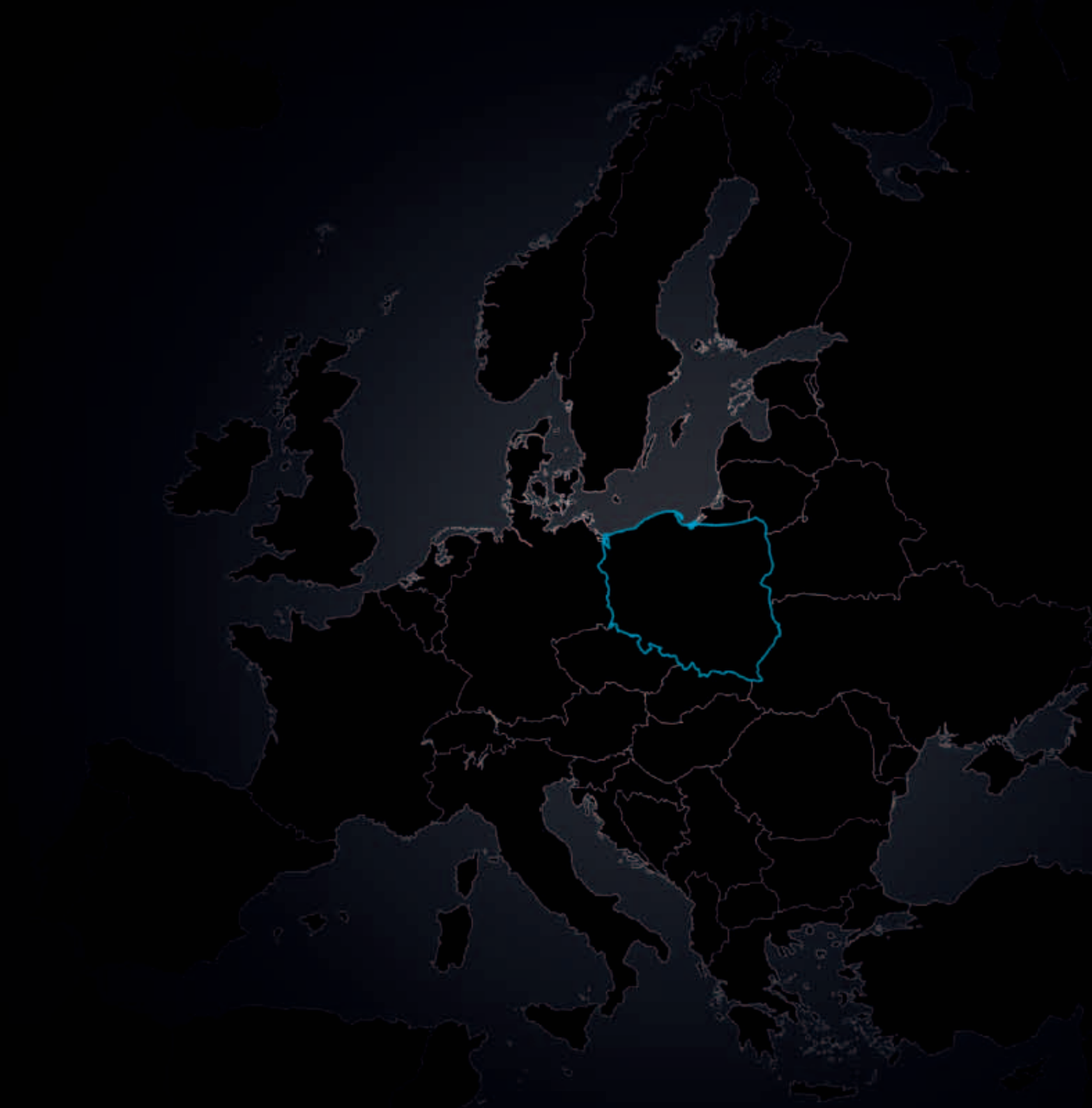


THE WARSAW INSTITUTE REVIEW

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BERLIN, GERMANY, FEBRUARY 16, 2018. POLISH PRIME MINISTER MATEUSZ MORAWIECKI LAYS A WREATH AT THE MEMORIAL TO THE MURDERED JEWS OF EUROPE IN BERLIN.

Dear Readers



The culture of every nation, its content and expression, although experienced in the present, always arises on the foundation of the past. It creates a certain space, chronologically arranged since the nation was founded, and successive layers and elements usher in new ages. Its role is not just to integrate society and build community in a time of peace; cultivating its values determines and ensures the survival of the nation in difficult times. This was well understood by the Polish elites of the 18th and 19th centuries, when the Polish state, as a result of the partitions and division of its territory between Russia, Prussia and Austria, lost its independence for 123 years. The opening of the latest issue of *The Warsaw Institute Review* is devoted to this subject in an article by the Deputy Prime Minister of Poland and Minister of Culture and National Heritage Piotr Gliński and Paulina Florjanowicz, regarding Izabela Czartoryska's conservation of museum collections in the Arkadia and Nieborów palaces. But the Polish national community is built not only by history, but also by sport – it is thus no accident that in this edition of WIR we present an article by the famous Polish cyclist Czesław Lang devoted to the Tour de Pologne.

I want to direct your attention to the article by Tomasz Poręba, Member of the European Parliament, concerning the construction of the planned route connecting the north and south of Europe. It is a project that is not only an infrastructural challenge for the countries involved, but above all, opens up the prospect of building a new

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axis of economic relations – alongside those traditionally functioning on the east-west line.

I also encourage you to read our eastern report. Traditionally, we devote a lot of space to Russia and its influence on the most important countries in this part of Europe: this time on the infiltration of Estonia by the Russian intelligence services and corruption in Ukraine. We are also expanding our geographical scope to a further extent, through articles on the dynamically developing Kazakhstan (often referred to by Polish historians as the “inhuman land” – the place of deportation for a large number of Poles by the authorities of the USSR), as well as Saudi Arabia and Iran.

You are invited to read!

ANNA KAROLINA PIEKARSKA

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF THE WARSAW INSTITUTE REVIEW

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NIEBORÓW, POLAND. AN UNKNOWN POLISH PAINTER, PORTRAIT OF IZABELA FLEMING-CZARTORYSKA, LATE 18TH CENTURY, COLLECTIONS OF THE MUSEUM IN NIEBORÓW AND ARKADIA.

HERITAGE STRENGTHENS OUR IDENTITY

PIOTR GLIŃSKI PHD, PAULINA FLORJANOWICZ

In modern times, protecting cultural heritage has been a central component of almost any government's policy. Heritage, which comprises the material evidence of a common past and shared experience, supports the building of a sense of community as well as self-confidence within society which is directly linked with strong social capital.

The perception of heritage as a crucial element for a society's development has recently become fashionable in EU policies. For decades previously, heritage was mainly protected due to its aesthetic and/or historic value. However the whole idea of protecting heritage was actually developed in the late 18th and 19th centuries at a time when states were developing rapidly towards how we know them today. It was during this period that many European states decided to protect their heritage and develop policies and

legal regulations accordingly. Today, it is widely agreed worldwide that protecting national heritage is one of a state's indisputable obligations.

However, in the case of Poland, such protection has been difficult, particularly because the state did not exist in the 19th century, after it had been partitioned by its neighbors (Russia, Austria and Prussia) in 1795. Poland remained divided among the three states until it regained its independence after World War I in 1918. During the 123 years of partitions,

After Poland lost its independence in 1795, to many Polish nobles, the need to protect national heritage seemed to be the most effective way of maintaining national identity.

Polish heritage was deliberately neglected by the occupying authorities and unlike in other European states, the legal system for heritage protection was unable to develop; not to mention that Poland was under the rule of three different jurisdictions. Nevertheless, heritage protection remained a priority for the populous despite – or possibly because of – Poland not having its own government. This does not mean though, that heritage was unprotected. On the contrary! National heritage remained (or became!) a priority even (or especially!) when the government ceased to exist.

IZABELA FLEMING-CZARTORYSKA AND THE MUSEUM IN PUŁAWY

After Poland lost its independence in 1795, to many Polish nobles, the need to protect national heritage seemed to be the most effective way of maintaining national identity. One of the most prominent examples of this effort is the Princess Czartoryska Collection of the early 1800s, assembled by Princess Izabela Fleming-Czartoryska, who created the first Polish museum in Puławy. She explained the purpose of doing it thus: “as Poland ceased to exist (...) I began to collect Polish souvenirs for posterity”.

The breathtaking Czartoryska Collection includes thousands of paintings by some of the world’s most famous artists, including the *Lady with an Ermine* by Leonardo da

Vinci, *Landscape with the Good Samaritan* by Rembrandt, *Polonia* by Jan Matejko, as well as prints by Albrecht Dürer. It consists of more than 86,000 museum objects such as the memorabilia of Tadeusz Kościuszko or Frédéric Chopin’s death mask, as well as over 250,000 library items including books, old prints and manuscripts, as well as priceless treasures of Polish national heritage like the Act of the Polish-Lithuanian Union of Horodło (1413), the Act of Prussian Homage (1525) and 15th century manuscripts of the *Chronicles* by Jan Długosz.

Throughout the last two centuries, the Czartoryska Collection has survived some of the most turbulent times in Poland’s history. The collection was hidden and evacuated several times. It was looted and taken as a trophy. It was searched for and rescued. It was also cared for and exhibited, something of which Polish society has always been proud and identified themselves with. Finally, as Poland prepares to celebrate the centenary of regaining independence in 2018, the Polish government has purchased the collection from Prince Adam Karol Czartoryski and the Princess Czartoryska Foundation, along with all related real estate, as well as the right to all claims on movable cultural goods included in the collection, which were lost during World War II.

The efforts of the Polish government have gained widespread support, from both the Parliament, which passed an amendment to the 2016 budget to allow the creation of a special reserve fund for the purchase of cultural goods of significant importance, and museum curators – members of the Council of Museum and Remembrance Sites advising the Minister of Culture and National Heritage, along with art history and cultural heritage experts nationwide.

WHY?

Naturally, the rationale behind protecting cultural heritage is often questioned. Why



© (PAP) RADEK PIETRUSZKA

WARSAW, POLAND, OCTOBER 25, 2017. DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF CULTURE AND NATIONAL HERITAGE PIOTR GLIŃSKI DURING A SESSION OF THE PARLIAMENT COMMITTEE ON CULTURE AND MEDIA IN THE CHANCELLERY OF THE PRIME MINISTER OF POLAND.

is it so important? For decades, heritage professionals have intensively focused on *how* to protect cultural heritage, without giving much consideration to *why*. The Council of Europe's Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (known as the Faro Convention of 2005) called on all parties "to recognize the public interest associated with elements of cultural heritage in accordance with their importance to society." The public benefit of cultural heritage has been recently acknowledged in numerous EU policy statements including the Council's conclusions on the participatory governance of cultural heritage in 2014, which recognized cultural heritage as a shared resource. Participatory governance of cultural heritage is therefore the best approach for the future, as it divides the responsibility for the protection of cultural heritage, but also strengthens the process of identity

building. It does not require the decision-making process to be shared by all stakeholders, but it does prioritize public benefit and public interest.

