Barack Obama used this formulation during the posthumous conferment of the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Jan Karski. The painful paradox of this situation was not only that Jan Karski had seen with his own eyes life (or rather death) in the Warsaw

¹² Research and interviews with American school-children emphatically show that not only do they associate concentration camps with Poland, they also show the universality of the opinion that the Nazis are Poles, among others J. Ławrynowicz, M. Ławrynowicz, « «Polish Concentration Camps». Zarys chronicznego problemu», *Przegląd Polski*, January 28, 2005; K. Zuchowicz, P. Zychowicz, “Wygrywamy walkę o prawdę”, *Rzeczpospolita*, April 22, 2006; Professor Witold Kieżun for WPPL: “Most of my students think of Poles as Nazis”, interview with Prof. Kieżun, July 15, 2014, <http://historia.wp.pl/title,Prof-Witold-Kiezun-dla-WPPL-many-multi-student-waza-Polakow-za-nazistow,wid,16753214,city.html?ticaid=1152c2>; Kieżun reports that on the question of what nationality the Nazis were “102 students wrote - Polish. I asked, ‘why?’ They replied, ‘Because there are Polish concentration camps. And it is known that the concentration camps were organized by the Nazis to murder the Jews. So the Nazis are Poles.’ And at this moment the whole world thinks this.” (accessed June 28, 2015).

¹³ Status as of May 24, 2017.

Naming these crimes German does not identify them with the nation, but with the German state.

its crimes.¹¹ Concentration camps were built not by the party, but by the German state, which was also responsible for the administration of the camp system, while the state also benefited from the slave labor of prisoners and the property stolen from them. Hence, naming these crimes German does not identify them with the nation, but with the German state.

The consistent use of the term “German” crimes and camps, is supported by the fact that over time, the “Nazi/Nazis” language loses its connotation with the German

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ The popular name of the Third Reich (Drittes Reich) was an unofficial name for the German state in 1933–1945.

¹¹ One can believe that in Germany, many Germans did not know about the crimes committed in the occupied territories. It is unpopular to argue that it was possible to remain unconscious of German crimes while in occupied territories, especially in the east.

Ghetto and the German camp in Izbica, which Obama called a “Polish camp”. As a courier of the Polish Underground State, he informed the world (including President Roosevelt) about the Holocaust. An additional paradox was that the medal was received by former Polish Foreign Minister, Adam Daniel Rotfeld,

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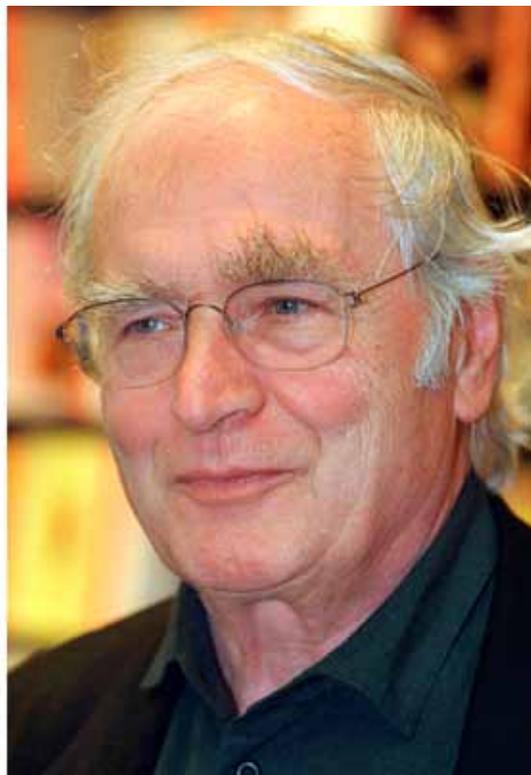
who in 2005, along with the editorial board of the *Rzeczpospolita* daily, started a campaign against the use of “Polish camps” in foreign media.¹⁴ The history of using the name “Polish camp” for German concentration and extermination camps in occupied Poland, is a lengthy one and is associated with the previously mentioned naming usage, and thus avoids the name “German camp”. There

¹⁴ Adam Daniel Rotfeld, eminent Polish lawyer of Jewish origin. During the war, in 1943, the Germans killed his parents and he found shelter in a Greek-Catholic monastery in Uniów; The Ministry of Foreign Affairs action has been running continuously since 2005, its effects can be observed at: http://www.msz.gov.pl/pl/polityka_zagraniczna/niemieckie_obozy_koncentracyjne/; The Polish Media Issues Group, operating since 2005 in the UK, aims to monitor English-language websites and intervene in the event of the occurrence of the formulation “Polish concentration camp” and related inaccuracies, as well as false information about Polish history.

is also a supposition, unfortunately still unconfirmed through scholarship, appearing only in popular academic texts, concerning the history of the term “Polish concentration camps”.¹⁵ This term was said to have been created by the German BND (Bundes Nachrichten Dienst – West German secret intelligence), in Agency 114 (Dienststelle 114), whose assignment was the destigmatization of the Germans. A number of former Nazis served in this cell, headed by a former sergeant of the secret Nazi military police (Geheime Feldpolizei). It was they who were to have come up with the “semantic lie” to convince world opinion in favor of the Federal Republic of Germany, cutting it off to a certain degree from the apparatus of terror during World War II. The BND archives were opened for German researchers, but we still have no confirmation of this hypothesis. If it turns out to be true, it would be a very interesting example of effective semantic manipulation.

Since the international press, including in Germany, uses the term “Polish death camps” (polnische Vernichtungslager), Poland cannot afford to use the term Nazi camps, which washes away responsibility for the crimes. Insisting that it is only a geographic connotation is a mistake, since while the camps existed, Poland did not exist and its lands were incorporated into the German Reich or its territories were occupied by it. The question remains why the camps in Poland are called Polish, according to the “logic of geography”, and camps in Germany, of which there were over 20, are called “Nazi” instead of “German”? What explains the fact that this is how it is written in reputable, European newspapers? According to a report from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the term “Polish concentration camps” was used as many as 103 times in

¹⁵ L. Pietrzak, „Wielka kariera kłamstwa”, *Uważam Rze*, April 7, 2013 (accessed June 28, 2015).



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FRANKFURT AM MAIN, GERMANY: (FILE PHOTOS) IGNATZ BUBIS (LEFT), HEAD OF GERMANY'S JEWISH COMMUNITY, DECEMBER 28, 1993, AND GERMAN AUTHOR MARTIN WALSER (RIGHT), APRIL 16, 1998. THE TWO MAIN PROTAGONISTS OF A HEATED DISPUTE OVER HOW GERMANS SHOULD VIEW THE HOLOCAUST, MADE AMENDS LATE SATURDAY, AUGUST 13, 1998, AS REPORTED BY STATE TELEVISION. BUBIS (71) SAID HE HAD WITHDRAWN AN ACCUSATION THAT LEFT-WING WRITER MARTIN WALSER WAS A "SPIRITUAL ARSONIST" FOR CONDEMNING THE "INCESSANT REMINDERS OF GERMANY'S SHAME" FOR THE EXTERMINATION OF THE JEWS BY THE NAZIS. WALSER, ALSO 71, MADE HIS CHARGES IN OCTOBER WHEN HE RECEIVED THE PRESTIGIOUS PEACE PRIZE OF THE GERMAN BOOK TRADE, CLAIMING THAT THE RITUALS COMMEMORATING THE HOLOCAUST AND THE USE OF THE DEATH CAMP AT AUSCHWITZ AS A "MORAL CLUB" WAS COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE IN CONSIDERING NAZI CRIMES.

foreign media in 2009 alone. Most often this term appeared in the German press (as many as 20 times).¹⁶ In 2012 there were also over 100 interventions, in 2013, 106 and in 2014, 151, and in 2015 – 277 interventions of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.¹⁷ Regrettably, the German newspapers that used this wording aren't local or niche publications. In most cases, these are mass-scale, opinion-shaping newspapers or magazines, including *Der Spiegel*, *Bild*, *Der Tagesspiegel*, *Die Welt*,

¹⁶ K. Klinger, „MSZ nie radzi sobie z kłamstwami”, *Dziennik Gazeta Prawna*, December 10, 2009.