A strong link between cultural heritage and national identity was revealed with 62 percent of respondents declaring that they think cultural heritage is important because it is the testimony of Poland's common past.



© MACIEJ MUSIAŁ (PAP)

WARSAW, POLAND, 1987. NAPOLEON ORDA (1807–1883), PALACE IN PUŁAWY. EXHIBITION: “ARCHITECTURE IN POLISH PAINTING” AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM.

In Poland, the social value of cultural heritage has only recently been properly researched. The National Heritage Board of Poland (Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa) commissioned a study in 2012, where for the first time, Poles were asked a fundamental question: is heritage important to society? An overwhelming majority (89 percent) of respondents said “yes”. Another question in the study referred to the key values of heritage. A strong link between cultural heritage and national identity was revealed with 62 percent of respondents declaring that they think cultural heritage is important because it is the testimony of Poland’s common past.

The term “national identity” requires further explanation in the case of Poland. Its identity, given its complicated and often dramatic history as well as its geographic location, is built on the multicultural heritage of many nations comprising

different beliefs and traditions. Therefore, being Polish does not necessarily mean being part of a specific religion or ethnicity. In a way, Polish national identity is similar to that of the Americans, who trace their roots back to many different parts of the world. Even today, despite the barbarism of World War II and the Nazi German and Soviet occupations and decades of communism that followed, creating a rather homogenous society in modern Poland, it is still possible to perceive it as a multi-ethnic nation. In a public survey conducted in 2006, a question was asked about the conditions a person must meet to be considered Polish by other Poles. The most frequently chosen answer (69 percent) was that he or she must feel Polish himself/herself. This reflects the openness of Polish society and the ease with which people can assimilate into it. Overall, one can clearly see that a participatory approach to cultural heritage is not just a trend but should

be a natural option for all countries, particularly those with such complex histories and historical assets as Poland.

THE NIEPODLEGŁA PROGRAM

This approach was also reflected in a social survey commissioned by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage in 2016, which aimed to determine how to design a program to mark the centenary of Poland's independence, in a way that would maximize the public benefit. The survey confirmed, among other things, that, according to respondents (a representative sampling of Polish society), cultural heritage is crucial in this process, as it is one of the primary factors in community building.

According to the survey, respondents claimed that patriotism entails the following: respecting national symbols (sixty percent strongly agree, thirty-four percent agree); passing on national values to future generations (forty-nine percent strongly agree, forty-three percent agree); protecting heritage sites (forty-four percent strongly agree, forty-seven percent agree); and fostering local customs and traditions, thus protecting intangible cultural heritage (forty-two percent strongly agree, forty-eight percent agree). Once again, a strong link between cultural heritage and national identity is revealed and this is obviously one of the key elements to strengthening the social capital of Poles.

Therefore, since the main aim of the *Niepodległa* ("Independent" program for the Centenary of Regaining Independence by Poland) is to build a strong civic society, many of the projects refer to both tangible and intangible heritage, and promote a participatory approach. The program is not about major development and investment projects but rather about inclusive educational projects that bring rich cultural heritage closer to the community. Projects financed within the *Niepodległa* Program (the total budget exceeds \$60 million) must be focused not only on

civil society development, but should also promote at least one of the three core values that are recognized as most important for Poland's national identity, namely the pursuit of freedom, respect for human dignity and human rights, and solidarity in both a social and political sense.

The program promotes inclusive actions, community building and the rediscovering of cultural heritage at the local, regional and national levels.

The expected effect of the *Niepodległa* Program is a stronger civil society, aware of its rights and responsibilities, and proud of its history and heritage, just as Princess Czartoryska envisioned.

Piotr Gliński, Paulina Florjanowicz ■

February 20, 2018

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VIA CARPATHIA – AN INVESTMENT IN THE FUTURE

TOMASZ PORĘBA

Just a few years ago, knowledge of the Via Carpathia (a north-south, trans-European road route) was a minimal, if not an entirely foreign concept in Brussels.

This project was not recognized as a major international investment nor was it treated as a priority. The Via Carpathia did not exist in the imaginations of the “Brussels elite”. Over years of consistent (even arduous) work, pressure and commitment at many decision-making levels, the perception of this project was radically changed as was the attitude of the European Commission towards it. Through small steps in the absence of support from the then-current Civic Platform government, and even in the face of frequent and ostentatious opposition, the Via Carpathia was successfully elevated to an entirely new level of importance.

Let us start from the beginning. The idea of creating the Via Carpathia route was initiated by Poland in 2006 in Łańcut, when ministers from Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Hungary, under the patronage and in the presence of the President of the Republic of Poland Lech Kaczyński, signed the first joint Łańcut Declaration on the extension of TEN-T (Trans-European Transport Networks) through the Via Carpathia. In 2010, three more countries joined this initiative: Romania, Bulgaria and Greece. During an international conference, the transportation ministers of seven countries through which the route runs signed a new version of the Łańcut



BRUSSELS, BELGIUM, SEPTEMBER 29, 2015. MEMBER OF EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT (MEP) TOMASZ PORĘBA IN FRONT OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT HEADQUARTERS.

© WIKTOR DABKOWSKI (PAP)

Declaration in which they pledged to take all possible steps to incorporate the route along its entire length (Klaipeda – Kaunas – Białystok – Lublin – Rzeszów – Kosice – Miskolc – Debrecen – Oradea – Logoj – Calafat/Constanta – Sofia/Svilengrad – Thessaloniki) to the TEN-T network as part of the amendment of the EU law on trans-European transport networks. The last declaration on strengthening cooperation in the area of transport through the Carpathians and further development of the Via Carpathia was signed in March 2016.

In Poland, the route will cover nearly 700 kilometers and run along the S8 and S19 roads, and run from the border with Lithuania in Budzisko, through Białystok, Lublin and Rzeszów, to the border with Slovakia in Barwinek. Its Subcarpathian segment is the S19 expressway. In October 2011, after completing two-year consultations with member states, including Poland, the European Commission published the “Union Guidelines for the Development of the Trans-European Transport Network”. Unfortunately, sections of the Via

The Via Carpathia needed immediate and effective lobbying within the EU, so to popularize the idea and to show its added value to the Union's entire eastern flank.

Carpathia were only partially accounted for in the core TEN-T network, to be completed by 2050, with no real guarantee of funds being secured for construction. After two years of negotiations, the Via Carpathia was also omitted from the list of investment priorities for the TEN-T network in the final version of the 2013 regulation.

From the moment the Łańcut Declarations were signed in 2006 and 2010, the Civic Platform government did not make any effort to make the Via Carpathia eligible for funding under the EU budget; nor did they take advantage of the opportunity offered by the amendment of the trans-European transport network regulations, which determined the most important EU transport priorities for implementation by 2023. In 2010, the Civic Platform government submitted a funding proposal for only one section of the S19 road on the Rzeszów–Lublin route, which was included with the core network projects. The remaining sections were written into the so-called supplementary network to be completed by 2050, with no guaranteed funds or budget allocation. The regulation amendment was successfully taken advantage of by other countries along the Via Carpathia, such as Romania, Bulgaria and Greece, which

accounted for most of the road segments within the core network.

The Via Carpathia needed immediate and effective lobbying within the EU, so to popularize the idea and to show its added value to the Union's entire eastern flank. Hence my commitment and attempt to use all possible instruments available to members of the European Parliament, to raise awareness among colleagues from other member states, as well as the officials of the European Commission and to finally put this investment into a leading place on the EU agenda.

That is why in November 2011, when the European Parliament started work on the future shape of the TEN-T, I submitted five amendments calling for the inclusion of the Via Carpathia route along the entire core network (Civic Platform members did not submit any amendments on this matter at the transport committee level). In October 2012, I organized a conference in the European Parliament in support of the Via Carpathia with the participation of transportation ministers, representatives of regions through which the route runs, ambassadors, MEPs, experts and European Commission representatives (despite the request for support of the initiative – neither representatives of the Polish government, nor Civic Platform MEPs, appeared).

In June 2013, I again submitted amendments regarding the Via Carpathia, this time during a plenary session. In June 2014, at my initiative, the European Parliament decided to deal with the issue of construction of the Via Carpathia and to consider a petition from one of the residents of Stalowa Wola, Poland. The petition made it to the European Commission, which said that it was possible to build a road with EU funds, but the Polish government should take the lead on the initiative.

Via Carpathia



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As the referrer and defender of the petition, I persuaded the Petitions Committee to address this matter.

As a result, the parliament intended to send a special mission to the Subcarpathia region to prepare a report to the European Parliament on the state of the S19 road. Unfortunately, at the request of MEPs of the Civic Platform, the Petitions Committee decided to close the Via Carpathia petition. Poles themselves blocked a valuable initiative to build a road which would improve transportation access to our country. Civic Platform MEPs (Julia Pitera and Jarosław Wałęsa) stated that nothing could be done in this case and appealed for the petition to be closed once and for all. They also stressed

that Subcarpathia is one of the best financed regions in Poland and questioned the validity of the investment.

As vice-chairman of the European Parliament's Commission on Transport and Tourism, I also promoted the idea of building the Via Carpathia on the forum of my committee. And so, on my initiative, in December 2014, a hearing on transportation routes in Central and Eastern Europe was held. The purpose of the hearing was to show the need to increase the quantity and quality of transport connections in this part of Europe, and that infrastructure improvement and construction of the Via Carpathia would serve as an

One of the foundations of the EU is sustainable development and therefore the European community should take care of its poorest regions first and foremost.

important incentive for the development of these areas, which would be a kind of transportation backbone of Central and Eastern Europe. One of the foundations of the EU is sustainable development and therefore the European community should take care of its poorest regions first and foremost. The hearing was aimed at showing the Polish government that this project is in line with the EU's cohesion policy and has a chance to be implemented in the coming years, if the Polish authorities have the will.

I also tried to convince multiple EU transportation policy and cohesion policy commissioners to the absolute necessity to build the Via Carpathia route. Starting with Siim Kallas, European Commissioner for Transport Policy (2009–2014), and Maros Šefčovič, Vice-President of the European Commission to Violeta Bulc, the current European Commissioner for Transport and Corina Cretu, European Commissioner for Regional Policy.

I must honestly admit that the need for the implementation of the Via Carpathia project found much more understanding in Brussels than back home. One commissioner after another was looking for solutions and budget possibilities opening the way to the construction of the Via Carpathia, suggesting the

preparation of appropriate and convincing documentation and the financial framework for this investment. In the meantime, my appeals to (then) Deputy Prime Minister Elżbieta Bieńkowska, Prime Minister Ewa Kopacz and Minister of Infrastructure and Development Maria Wasiak, about submitting the Via Carpathia project to realization under the new EU Infrastructure Investment Plan of the Jean-Claude Juncker, President of the European Commission, remained unanswered. Brussels gave a clear signal that tools exist to finance this investment. All that was necessary was for the Polish government to submit the project to bids.

Eastern Poland was consistently ignored by the Civic Platform government for EU-funded transportation investments. It was clear that the government stubbornly sought to marginalize eastern Poland and continued the policy of neglecting those regions. Civic Platform-Polish People's Party coalition government sought to concentrate development around several major metropolitan centers, located mainly in western Poland, through access to EU funding and the implementation of key projects. The rest of the country was to be condemned to the peripheries. This approach contradicted one of the main principles of the EU – sustainable development – and the spending of EU funds to equalize the differences between regions, not deepen them. Unfortunately, the eight-year rule of the previous coalition was largely lost time for the infrastructural development of eastern Poland.

In time, however, our efforts began to bring visible results, and the idea of building the Via Carpathia was reflected in official documents of the European Parliament. In the end, it was possible to imbue the irreversible necessity to implement this investment into the consciousness of the EU

institutions. And so, on my initiative, for the first time in an official document of the European Parliament, the need to build the Via Carpathia route was recognized. The Parliament's Regional Development Committee adopted an opinion underlining the need to develop North-South transport corridors on the example of the Via Carpathia to better connect the northern and southern parts of the continent, which would help to reduce development disparities between regions.

The European Parliament also adopted my report on transport infrastructure in Central and Eastern Europe. This is the first comprehensive document devoted entirely to the development of infrastructure in this region. The report included a call to the European Commission and member states to address the urgent need to strengthen road infrastructure along the EU's eastern border, including the construction of the Via Carpathia as soon as possible.

The Parliament has accepted the arguments that through the Via Carpathia, the EU's peripheral regions will gain the opportunity for accelerated development and will more quickly match the more developed areas of the Union. The construction of the route will also stimulate the inflow of investments, increase entrepreneurship and improve the security of the entire EU, especially in the context of the armed conflict in Ukraine. In the report, the Parliament encourages member states to prepare a financial framework for this project using all possible instruments, such as the Connecting Europe Facility or the European Fund for Strategic Investments, and promises in the next revision of the TEN-T guidelines to do its utmost to ensure that the Via Carpathia route has been fully integrated into the core network.

I also initiated in the European Parliament the collection of signatures under a written declaration on the construction of the Via Carpathia. The Declaration on Via Carpathia stresses that the route plays an important role in stimulating growth in the eastern regions of the Union, which often experience socio-economic problems. Its construction, renovation and extension would allow for the reduction of differences in the level of development between EU regions, by supporting new jobs and competitiveness. The investment would also strengthen economic and social relations with neighboring EU countries, especially in the context of the future EU enlargement to the East. In the declaration, we call on the European Commission to reflect on the role of Via Carpathia in a holistic transport policy and to include it in the TEN-T core network and thus facilitate access to funds.

Meanwhile, a change of government was needed in our country for eastern Poland to finally be treated fairly in terms of EU investments. The elections won in 2015 by Law and Justice brought about landmark

The construction of the route will also stimulate the inflow of investments, increase entrepreneurship and improve the security of the entire EU, especially in the context of the armed conflict in Ukraine.

decisions regarding the financing of the construction of the Polish section of Via Carpathia along the S19 road. The S19 has become a strategic transport investment for the Polish government. Tenders for the construction of a road towards Lublin were announced, a part of the Lublin beltway along the S19 road was opened, the second stage of the tender for the Stalowa Wola and Niska beltways and the Janowskie-Nisko Forest section have started. At the same time, the funds for S19 to Babica were guaranteed, and a positive environmental decision was issued for the construction of the entire Rzeszów-Barwinek section. Furthermore in December 2016, the government awarded nearly 70 million PLN for hydrological and geological works on this route. In June 2017, the Council of Ministers adopted a resolution in which the financial limit of the National Road Construction Program for the years 2014–2023 (with a perspective up to 2025) was raised from 107 billion to 135 billion PLN. The increase in funds is mainly caused by

the need to finance road investments in eastern Poland, especially the construction of the Via Carpathia, to which the government will allocate 21 billion PLN.

I have no doubt that nothing will stop the construction of Via Carpathia now. The project is supported today by the majority of countries in the eastern EU. The construction of this road will mean not only the improvement of transport accessibility to eastern Poland, but also an acceleration in the development of the eastern flank of the EU, including the inflow of investments, improvement in security and growth of entrepreneurship. The Via Carpathia is also an opportunity for Polish ports. The route, which in Poland will run from Barwinek through Rzeszów to Lublin, then along the S17 route to Warsaw, and from the capital via S7 and A1 to Polish ports, will allow Hungarians, Romanians, Slovaks and Bulgarians to send goods and services to ports in Poland, contributing to their development. The Special Economic Zone



WARSAW, POLAND, MARCH 3, 2016. SIGNED DECLARATION ON FURTHER COOPERATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VIA CARPATHIA CORRIDOR, IN THE MINISTRY OF INFRASTRUCTURE. THE VIA CARPATHIA WILL AID IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE.

EURO-PARK MIELEC is also located along the Via Carpathia. The new route will be an important support for enterprises operating in the zone.

The Via Carpathia, due to its course, is particularly important for all the provinces of eastern Poland and provides an opportunity to accelerate the development of this part of the country. Roads S8 and S19 are a key element conducive to increasing the transport accessibility of the eastern part of Poland, both nationally and within the EU, and are conducive to its economic growth.

The basic problem of eastern Poland is the very low level of economic, social and territorial cohesion. For this reason, projects increasing the territorial accessibility of this area can definitely contribute to strengthening the competitiveness of the entire region. The improvement of transport accessibility will significantly increase economic investment, which will contribute to the intensification of the economic development of this area.

Transportation infrastructure is the basis for the functioning of the economy and its development should be shaped with particular concern for modernity and efficiency. Transportation is an indispensable element of critical infrastructure, a guarantor of state security. By this definition, the Via Carpathia takes on new meaning for the security of the entire EU. The construction of the S19 road also takes on special significance in the context of the armed conflict in Ukraine. Well-connected eastern regions of our country, thanks to a highly developed transportation infrastructure, will undoubtedly increase Poland's security.

The construction of the S19 road also fits in with the logic of the functioning of the EU, whose main objective is to equalize development opportunities between the

Transportation is an indispensable element of critical infrastructure, a guarantor of state security.

eastern and western regions of Europe. Today eastern Poland is a blank space on the continent's transportation map.

Finally there is still a chance to realize the Via Carpathia. According to the provisions of Article 54 of the European Parliament's decree and EU Council Regulation 1315/2013, the next review of the development of the TEN-T will be carried out by December 31, 2023, when the European Commission, after consulting the member states and European coordinators, will verify the level of implementation of the transportation network. As part of this process, an assessment will be made of the need to introduce changes to the above regulation and the core network itself. The sections of the Via Carpathia project should be submitted by Poland and other interested member states as parts of the TEN-T core network, before the European Commission issues its statement, so that the entire route is an integral part of future maps from the outset. To this end, the coalition of signatories to the March 2016 declaration should be utilized and the European Commission should be presented with a common case that will convince the European Commission to requalify from supplementary to integral these sections of the Via Carpathia.

Tomasz Poręba ■
February 20, 2018

“PEACEMAKER” PUTIN

GRZEGORZ KUCZYŃSKI

Russia is interested in suspending the conflict in the Donbass region, at least until the presidential election in March 2018. In the long term, their optimal outcome is to repeat the “Moldova scenario” in Ukraine.

Successive proposals from Moscow serve this purpose. History teaches us that Russia should not be believed under any circumstances. In the words of the Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko – with Moscow you must always be prepared for the worst. Any Kremlin initiative, even those that at first seem peaceful, should be treated with extreme suspicion. Russia’s strategic goal is to keep Ukraine in its sphere of influence. The old geopolitical maxim in this part of Europe says that without

Ukraine, Russia cannot be a superpower. Since Ukraine regained independence in 1991, Moscow has never been as far from this objective as it is now. The price of tearing away part of Ukraine’s territory (the annexation of Crimea and occupation of one-third of the Donbass) has been the loss of influence over Kiev. It is not important for Russia to directly control a smaller or greater part of Ukraine, if it means that at the same time the vast majority of the country, together with its capital, gravitates towards the West.

CHISINAU, MOLDOVA, NOVEMBER 19, 2017. THE PRESIDENT OF MOLDOVA AND FORMER LEADER OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY IGOR DODON, SPEAKS TO THE PRESS AT A POLLING STATION AFTER VOTING IN A LOCAL REFERENDUM OVER THE RESIGNATION OF THE CITY'S MAYOR DORIN CHIRTOACĂ.

“PEACEMAKER” PUTIN



© DUMITRU DORU (PAP/EPA)

The Kremlin can implement one of several possible strategies towards Ukraine. War is unrealistic, as it would lead to new sanctions from the European Union and even worse relations with the United States. The scenario of Russia's complete exit from the Donbass seems equally unlikely. It would be seen as a capitulation and Vladimir Putin cannot show weakness in this matter, especially in Russia, where the reception of this fact would be more important than internationally. The third strategy is to maintain the status quo. In the long run, this would not be worth it for Russia. Even if they were playing the waiting game before, thinking that in a matter of months, or one or two years at most, there would be a serious crisis in the new Ukrainian government, they are now convinced that time is in Kiev's favor, not Moscow's.

It seems most likely that Putin will seek to recreate the “Moldova scenario”. Voters from Transnistria, a region that rebelled in the early nineties against the authorities in Chisinau and broke off from Moldova after a bloody conflict, effectively became a Russian exclave, and helped to elect

Russia's strategic goal is to keep Ukraine in its sphere of influence.

pro-Russian President Igor Dodon. Residents of the Russified and pro-Russian region, over which the Moldovan government has no real influence, have a real impact on the political course of Moldova, in exchange for the illusory, formal attachment to the country (unfortunately, some of Moldova's political elites agreed to this).