¹⁷ „Interwencje MSZ w sprawach «polskich obozów śmierci»”, Polish Press Agency (PAP), January 28, 2017.

Die Zeit as well as two news agencies: German Reuters and DPA (Deutsche Presse Agentur).¹⁸ After numerous interventions by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the editorial board of *Rzeczpospolita*, most German journalists apologized and made corrections. There were, however, instances of such translations appearing in news crawls on-screen that simply would not fit the phrase “concentration camps built

¹⁸ Includes *Süddeutsche Zeitung online*, January 27, 2005 („polski obóz Auschwitz”), *Der Tagesspiegel*, January 25, 2005 („Auschwitz w Polsce”), *Der Spiegel*, March 27, 2006 („polskie obozy zagłady”) etc.

in occupied Poland by the Germans.”¹⁹ In January 2015, on the 70th anniversary of the liberation of KL Auschwitz, in commentary on the ceremonies taking place there, the words “Polish camps” also appeared. They were used both by CNN and German newspapers (including *Rheinische Post*, *Mannheimer Morgen*, *Rhein Neckar Zeitung*).²⁰ Of course, in all cases, the Polish diplomatic service intervened.

EXAMPLE 3: AUSCHWITZ

In 1998, a very serious debate took place in Germany, whose original cause was ultimately a misunderstanding that had its origins in semantics. In 1998, writer Martin Walser received the most prestigious German literature prize – the Peace Prize of the German Book Trade.²¹ On this occasion he gave a speech in Frankfurt at the Church of St. Paul, titled “Sonntagsrede”, which can be translated as “Sunday talk”.²² The main axis of Walser’s speech was German collective memory of the crimes of World War II and, above all, the Holocaust. He stressed that the process of commemorating this history was only to remind the Germans of these crimes, which greatly hampered the positive, affirmative attitude of

the nation to its own identity. On the other hand, he observed that “often not memory, and nor the will to save from forgetting, but the instrumentalization of our disgrace to the present needs, is the main motive here.”²³ In his talk, Walser was not speaking against the cultivation of memory of the Holocaust, but against its instrumentalization and ritualization (especially in terms of collective, state rituals). He continued: “Auschwitz is not suited to be a routine scarecrow, a perpetually useful sobering agent, moral club or just a kind of compulsory exercise. Something that becomes a ritual, acquires the quality of hastily whispered prayer.” He thus warned against the abuse of Auschwitz as a rhetorical form, a political and media tool. He did it in his own style, using many metaphors and understatements (certainly with the intention of provoking serious intellectual discussion).²⁴ Ignatz Bubis, chairman of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, took this speech very literally (just like most of the public), although in one case he was certainly right – as a member of Germany’s spiritual and intellectual elite, Martin Walser should have been aware that his sophisticated speech would provide arguments for the extreme right.²⁵ And that is what happened, regardless of his intentions. Bubis excoriated Walser during a speech at the Berlin synagogue on the anniversary of the “Night of Broken

¹⁹ K. Zuchowicz, P. Zychowicz, “Trzeba ścigać autorów tekstów o «polskich obozach śmierci»”, *Rzeczpospolita*, January 25, 2005.

²⁰ M. Pieńkowski, „«Polskie obozy» wciąż w zachodnich mediach. Walka trwa”, *Rzeczpospolita*, January 27, 2015.