The implementation of the political component of the Minsk agreements would mean the creation of such a situation in Ukraine. Residents of the region beyond Kiev's control, moreover under the control of Ukraine's enemy, would be able to vote for not only district officials, but also deputies of the Verkhovna Rada (Ukrainian parliament). The creation of a strong, pro-Moscow lobby will lead to attempts to block reforms and derail the pro-Western

course of Ukraine's foreign and security policy. Grinding Ukraine's progress to a halt halfway between the times of ousted President Yanukovich's "neutrality" and oligarchization, and increasing Europeanization, will essentially mean a retreat and return to a "grey zone", in reality to Moscow's sphere of influence.

After a year into Trump's presidency, however, it must be stressed that the Russians have been very disappointed with the attitude of the new administration regarding Ukraine.

The problem is that, from the start, Kiev was in no rush to make the changes called for in the Minsk agreements. The Russians have therefore adopted the strategy of portraying Ukraine as thwarting the peace plan and urged the West to exert pressure on Kiev to implement the Minsk resolutions more quickly, for instance by granting special status to the Donbass. That was not very effective – until Donald Trump's election victory. Moscow was convinced that it would now be possible to conclude an agreement with Washington about Ukraine, to make a "geopolitical deal". After a year into Trump's presidency, however, it must be stressed that the Russians have been very disappointed with the attitude of the new administration regarding Ukraine. There have been many attempts to negotiate, pressure, and make

various offers, but recent months have clearly shown that Putin will not be able to play the "American card" against Ukraine.

If there were any illusions, they should have been dispelled by the nomination of the new Ambassador of the United States to Russia, Jon Huntsman Jr., and the appointment of Kurt Volker as the U.S. Special Representative for Ukraine. Upon taking the position, Huntsman announced that the first step in the normalization of Russian-Ukrainian relations should be to return control over the internationally recognized borders of Ukraine back to Kiev. "This is an issue not only with the United States, but also with Europe, Canada and virtually every other developed country," said Huntsman. On August 24, during a visit to Kiev, United States Secretary of Defense, James Mattis, said that the U.S. will continue to provide assistance to Ukraine and that the possibility of transferring offensive weaponry to Ukraine was being considered. He also said that after discussions with Ukrainian partners he would draw up "specific recommendations in this matter". On September 5, Russian President Vladimir Putin responded, "Such a decision will not change the situation, but the number of victims may increase," warning against sending American weapons to Ukraine.

Furthermore, the U.S. position on the conflict between Russia and Ukraine was re-emphasized during Rex Tillerson's visit to Europe in December. In Vienna, at the conference of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the U.S. Secretary of State declared: "We will never accept Russia's occupation and attempted annexation of Crimea. Crimea-related sanctions will remain in place until Russia returns full control over the peninsula to Ukraine." He added: "In eastern Ukraine, we join our European partners in maintaining



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sanctions until Russia withdraws its forces from the Donbass and meets its Minsk commitments.” The chief American diplomat gave notice that: “Russia is arming, leading, training and fighting alongside the anti-government forces. We call on Russia and its proxies to end its harassment, intimidation and its attacks on the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission.”

THE KREMLIN’S SURPRISING MANEUVER

The proposal to introduce United Nations peacekeeping forces to the Donbass has proved that the Kremlin has reconciled itself to the unlikelihood of an “arrangement” with the Trump administration. Putin only changed his mind about the peacekeepers after the U.S. began seriously considering sending offensive weaponry to Ukraine. It is no coincidence that the Russian president made his “peace” proposal at the same press conference where he threatened

DONETSK, UKRAINE, MAY 9, 2017. PRO-RUSSIAN REBELS MARCH DURING A MILITARY PARADE DOWNTOWN. LEADERS OF THE SELF-PROCLAIMED DONETSK AND LUGANSK PEOPLE’S REPUBLICS (DNR AND LNR) ORGANIZED A VICTORY DAY PARADE MARKING THE 72ND ANNIVERSARY OF THE VICTORY OVER NAZI GERMANY IN WORLD WAR II.

that handing over weapons to Ukraine would trigger an escalation of the conflict, because the separatists would not stand idly by as their adversaries were reinforced. The Kremlin wants to achieve something in this situation in talks with Germany and France – the idea of peacekeeping forces appears to be an expression of goodwill and readiness for dialogue. It weakens Kiev’s position and gives Putin time, at least until the presidential election in March.

At present, there are about six-hundred OSCE observers in Ukraine, who monitor whether the peace agreements, concluded by Ukraine and Russia under the auspices of France and Germany are being

The proposal to introduce United Nations peacekeeping forces to the Donbass has proved that the Kremlin has reconciled itself to the unlikelihood of an “arrangement” with the Trump administration.

respected. Putin uses the army to escalate conflict on the battlefield and then turns to the West with what he presents as de-escalation proposals.

This is why, since 2015, Kiev has explored the idea of deploying UN forces in the Donbass as an alternative to the Minsk agreements. However, it was only in July 2017 that President Poroshenko presented such a project during a telephone conversation in the Normandy format (negotiations with the participation of Angela Merkel, Emmanuel Macron, Vladimir Putin and Petro Poroshenko). In August, the Ukrainian president announced that a detailed plan would be presented at the September session of the UN General Assembly in New York. It was clear that the project had no chance of passing through the Security Council because of Russia's opposition.

So it was even more surprising when, on September 5, the Kremlin suddenly changed its position on the presence of UN peacekeeping forces in the Donbass.

This way, Putin took the initiative away from Poroshenko. Moscow has met Kiev's expectations on the surface. Although both sides talk about an international UN peace mission, the details of the proposal show that there are two completely different plans. In the Russian concept, peacekeeping forces are to complement the realization of the Minsk agreements by supporting their implementation; in the Ukrainian version, they are to replace the Minsk agreements.

Kiev has proposed imposing a strong peace mission consistent with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Moscow however has suggested a seriously limited mission based on the terms of Chapter VI of the Charter. The Ukrainians want a repeat of the peace mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1994–1995) led by NATO under the UN flag. The Russians would only allow a lightly armed UN contingent, limited to the front line, which would make it impossible to protect the OSCE mission, which operates in the entire conflict zone. The Ukrainians are in favor of a “fully-armed” peacekeeping mission and are against the participation of Russian military personnel.

Although both proposals provide for a full ceasefire and the withdrawal of heavy weapons, the Russian version only concerns the front, and not the entire conflict zone. The U.S. Special Representative for Ukraine, Kurt Volker, said that this proposal is disconcerting. According to the American diplomat, only the UN mission's access to the entire area would ensure security for people who live in conflict-affected territories, and would “provide access for Ukrainian authorities”, which in turn would allow local elections, provided for by the Minsk agreements. According to Volker, elections in the Donbass will not be possible until Ukraine regains full control over this area,

which today is controlled by pro-Russian separatists.

Moscow and Kiev also differ on another issue. Russia wants the consent of the rebels in the so-called “People’s Republics” on the makeup of UN forces and details of their deployment, while the Ukrainian authorities are against this. Several details of Russia’s proposal for the UN mission in the Donbass have disturbed Kiev. For example that it would operate for six months at first, but only once troops and equipment are withdrawn from the front separating the opposing forces. The Russians also want to include a statement in their resolution that the settlement of the conflict in the Donbass is only possible with the full implementation of the Minsk agreements.

NO CHANCE FOR A BREAKTHROUGH

If the UN peacekeeping mission comes to fruition, it will mean the end of the war in the Donbass by military means, and the conflict will be transferred to a purely political plane. Moscow will demand that Kiev fulfill its Minsk obligations: amnesty for separatists, changes in the constitution towards federalization and accepting deputies from separatist regions to the parliament. Russia will also want sanctions lifted in exchange for the introduction of peacekeeping forces. Kiev would have to take responsibility for the war-devastated region through heavy subsidies, in the face of high unemployment and a disloyal population under Moscow’s influence. There is also a serious risk that Russia will try to legalize its forces currently stationed in the Donbass (as in Transnistria) as part of the UN peacekeeping contingent. From Moscow’s point of view, the benefit of the appearance of the “blue helmets” will remove the risk of a “Croatian scenario”, i.e. a sudden, decisive Ukrainian attack on the occupied regions, as Croatia did taking back Krajina from the Serbs in 1995.

Russia will therefore have to keep large forces in reserve for a quick intervention in the event of a Ukrainian attack.

The goal of Vladimir Putin’s proposal is to create divisions among his enemies and solidify his own achievements. Initially, Moscow wanted to station international troops along the demarcation line between the Ukrainian army and the separatist forces. According to the Ukrainian government, this is Putin’s method of consolidating the situation that Russia has created on the ground. Nevertheless, Ukraine’s international allies have taken this proposal seriously. On September 11, German Chancellor Angela Merkel called Vladimir Putin and persuaded him to make concessions on one point; Putin agreed that international forces should be deployed beyond the front line. This has led Western governments to believe that genuine negotiations with Moscow are possible. The Foreign Minister of Germany, Sigmar Gabriel, said that Putin’s initiative demonstrates a change in Russia’s policy in Ukraine. Never mind the difference of opinion on many details between Berlin and Moscow. It is unlikely that the Russians will make concessions though, as it is a matter of political effect and an attempt to outplay the West.

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MOSCOW, RUSSIA, AUGUST 14, 2009. PAVEL FELGENHAUER.

How little can be expected from Moscow's "peace" proposal was shown by Volker's November 13 meeting with Vladislav Surkov, Putin's adviser. The Russian side rejected twenty-six of the twenty-nine points of Volker's proposal. Negotiations are at an impasse, primarily because Russia will not recognize the rules requiring a ceasefire, the withdrawal of heavy armament from eastern Ukraine and border access. Russia will still not admit that it even has forces stationed in eastern Ukraine, let alone withdraw them. Both Volker and leaders in Kiev believe that there should be no Russian soldiers in the UN mission. It cannot be ruled out that Russia will agree to allow the mission access to the entire region, but on the condition that the majority of the soldiers are from the countries of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), which brings together many post-Soviet allies of Moscow and sympathetic Western countries.

Vladimir Putin is playing a game – his "concession" on the deployment of the "blue helmets" beyond the front line, may have given Angela Merkel the illusion that the Kremlin is ready for further compromises. In the meantime, what kind of a concession is it to place forces across the whole territory covered by the OSCE mission, since there is still no mention of protecting civilians or access to the Ukrainian-Russian border? Putin will never agree to a peace mission on terms set by Ukraine or the West. That said, he is already presenting himself as a "peacemaker" – Russia has submitted a motion for a resolution to the UN Security Council. This is also a part of its dealings with the U.S. on various issues, not only in Ukraine, but also in Syria, North Korea and China, which Putin has raised in his election campaign.

There is no way the West will accept the Russian proposal in its current form

though. Moscow must know this. However, it may be the beginning of a deal. If one is agreed upon, a full ceasefire will come into force, a peace mission will be deployed throughout the Donbass, and the Russian army will leave. But at that moment, Western pressure for implementing the Minsk agreements will shift from Moscow to Kiev. So far Ukraine has resisted, arguing that it is impossible to conduct free elections under foreign occupation in conflict zones. In the meantime, the presence of the UN peacekeeping mission means the end of the occupation and of the conflict. It is also an argument for lifting sanctions (those not related to Crimea) and the transfer of financial responsibility for the Donbass to Kiev.

Even if Kiev gets what it wants – a full-fledged UN peacekeeping mission in the conflict zone and along the border with Russia, it will not end the conflict since in accordance with Chapter V of the United Nations Charter, peacekeeping operations are very limited. Russian analyst Pavel Felgenhauer is under no illusions about this. In an interview with Radio Free Europe he said: “Peacekeepers under Chapter V drive around in white jeeps, write reports, and observe. They carry a firearm, but can only formally use them for self-defense, although in truth they never use them. If gunfire erupts, they first hide, and then give themselves up. Under the best scenario, some 200 will come, maybe up to a thousand from Bangladesh, Senegal and elsewhere in the Third World, and they will be there, working next to the OSCE monitors. They won’t be trying to determine [who is to blame for] anything but merely monitoring. Ukraine will gain nothing from it.”

THE BETTER IS THE ENEMY OF THE GOOD

Another option cannot be ruled out: Putin only raised the issue of the UN mission for

tactical and short-term reasons to convince the U.S. not to transfer weapons to Ukraine. The “blue helmets” proposal could be scrapped at any time under the guise of disagreement over some detail. Moscow’s goal is also to torpedo Kiev’s plan to deploy peacekeepers and simultaneously saddle Ukraine and the U.S. with the responsibility for the expected failure of the Russian proposal. After four years of conflict, Moscow has nothing left to show for its efforts. It has made new enemies, not friends. Separatists control only four percent of Ukraine, while the rest of the country has unified. Federalization or neutrality is out of the question. Another reason for Putin’s activity is the cost of war and subsidies to the “People’s Republics” – over \$1 billion annually.

Vladimir Putin is playing a game – his “concession” on the deployment of the “blue helmets” beyond the front line, may have given Angela Merkel the illusion that the Kremlin is ready for further compromises.

What may have prompted the Kremlin to come up with the idea of a “UN peacekeeping mission”, now should suggest to Kiev that they should maintain the status quo. This means maintaining the Western sanctions imposed on Russia and the political and largely economic isolation of the occupied portion of the Donbass. It also means excluding most of the traditional pro-Russian electorate

The Russian proposal for the UN mission is a trap set for Ukraine – Putin can tell the West that he is seeking a peaceful solution and that it is Kiev's fault that the Minsk agreements are still only on paper.

from the Ukrainian national elections – which led to the election of the most pro-Western parliamentary majority, president and government since 1991. For economic reasons, the current state of affairs also weakens many oligarchs, who have so far held with Moscow, and certainly are not interested in reforms. Above all, this is an economically uncomfortable situation for Russia, which would gladly pass on the burden of maintaining and rebuilding densely populated industrial areas devastated by war. Finally, the last, particularly political, advantage for Kiev is as long as we have a state of war (remember that there is only a ceasefire in the Donbass), President Poroshenko and Minister of Internal Affairs, Arsen Avakov, can use this to unify society against a common enemy and to delay reforms (although it is now less advantageous for Ukraine).

The best tactic would be to generally engage in the same behavior as over the last three years. There is no rush for the changes provided for in the Minsk agreements (change of the electoral law, amnesty for separatists, codifying the act on the special status of the Donbass into the constitution). It must be stressed that

the “People’s Republics” are considered occupied territories by the U.S. and the EU. No steps can be taken that can be used to legitimize the regimes of these puppet states in Donetsk and Lugansk. Therefore it is important to remind people of this and emphasize that these are really areas under Moscow’s control. From the very beginning, the Kremlin has been seeking to present the conflict in the Donbass to world opinion as an internal Ukrainian conflict. It must be pointed out clearly and consistently that this is a conflict between Ukraine and Russia. As long as Russian soldiers, or troops commanded and equipped by Russians, are stationed in the Donbass, Kiev has plenty of room for maneuver, if only in negotiations with the West about implementing the political points of the Minsk agreements.

That is why the conditions under which the United Nations peacekeeping forces would enter the Donbass are so important. Moscow has used the “blue helmets” more than once to consolidate its territorial gains. It cannot be allowed to happen again. The Russian proposal for the UN mission is a trap set for Ukraine – Putin can tell the West that he is seeking a peaceful solution and that it is Kiev’s fault that the Minsk agreements are still only on paper. That is why details are so important – especially the question of UN forces entering up to the Ukrainian-Russian border. There can be no concessions in this matter. It is better to resist pressure, including from the West, than to later face the situation where allies determine that since there are already international peacekeeping forces in the Donbass, the area should be included in the political life (including through elections) of Ukraine. This would allow the West to wash their hands of the issue, claiming that the conflict is over and Kiev has regained the Donbass.

Grzegorz Kuczyński ■
December 15, 2017

IRAN: PROTEST OF THE DOUBLY CHEATED

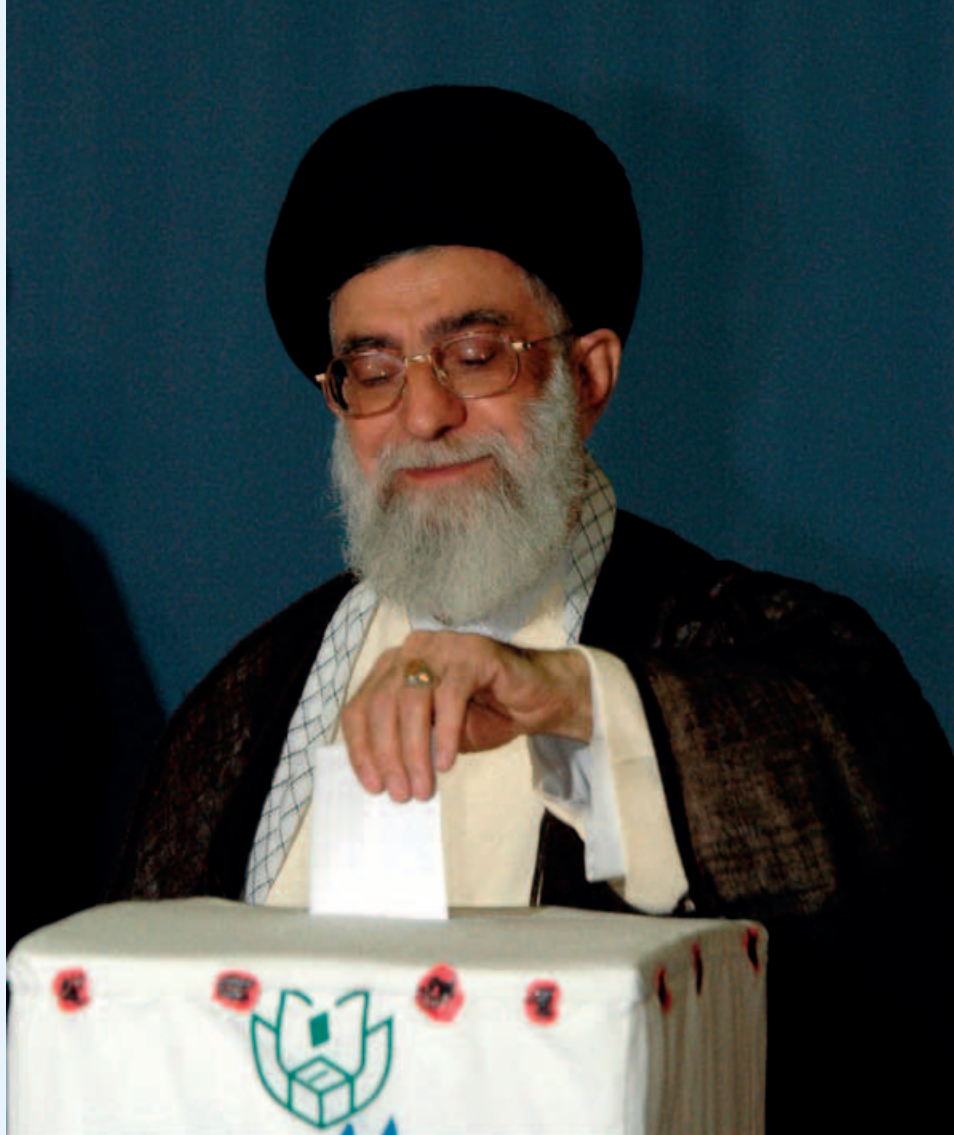
KSAWERY CZERNIEWICZ

The largest social protests in nearly a decade occurred in Iran at the turn of the year. The demonstrations were not the creation of countries hostile to Tehran, but of internal opponents of President Hassan Rouhani who provoked the outburst to exploit people's dissatisfaction with their socio-economic situation.

The protests began as hopes failed for benefits flowing from the removal of sanctions on Iran. The improvement of macroeconomic indicators, due to the increase in oil revenues from exports, did not translate into an improved situation for ordinary people who finally took to the streets. The protest quickly took on a political tone, with its ire aimed not only at the president, but also at the great Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, and even

the regime as a whole. The radicalization of the protest immediately provoked a brutal reaction from the authorities, supported by both the so-called reformers and conservatives – although in the initial phase of the protests both rival camps were quite restrained, apparently waiting for the development of events.

The first demonstration took place on December 28 in Mashhad, after which the street protests quickly spread to



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TEHRAN, IRAN, JUNE 17, 2005. THE SPIRITUAL LEADER OF IRAN, AYATOLLAH ALI KHAMENEI, VOTES IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN TEHRAN.

other cities. On December 30, the wave of dissatisfaction reached Tehran. After three days of indecision, the surprised authorities counterattacked, opting for brutal repression, even though the demonstrations were peaceful. Through social media, mainly Instagram and Telegram, people learned in advance in which cities the police and paramilitary militias had the order to shoot into the crowd – then the organizers canceled the protest to avoid casualties. On January 3, after six days of riots, the commander of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) Mohammad Ali Jafari announced “the end of the revolt”, although the last protests did not end until January 6–7. On January 8, the authorities canceled the state

of emergency. According to official data, twenty-two people died in the riots, according to the opposition, over fifty. According to information provided by the courts, over a thousand people were arrested throughout the country. However, the real number is known to be up to several times greater. Over 450 people were arrested in Tehran alone. Member of Parliament Mahmoud Sadeghi, for example, reported that at least 3,700 people were arrested. There were cases of deaths of those detained in prison – the most common cause being classified as “suicide”. Many detained participants of the protests face the charge of “war against God” (*moharebeh*), which threatens them with the death penalty.