²¹ Martin Walser (b. 1927) is a prominent German intellectual and writer, author of both the liberal left and the conservative center; both his writing and his work proved that he wanted to settle with the German past. In time, however, he was credited with the radicalization of views towards nationalism and even anti-Semitism.

²² In essence, the full title was: “Erfahrungen beim Verfassen einer Sonntagsrede” (experience in writing a Sunday talk/speech); Sonntagsrede has a specific meaning in German. This is often used to refer to a trivial, unimportant speech. Of course, in Walser’s edition, this was a provocative name; full text of Walser’s speech in: F. Schirmmacher (ed.), *Die Walser-Bubis-Debatte. Eine Dokumentation, Suhrkamp*, Frankfurt am Main, 1999, p. 7–17.

²³ F. Schirmmacher (ed.), *Die Walser-Bubis ...*, op. cit., p. 12.

²⁴ A detailed linguistic and philosophical analysis of Walser’s speech was presented by L. Jansen, *Alles Schlußstich - oder you? Eine philosophische Auseinandersetzungen mit Martin Walsers Friedenspreisrede*, “Theologie und Philosophie” 2005, no. 80, p. 412–422; The famous German sociologist Jan Philipp Reemtsma, called Walser’s speech “the rhetoric of allusions,” see P. Buras, “Pamięć jako racja stanu. Niemiecka debata o stosunku do Holocaustu”, *Więź*, 1994, no. 4, p. 142–147.

²⁵ Ignatz Bubis (1927–1999) was the president of the Central Council of Jews in Germany from 1992 until his death. By a miracle he survived the Holocaust. He lost his whole family, but after the war he did not leave Europe, but lived in Germany.

Glass” (Kristallnacht), calling him a “spiritual arsonist” (geistiger Brandstifter), accusing him of wanting to sever Holocaust history with a “final stroke” (Schlußstrich) and propagate “the culture of gaze aversion.”²⁶ Bubis also drew

The words “disgrace” were used in his speech four times in reference to the Holocaust, but as Bubis emphasized, he never once used the word “crime”.

attention to the vocabulary used in the “Sonntagsrede”, in which Walser referred to the Holocaust as an “imperishable disgrace” (unvergängliche Schande). The words “disgrace” were used in his speech four times in reference to the Holocaust, but as Bubis emphasized, he never once used the word “crime”. Heated discussion divided German intellectuals, journalists and public opinion. While earlier debates were focused only on the past, the Walser-Bubis debate was primarily concerned with the words and concepts that describe the past, and the shape of memory of events, whose mere moral assessment did not cause controversy in Germany.

Another example of a semantic dispute, this time Polish-German, is the circumstances of the change of the name of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Concentration Camp from the current “Auschwitz Concentration Camp” to the new “Former Nazi German Concentration Camp Auschwitz-Birkenau” (2006).²⁷

²⁶ Full text of I. Bubis’ speech in F. Schirmacher (ed.), *Die Walser-Bubis...*, op. cit., p. 106–113.

²⁷ It is worth emphasizing that the initiative to change the name of the camp was made as a consequence

Both cases have been criticized by certain German newspapers. It is worth looking at the arguments of German journalists, because this logic is becoming more and more common in Germany. The most outraged, Arno Widmann (*Berliner Zeitung*) puts forward two types of arguments: first – moral. No one has the right to reduce the symbol of genocide “to a German event between 1940–1945 (auf ein deutsches Ereignis zwischen 1940 und 1945 zu reduzieren).”²⁸ Second – practical. It is difficult to imagine that German, Jewish or American students would say to one another: we are going to the former Nazi German Concentration Camp Auschwitz-Birkenau. Omitting the rather absurd argument raising the impracticality of the new name, it is worth considering further the first argument.

It reflects a clear tendency in the German historical narrative, which can be called the “moral universalization” of crimes. Representatives of the left and the liberal center have begun to use the terminology and concepts of basic human rights, with

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particular emphasis on individual rights. The slogans: “Hitler is in each of us”, “criminals have no nationality”, “victims are equal in the face of suffering”, often used by the German left, help serve to

of the increasingly frequent use of the term “Polish concentration camps” in the foreign press.