Official data claims that no more than 42,000 people took to the streets. There were more of course, but certainly not hundreds of thousands as in 2009. On the scale of a country with eighty million people, this is not much. In addition, there was a lack of coordination and efficient organization of the protests for various reasons. First, it all started with a provocation in one place, so it was not a planned revolution. Second, the opposition did not have a strong leader or anyone aspiring to this role. Third, the situation in the region helped the authorities: Iranians themselves admit that the example of Syria, Egypt and Libya, where the attempt to enforce a regime change only led to destabilization, turmoil and war, had a moderating influence on most people.

In contrast to the protests of 2009 against the rigged elections, this time the demonstrators presented a whole range of issues, from economic and social demands to calling for a change in the political system. If the middle class, the intelligentsia and students were protesting in 2009, now it was the workers and people from the bottom of society, that is, the traditional base of the regime. The geography of protests also had a much wider scope: seventy to eighty towns. However, the protests had no chance of turning into a revolution that would overthrow the Islamic republic. First of all, the security apparatus – having drawn conclusions from 2009 – was prepared for such a situation. Structural changes were introduced in the IRGC and paramilitary Basij organization. The police forces' ability to fight demonstrations was also increased. Secondly, the regime turned out to be consolidated and determined to defend itself. The division into reformers and conservatives disappeared in the face of attempts to change the system.

MOSSAD, BUDGET AND EGGS

At the end of January, Deputy Interior Minister Hossein Zolfaghari issued a report on the causes of the outbreak of the protests. He gave three main reasons. First, the actions of external enemies, like the U.S. and their allies in the region. Second, the decline in public confidence resulting from the weakness of institutions and organizations. Third, “incorrect management of public opinion” and an increase in public expectations and demands as a result of unrealistic election promises made without taking into account the resources and real capabilities of the country. This fits in with the narrative about the “hostile foreign conspiracy” adopted at the beginning, but also makes an accurate diagnosis about the socio-economic basis of the protest.

Of course, excuses citing a “foreign conspiracy” do not seem credible and Iran has not provided strong evidence for it. On January 2, Ayatollah Khamenei spoke about the activities of “enemies of Iran”. Three days later, during Friday prayers in Tehran, the influential cleric Ayatollah Ahmad Khatami thundered:

This fits in with the narrative about the “hostile foreign conspiracy” adopted at the beginning, but also makes an accurate diagnosis about the socio-economic basis of the protest.

“The demands of the nation, if they really come from the nation, must be heard and its problems resolved, but the voices speaking out on Trump’s and Netanyahu’s orders are unacceptable they will be suppressed by the nation.” In turn, on January 6, Iran’s Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Gholamali Khoshroo, said at a Security Council meeting that his government had “hard evidence” that the latest protests in Iran were “very clearly controlled from abroad”. A more detailed picture of the “conspiracy” was presented by the Prosecutor General of Iran. Mohammad Jafar Montazeri said that in order to

prices for basic necessities, lowering unemployment, reducing corruption and reducing spending on a militant foreign policy, and redirecting these funds to internal needs. To understand the meaning of these demands, it is necessary to recall the economic situation of Iran at the end of 2017. GDP grew for the second year in a row, but good macroeconomic indicators were in no way correlated to the standard of living of ordinary Iranians. The nuclear deal with the Western powers, which entered into force at the beginning of 2016, primed the economy but did not fulfill the hopes placed in it. One of the reasons for dissatisfaction are double-digit inflation rates. In 2017, the economy grew by 4.1 percent, but prices are growing even faster (ten percent inflation). The price of eggs, one of the main components of the diet of poorer Iranians, increased as much as eighty percent over two weeks in December. Unemployment, which fell in 2016, increased again in 2017, reaching 12.5 percent (twenty percent in small cities, thirty percent among young people). Income inequality increased, and according to various estimates, from forty to sixty percent of Iranians are included in the poorest layers of society. The benefits of repealing the sanctions imposed on the oil and banking sectors could be seen on a macro scale. On the micro scale, ordinary Iranians did not feel them, with the exception of groups close to the regime; the religious organizations of various influential priests have annual budgets approximating those of small towns.

A wave of dissatisfaction was triggered on December 12 with the publication of the budget for 2018 anticipating cuts in social spending, such as an increase in gasoline prices or a significant reduction of the popular cash support program introduced in 2010, with a simultaneous increase in expenditure on IRGC and religious foundations.

The real basis for the protests, meanwhile, was in growing dissatisfaction with the socio-economic situation.

trigger mass protests a special group was organized under the leadership of the head of the CIA’s Iran Mission Center, Michael D’Andrea, working in concert with the Mossad. The operation was to be financed by Saudi Arabia. These enemies were to use the People’s Mujahideen (Mojahedin-e Khalq), recognized as a terrorist organization by Tehran, monarchists, nationalists, and even groups associated with communists. In the capital of Iraqi Kurdistan, Erbil and Afghanistan, two operational groups were reportedly prepared, ready to stoke the protests with IS fighters.

The real basis for the protests, meanwhile, was in growing dissatisfaction with the socio-economic situation. The first slogans included: stopping the rise in



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TEHRAN, IRAN, OCTOBER 13, 2007. IRANIAN WOMEN PARTICIPATE IN PRAYERS IN TEHRAN ON THE MUSLIM FEAST OF EID AL-FITR, CELEBRATED AT THE END OF RAMADAN, THE MONTH OF FASTING.

The protests broke out just after details of the secret part of the budget leaked on the internet, including data on the scale of financing of two IRGC structures: the special al-Quds formation operating outside Iran and the Basij paramilitary formation. Both groups, actively involved in Syria, were allocated over \$11 billion for “ongoing expenses” under the classified articles of the budget act. Apparently this gigantic “co-financing” was won by a new favorite of Ayatollah Khamenei, Brigadier General Gholamhossein Gheybparvar, commander of Basij, and earlier the head of Iranian military advisers in Syria for over a year. His growing influence does not please the government technocrats from the Rouhani government. The leak can be considered an element of the struggle in the ruling camp.

DASHED HOPES

Structural, socio-economic problems alone are not enough to trigger mass protests. Iran already struggled in recent

years with deprivation or high prices for rice, poultry, and rising prices for vegetables and fruits. But it did not lead to demonstrations. Just as they were not caused by a high level of unemployment or deep wealth inequality. The more so because despite everything there was an improvement under the Rouhani government. The catalyst for the protests was political intrigue capitalizing on the unfulfilled hopes of society. The Iranian authorities have long promised people prosperity, claiming that in the end, after the sanctions were removed,

The catalyst for the protests was political intrigue capitalizing on the unfulfilled hopes of society.

the country's economy would flourish (previously, the rulers gladly cast blame on Western sanctions, which were especially onerous for the oil sector).

However, the problem is the very structure of the Iranian economy. The state has over-involved itself in business matters; state ownership dominates with low production efficiency as a result. The budget depends to a large extent on petrodollars. The high level of corruption, administrative burdens and elements of the so-called Islamic economy, all hinder economic development. Instead of reforming, the authorities kept repeating that the bad financial situation of people is the fault of sanctions. After two years passed since the sanctions disappeared and nothing changed in the life of ordinary Iranians, many felt cheated, with reformers like Rouhani at the forefront – in which they had placed their hopes for a change for the better.

The conflict intensified at the beginning of December, when the presidential camp attacked the public power structures.

The protests at the turn of December and January were the biggest challenge for the authorities of Iran, since Rouhani, regarded as a moderate politician, assumed the presidency in 2013 promising greater openness of the regime and economic reforms. He won again in the 2017 election, leading an openly reformist campaign against his “hard-headed” rival. Now, however, many of his supporters

believe that he is not keeping his promises. Critics point to the fact that since Rouhani became president, defense expenditures increased by eighteen percent, and for religious institutions by as much as twenty-six percent. Rouhani's image was also badly affected by a series of collapsed financial schemes. New banks, generally without a license, lured clients with high (forty percent per annum) interest on deposits. Their commercials were common on television, which in Iran are usually believed. After some time, the authorities began to close illegal financial institutions and customers who lost their savings and demanded their return from the state. In some cases it happened, but the scale of the losses turned out to be so large that the money simply ran out.

Meanwhile, investigations against the owners of a couple of banks are proceeding sluggishly and Rouhani has spouted off that the victims are themselves guilty because they entrusted their money into uncertain hands. The president also lost a lot in the eyes of the minority population. Although Sunnis, representing about ten percent of the country's population, supported him as a block in the election, he completely ignored them when composing his cabinet. He never even appointed one Sunni governor in any of the thirty-one provinces. Rouhani was also silent when the Guardian Council (responsible only to the great Ayatollah and acting as a filter for all government legislative initiatives, giving opinions on candidates for high positions), rejected a parliamentary project and blocked the participation of non-Muslims in local elections.

All this was taken advantage of by the conservative faction opposing Rouhani. The conflict intensified at the beginning of December, when the presidential

camp attacked the public power structures, accusing them of trying to increase their share of the budget for 2018 despite the economic problems. In response, the conservatives and their media began to accuse the president for the failure of economic policy and the failure to fulfill promises given to the public. The first protests took place not in Tehran, but in Mashhad – the bastion of the regime. They were provoked by the sermons of Ayatollah Ahmad Alamolhoda, a conservative cleric associated with Khamenei, and also a relative of the head of one of the largest religious foundations, Astan Quds Razavi, chaired by Ebrahim Raisi.

The protests were to be a prelude to starting impeachment proceedings. But when people noticed that they could protest without being subjected to repression, slogans of “Death to Rouhani!” quickly morphed into slogans against the whole regime. At the very height of the riots, Vice President Eshaq Jahangiri, a close ally of Rouhani, stated that “When a social and political movement is launched on the streets, those who started it will not necessarily be able to control it in the end. Those who are behind such events will burn their own fingers”.

Having provoked demonstrations, the conservatives quickly lost control over them. Throughout the country, people with increasingly radical slogans started to come out onto the streets. A novelty were slogans along the lines of “Death to Khamenei!” and the burning of portraits of the ayatollahs. The protests were no longer limited to demands for reform. The names of the leaders of the reformatory camp were not highlighted, but the name of the son of the last Shah did appear. This radicalism surprised both reformers and conservatives. Initially, some of the

Tehran has spent billions on its regional ambitions in recent years.

reformers, such as Mostafa Tajzadeh, the head of the Election Office in the presidential administration of Mohammad Khatami (1997–2005), defended people’s right to protest. But as violence intensified, Rouhani’s supporters began to condemn the demonstrations. Conservatives did the same following the signal given by a sharp statement on January 2 from Ayatollah Khamenei.

NO EXTERNAL SHOCKS

From the beginning of the protests, the main question was if they would somehow affect Iran’s foreign policy. However, before the surprised countries, including the U.S. and Russia, formulated a final position, it became clear that the protests would not threaten the rulers in Tehran. All the more, there was no threat to Iran’s current foreign policy line. Although its critics appeared among the demonstrators, they were primarily economic (one motto “Not Gaza, not Syria, not Lebanon – our country is Iran!”).

Tehran has spent billions on its regional ambitions in recent years. Until 2005, experts estimated that Iran was giving Hezbollah about \$200 million a year. Nor can one forget the large sums paid to Hezbollah hospitals and social institutions by various Iranian religious foundations, including those directly controlled by the Ayatollah. With the increase of Hezbollah military involvement in the region, mainly in Syria, Iranian expenses on the Shiite

satellite increased to between \$800 million to \$1 billion a year. The annual costs of supporting Assad's regime were another several billion. State-owned banks in Iran opened credit lines for Assad in 2013 and 2015 for a total of \$4.6 billion. Help for Hamas and Islamic Jihad in the Gaza Strip has recently risen to \$100 million annually. Large funds are sent for the IRGC's participation in special and military operations abroad, as well as support for the Popular Mobilization Forces in Iraq (a coalition of Shiite militias) and organizations like Badra. In addition, there is aid to Shiite organizations in Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and other countries in the region, and of course, involvement in the Yemeni war on the side of the Houthi rebellion.

During the protests, such slogans as "Leave Syria, think about us" appeared. However, the claims of Donald Trump or regional Arab leaders that one of the main motives for the protests was dissatisfaction with the foreign policy of the state can be regarded as wishful political thinking at best. Besides, surveys indicate that the majority of Iranians approve of the foreign policy of the state, i.e. supporting Hezbollah, helping Assad and not recognizing the state of Israel. There were also no significant signs of anxiety on the side of Tehran's

That would lead to increased Russian involvement in the war in order to save the regime, which is risky from a public relations perspective.



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allies. Hezbollah boss Hassan Nasrallah downplayed the protests, saying that they are small, have no political basis, and are fueled by the U.S., Israel and Saudi Arabia. In this way, he extinguished Hezbollah supporters' fears of losing support from Iran. A similar position was taken by the Iraqi vice-president, former prime minister Nouri al-Maliki, one of the leaders of the Shiite camp in Baghdad, saying that the protests are an "internal matter" of Iran.

One of the slogans during the demonstration was "Death to Russia!" – which resulted from the widespread belief among Iranians that Moscow is the main supporter of the regime. Russia is waging war in Syria alongside Iran, provides nuclear and missile technologies to Iran,



TEHRAN, IRAN, AUGUST 15, 2017. NEWLY RE-ELECTED IRANIAN PRESIDENT HASSAN ROUHANI DELIVERS A SPEECH TO THE PARLIAMENT DURING A SESSION TO DISCUSS HIS PROPOSED CABINET. ACCORDING TO MEDIA REPORTS ROUHANI WARNED OF THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC COULD PULL OUT OF THE NUCLEAR DEAL SIGNED WITH THE WORLD'S MAJOR POWERS WITHIN HOURS IF THE UNITED STATES KEPT ON IMPOSING NEW SANCTIONS.

and supports Iran's anti-Western policy. The collapse of the regime in Iran would be a serious blow to the Kremlin for two reasons. First of all, it would complicate the Middle Eastern policy of Russia and could even cost her the main ally in the region. Without the tens of thousands of Shiite fighters supported by Iran, Assad's army would also lose its position. That would lead to increased Russian involvement in the war in order to save the regime, which is risky from a public relations perspective. In addition, Putin is extremely hostile to any such revolution, fearing a similar revolt in Russia. However, the first announcements from the Russian

Ministry of Foreign Affairs were extremely restrained and even neutral – probably as a result of surprise, but perhaps also the knowledge that at least the initiation of the demonstrations was the result of domestic intrigue in Iran. It was not until January 2 that the Russians returned to the usual rhetoric, blaming the protests on “external factors”. And on January 4, they warned the U.S. to not interfere in the internal affairs of Iran. This coincided with the regaining of control over the situation by the Iranian regime.

Ksawery Czerniewicz ■
March 1, 2018

UKRAINE: FREEDOM IN THE SHADOW OF CORRUPTION

ALEKSANDRA ROMANOWSKA

In the current discourse on Ukraine and Western policy towards Kiev, the idea of the authorities fighting a legitimate battle against corruption, not just one for public consumption, is being strongly articulated.

Washington and Brussels are directly tying further economic and political aid for Ukraine to the decisive reduction of corruption.

In a dispute over the strategy and tactics of the anti-corruption campaign, a central place is occupied by the National Anti-Corruption Bureau, a new institution in Ukraine that is either attacked or ignored by the centers of power and openly supported by Western diplomatic missions. Despite this support, its fate seems sealed: it will die or fade into the background, adopting a defensive position, unless a radical change in the political system can save it.

CHERNOBYL AND POST-CHERNOBYL

Established on the basis of a resolution of the Verkhovna Rada (parliament) of Ukraine, the National Anti-Corruption Bureau, whose task is to track corruption among state officials and politicians, operates in an exceptionally unfavorable environment: it is a *de facto* anti-establishment institution in an oligarchic, historically and socially rooted patronage system. For many years Ukraine, as documented by Transparency International, has been one of the most corrupt countries in the world. In the latest ranking, it occupies the 131st place among 176, the lowest position in Europe. Before the Euromaidan



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CHERNOBYL, UKRAINE, APRIL 5, 2017. A GENERAL VIEW OF THE NEW PROTECTIVE SHELTER OVER THE REMAINS OF THE UNIT 4 REACTOR AT THE CHERNOBYL NUCLEAR POWER PLANT. THE EXPLOSION IN UNIT 4 IN THE EARLY HOURS OF APRIL 26, 1986 IS STILL REGARDED AS THE MOST CATASTROPHIC ACCIDENT IN THE HISTORY OF NUCLEAR POWER GENERATION. THE UKRAINIANS WILL MARK THE 32ND ANNIVERSARY OF THE CHERNOBYL TRAGEDY ON APRIL 26, 2018.

protests, it was 144th, even worse than Russia. The experience of the political transformation of Ukraine is not comparable with the histories of transition from socialism to capitalism in Poland, Czechoslovakia or Hungary. This is primarily due to historical conditions.

Ukraine was one of the most important parts of the Soviet empire, and in contrast to Poland, for example, the political and social system was exceptionally devastated after the collapse of the empire. The Chernobyl nuclear disaster in 1986 was not only a symbol of ecological catastrophe, but also of the actual relationship between the citizen and the state – the “model” of Soviet freedom and the “model” of Soviet social relations. The internal opposition and the dissident movement were historically unprepared to take power, and just like

For many years
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the Orthodox Church, unable to read the signs of the times and support democratic change.

The first attempt to control the post-traumatic chaos after the breakup of the empire was the presidency of Leonid Kuchma, a meticulously KGB-controlled

The largest individual fortunes in Russia and Ukraine were created in the gas and oil sector, often as a result of the joint efforts of Russian and Ukrainian oligarchs in domestic and foreign markets.

politician representing the post-Soviet nomenklatura,¹ and the director of the largest armament factory in Europe. President Kuchma and his team got a handle on the chaos, then gradually took control over fragments of the failing state and economy. Contrary to the declarations of building a social market economy on the European model, however, they created a variant of the oligarchic system that generated exploitation, political violence and social inequalities. The president himself favored a particular metaphor for leaving socialism: “In socialism, it was like in a zoo: we sat in cages, it was warm, there was electricity, they brought food. One day they opened cages, turned off the electricity and we ran into the forest – the strongest survive.”² A colorful symbol of the first Kuchma administration, the Ukrainian post-Chernobyl period, was the Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko, a close associate of Kuchma whom he appointed and later dismissed after accusations of corruption appeared in the media. When it was clear that there was no chance to

cover up the scandal, Lazarenko escaped Ukraine on a private plane. He asked for asylum in the United States, where he owned a \$7 million villa and bank accounts holding about \$150 million, mostly from bribes taken for privatized factories. Pasha, as they called him at the time in Kiev, shared half of the profits with the new owners. Allegedly, through carelessness, he left a notebook of transactions in the empty office of the Ukrainian prime minister. Julia Tymoszenko, the “gas princess”, who perfectly understood the logic of the new stage, as Lazarenko claimed, emerged from his “Dnepropetrovsk stable”.

The social history of Ukraine can be perfectly illustrated by the ups and downs of oligarchs, clans, families, intrigues as well as sudden and unexplained deaths. Similar phenomena and processes took place in Russia, with which Ukraine is strongly associated historically, economically and mentally. The largest individual fortunes in Russia and Ukraine were created in the gas and oil sector, often as a result of the joint efforts of Russian and Ukrainian oligarchs in domestic and foreign markets. The conflicts between them for shares of profits from the export of gas and oil quickly turned into a political conflict between Moscow and Kiev.

The Ukrainian oligarchy had its origins in the first Kuchma administration. The vast majority of politicians who then appeared in his circle or in the Verkhovna Rada, are still active in various ways to this day. It is probably not a coincidence that the main Ukrainian negotiators with the Kremlin over the Donbass are old friends, godfathers of the Ukrainian oligarchy: Kuchma himself and former head of his office, Viktor Medwedczuk, co-author of the electoral success of Viktor Yanukovych and patron of the oligarchic clan, whose rule was ended by the Euromaidan protests.

¹ The system in the Soviet Union by which the Communist Party appointed individuals to important positions in government and industry.

² L. Kuczma, *Ukraina nie Rosja*, (Kijów 2001), 246.