²⁸ A. Widmann, *Auschwitz lässt sich nicht umbenennen*, *Berliner Zeitung*, April 1, 2006.

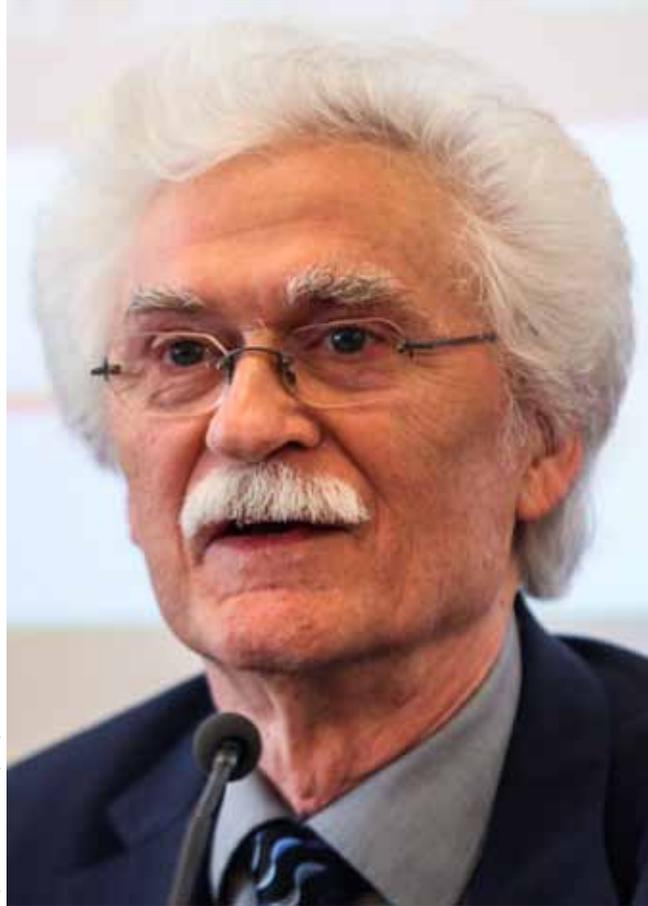
show the direction of such reasoning. This concept has been picked up by the Federation of Expellees and politicians associated with it, but although it does not deserve condemnation by itself, devoid of historical context and ignoring cause-effect relationships, it becomes a tool for the manipulation of history. Among such recently seen tools is the proper hierarchy of events. While general knowledge of the Holocaust in German society is quite common, and the sense of moral responsibility for the genocide against the Jews is indisputable, the problem of crimes against Slavic peoples does not exist in the consciousness of the average German.²⁹ This is a result of education and presents an alibi that is quite comfortable for many Germans – that the number of Jewish victims justifies the sole focus only on the Holocaust;³⁰ although the Roma and homosexuals (always in the same order) also appear among the victims of German concentration camps.³¹ It is worth emphasizing here that German knowledge on the subject of World War II crimes is quite poor, as evidenced by many studies conducted by various German academic centers. In 2012 the Forsa Institute conducted a study, the results of which were quite shocking. Even with the great preoccupation of the German state with Holocaust studies, it turned out that 21% of Germans aged 18-30 did not associate anything with the word Auschwitz.³²

²⁹ Studies like this were conducted by Prof. B. Ortmeier: “Nahezu ein schwarzes Loch”, *Die Zeit* February 23, 2012.

³⁰ It must be stressed that general information predominates in the German narrative about the Holocaust, the German press does not go into details which would explain where and how the Jews were killed, see: A. Kwiatkowska-Drożdż, *II wojna światowa w niemieckiej prasie – wybrane przykłady z rocznicowego roku 2005*, OSW Report, June 2005; It is also worth mentioning that the Polish victims themselves (excluding Polish Jews) of the German occupation totalled at least 2 million (www.straty.pl).

³¹ A. Kwiatkowska-Drożdż, *II wojna światowa...*, op. cit., p. 10.

³² Jeder fünfte jüngere Deutsche kennt Auschwitz nicht, *Stern*, January 25, 2012.



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WARSAW, POLAND, OCTOBER 11, 2013. PROFESSOR DIETER SCHENK AT AN ACADEMIC CONFERENCE DEVOTED TO WAYS TO COUNTERACT INCORRECT REFERENCES TO “POLISH CAMPS” AND “CAMPS IN POLAND” APPEARING IN FOREIGN MEDIA, ORGANIZED, AMONG OTHERS, BY THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN WARSAW.

Other studies show that even if Germans know the general figures associated with the Holocaust, they have no idea about the “technical” details of the final solution.³³ Most cannot explain what happened in the extermination camps like Dachau, Treblinka, and thus do not know the role of the state in the annihilation and do not understand its industrial character. In the same study, most respondents showed a total lack of knowledge of the crimes committed in German-occupied

³³ Interview with prof. B. Ortmeier in *Die Zeit*, February 27, 2012, “Nahezu ein schwarzes Loch”, <http://www.zeit.de/2012/09/C-Interview-Lehrer-NS-Zeit> (accessed June 15, 2017).

countries; for instance, in Greece, Poland, and even the Soviet Union, along which the “mythical” eastern front ran.

The argument undermining the legitimacy of assigning responsibility for crimes motivated by a criminal ideology (e.g. Nazism, Communism) to an entire nation, was not only raised by Germans.

The argument undermining the legitimacy of assigning responsibility for crimes motivated by a criminal ideology (e.g. Nazism, Communism) to an entire nation, was not only raised by Germans. “Not all Germans were Nazis and not all Nazis were Germans,” said the English MEP, Baroness Sara Ludford, who refused to sign a resolution commemorating the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, claiming that the camp was not built by the Germans but by the Nazis.³⁴

CONCLUSIONS

The historical politics of countries is conducted on different levels, but one of the most important ones is historical narrative. Presently, it is carried out with many modern tools: academic research (especially through funding), film, internet, press, books. Words place a central role in all of these instruments. George Orwell in 1984 wrote: “Who controls the past controls the future.

³⁴ K. Zuchowicz, P. Zychowicz, „Trzeba ścierać autorów tekstów o «polskich obozach śmierci»”, op.cit.

Who controls the present controls the past.”³⁵ Although Orwell wrote about Stalinist totalitarianism and the manipulation of history, to a large degree these words remain valid. Historical politics is primarily politics, so the main measure of its efficiency is effectiveness. German historical politics are certainly among the best in the world: 70 years after the war was unleashed by the German Reich, supported to varying degrees by 90% of the population, Germany is one of the most sought after political and economic partners in the world. Moreover, in different rankings of sympathy, Germany usually occupies the leading positions, even in Poland – sympathy for Germany grows year by year.³⁶

Germany expertly uses soft power in foreign policy, and above all in historical politics. While in earlier times it was aimed at building a positive image of Germany, in recent years it has also addressed the change of the image and role of the Germans in the past. This tendency should cause concern and, if need be, an acute Polish reaction.³⁷

By analyzing the actions of different circles, governmental agencies, and the German press, we can see different tendencies applied to change the narrative about World War II and German crimes, although it would be saying too much to claim that this is a coherent, centrally coordinated policy. This does not however preclude its common purpose – the destigmatization of the German people.

Joanna Lubecka ■

June 21, 2017

³⁵ G. Orwell, 1984, Muza, Warsaw, 2007, p. 17.

³⁶ “Stosunek Polaków do innych narodów”, Komunikat z badań CBOŚ, Warsaw February 3, 2014.

³⁷ Poland’s historical politics are not the subject of this article, so this topic has not been developed here.

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