PATRONAGE STATE

The Ukrainian political system is often called using the 'Aristotelian' definition, even in academic publications, an oligarchy or an oligarchic system. According to the Encyclopedia Britannica, oligarchy is "a government exercised by a few, especially the despotic power exercised by a small and privileged group for corrupt or selfish purposes."³ In the 'Aristotelian' classification of governments, there were two forms of governance by a few groups – aristocracy and its handicapped form, oligarchy. Although the term "oligarchy" is rarely used in relation to contemporary political systems, the phenomenon of irresponsible governance by small groups has not disappeared from the world. However, the concept of oligarchy used for description and analysis, not only of post-Soviet societies, has many theoretical and practical limitations, hence the constant search for new theoretical perspectives. One of them is the concept of the patronage state.⁴

A patronage state is one in which the patron-client relationship is accepted as decisive in the satisfaction of basic human needs. "One of the most common motivations for creating such a type of bond, patron-client ties, is obtaining privileged access to limited goods and services".⁵ This is an "asymmetrical relationship" where "future members of the 'clientelist' union first occupy unequal positions in the social or organizational structure and precisely because of these inequalities enter the patron-client relationship. The mutual relations of the patron and the client can strengthen or weaken these differences, but the initial

³ Encyclopedia Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/oligarchy>.

⁴ J. Tarkowski, *Socjologia świata polityki*, t. 2: *Patroni i klienci*, (Warszawa 1994).

⁵ J. Tarkowski, *op.cit.*, 52.



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DECEMBER 22, 1998, PAVLO LAZARENKO. IN A RARE CASE OF A FORMER FOREIGN LEADER BEING TRIED IN THE UNITED STATES, LAZARENKO, THE PRIME MINISTER OF UKRAINE (1996–1997), WAS CONVICTED OF MONEY LAUNDERING IN JUNE 2004. HE WAS FOUND GUILTY BY A FEDERAL COURT IN SAN FRANCISCO OF ALL TWENTY-NINE COUNTS AGAINST HIM IN A CASE IN WHICH PROSECUTORS SAID HE STOLE FROM HIS OWN COUNTRY AND SPIRITED THE MONEY ABROAD, LAUNDERING SOME OF IT IN CALIFORNIA BANKS.

asymmetry has its source in placing both partners in a wider structure.”⁶

In patron-client relationships, apart from declared friendship and loyalty, there may also be violence, exploitation and addiction. The patron-client relationship comes close to the concept of domination

⁶ J. Tarkowski, *op.cit.*, 75.



PRZEMYŚL, POLAND, SEPTEMBER 10, 2017. UKRAINIAN PRIME MINISTER AND OPPOSITION LEADER YULIA TYMOSHENKO.

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in the Weberian view. The relation of power in the patron-client system seems to be closest to the traditional, charismatic type of final dominion formulated by Max Weber.⁷

NETWORK STATE

According to Henry E. Hale, the universal feature of the political process in the post-Soviet countries is the deep infiltration of the patron-client network and mechanisms, and clan-like relationships and their parasitic role in national economies.⁸ According to the author, in post-Soviet states there are hidden political regimes in which political competition and decision-making take place in processes that are either partially or totally invisible in official activities

and statements from public institutions, political parties and the media. Attempts to dismantle the political structure of these societies involves the identification of patrons (oligarchs) and tracing the network of links between their clients and competitors. It also involves the analysis of informal connections and their influence on official institutions: parliament, government, courts, prosecutors, police, media, NGOs. In “patronage” regimes, power is accumulated, kept and used within a more or less successful framework, maintained through the interaction between informal, sometimes interrelated, sometimes competing, patron pyramids and guided by the most senior patrons.

As a rule, the most powerful of these corrupt clans cover a wide range of social institutions, ranging from ministries, enterprises and media to civil society organizations. The coherence,

⁷ A. Adamowicz A., *Państwo patronalne*, (Warszawa 2015), 39.

⁸ H.E. Hale, *Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective*, (Cambridge University Press 2014).

effectiveness and durability of these pyramidal structures is based not only on the formal institutional hierarchy among their members, but also on their family ties and personal friendships, long-term knowledge, experience of informal transactions and such a prosaic foundation as mafia rules, accumulation of loyalty, blackmail material and ordinary fear.

Patron networks and pyramids act as informal mechanisms for exchanging positions, money, orders, real estate, goods, services, licenses, subsidies and benefits. In reality, corruption schemes form the basis, meaning and purpose of most post-Soviet “patronage policies”. These hidden regimes operate not only under the clear pressure of authoritarianism, but also in nominally democratic systems. Moreover, electoral systems are used to obtain real public support, and the electoral success of a country’s main political patron (for example the president), as well as regional elections, are an essential condition for acquiring, preserving and increasing their “patron” power. According to Ukrainian researcher Oleksandr Fisun, an advocate of applying the “patrimonial state” theory to the analysis of the situation in Ukraine, the restructuring of the presidential regime of Yanukovich after the Euromaidan protests led to the creation of a new, neo-patrimonial democracy in Ukraine. The current regime operates on the basis of competition between various customer networks – patrons exercising control over key profit-generating sources in the state administration and various sectors of the economy. The new patrimonial democracy has contributed to the rise of formal and informal obstacles to the development of a super-presidential regime and the return to the president’s personal rule. The balance of the system is ensured by the division of executive power between

As a rule, the most powerful of these corrupt clans cover a wide range of social institutions, ranging from ministries, enterprises and media to civil society organizations.

the president and the prime minister as well as the constant presence of competing patron networks. These conditions, formal and informal, also make it difficult to “capture” and subordinate the state to representatives of one oligarchic group and monopolize the political space at the national and regional level through one of the networks of the political and economic system under one clan. Ukrainian politics are still dirty, but for the time being they remain democratic.

IS THERE A PLAN?

Can anti-corruption institutions succeed in a patron-network state? Does their creation make sense? Will the National Anti-Corruption Bureau be able to win the war with the networked prosecutor’s office, the networked court, the networked parliament, government and the president? Is it able to dismantle a visibly reviving patronage system, that is lifting its head after Euromaidan? These are not purely theoretical questions.

You can analyze the Anti-Corruption Bureau’s war with the hostile environment as a social and political experiment. This will likely expand knowledge about attempts by the prosecutor’s office to

discredit the employees of the Bureau, the Security Service of Ukraine tracking its employees, including those working under cover and cut off from information and sources, as well as the Verkhovna Rada, where a draft resolution that essentially neutralizes the institution is ready (also stuck in the Parliament is a resolution to create the Anti-Corruption Court). An important role in this experiment is also being played by the president who has tried to find a good way out of the network's contradiction: stay in power without losing the economic influence guaranteed by the network.

Analyses and descriptions of the colorful cases of the anti-heroes of this drama will be an interesting continuation of the history of Kuchma, Lazarenko, Yanukovich, the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan. However, if we have come this far in this dramatic history, and certainly a bit further than Ukraine's neighbor supporting the separatists in Donbass, then perhaps at least theoretically it is worth considering a plan of structural political changes separating government from business, thus minimizing structural factors generating corruption.

Its first action may be the change of electoral law in elections to the Verkhovna Rada. The current law actually protects and recreates the clan structure of the parliament. Each of the strongest Ukrainian patrons has their branch in the Verkhovna Rada, its team can also buy votes from deputies from other factions, if necessary.

Thus, in Ukraine there is no political system familiar to Europe; in reality there are no political parties. "The existing electoral law protects the clan social structure and strengthens patron relations in politics," writes Andreas Umland, "a system of closed electoral lists allows factions to sell places at the

highest possible price. In single-member provincial electoral districts there are no effective civic organizations, media, independent observers and entrepreneurs, independent experts who could participate in the electoral process."⁹ The concentration of power, control of the media, and manipulation of the electoral process, complete this homogeneous political picture of Ukraine.

The ideals of the Orange Revolution lasted a year – the organizers celebrated its first anniversary in separate, hostile political camps. Demands to equalize opportunities and give a green light for the young middle class have never been realized; the winners divided Ukraine among themselves and as a result paved the way for the triumphant return of Yanukovich. His internal and foreign policy led to the Euromaidan protests, during which he escaped the country with a stolen fortune, fleeing as befits a criminal, under the cover of darkness and with the help of Russian President Vladimir Putin.

Ukraine is a very important link in European security and a large part of Western public opinion is well aware of this. Considering the experience of the last two years, including the experiment with the National Anti-Corruption Bureau, it seems that the demand for structural political reform that starts the process of dismantling the patronage state is very timely. The first step may be what was called for several years ago: reforming the electoral law.

Aleksandra Romanowska ■

December 15, 2017

⁹ Коррупционная, патрональная система контратакует: как Украине не вернуться в темные времена, <https://voxukraine.org/ru/korrupsionnaya-patronalnaya-sistema-kontratakuet-kak-ukraine-ne-vernutsya-v-temnye-vremena/>.

ESTONIAN SPY HUNTERS

GRZEGORZ KUCZYŃSKI

Western intelligence services have been paying special attention to increasing Russian espionage activity in recent years, which has reached Cold War levels. NATO's eastern flank is particularly vulnerable to Moscow's efforts.

The former Eastern Bloc countries and the former republics of the Soviet Union are dealing with this with varying degrees of effectiveness. Undoubtedly one of the most active sections of this front in the secret war is Estonia, both due to its location and the legacy of the Soviet occupation, such as a substantial Russian minority. These difficult conditions have not prevented the Estonians from building an effective counterintelligence apparatus. Perhaps in no other NATO member state are Russian spies caught as often.

The Estonian Internal Security Service (Kaitsepolitseiamet – KaPo) is an intelligence service considered one of the best and most resistant to Russian infiltration in the former Eastern Bloc. The Russians themselves admit this, as the Estonian service has for years been one of their most difficult opponents in Europe. In the 1990s the KaPo already became a strategic partner of British intelligence. This was one of the reasons why Vasili Mitrokhin came to the British Isles via Estonia with his precious KGB archive instead of crossing the Atlantic.

Over the last decade in Estonia, there have been several high-profile apprehensions of spies, including people working for the KaPo. The case of Herman Simm was especially important, as it struck at not only the security of Estonia, but the whole of NATO. Catching a Russian spy in its own ranks was a great success for KaPo. The case of Aleksei Dressen, detailed later in this article, shows that the extreme limitation of trust principle must apply to Estonians all the time and everywhere – it is unknown whether there are more “sleepers” like this. The case of Vladimir Veitman, also detailed later, demonstrates that the burden of the Soviet past remains a problem for the agencies themselves.

The fact that Estonia has one of the best services in the East is attested to by its effective information warfare; not just in regards to making espionage cases public, but also the severity of justice: spies usually get the maximum penalty.

Since 2014 – probably in connection with the rapid increase in the Russian threat – Estonians are dealing with hostile agents very firmly. In the case of higher-level spies, the KaPo can build a case, gather intelligence and adjust operations accordingly over a longer timeframe. On the other hand, lower level informants, without access to state secrets, and not holding important positions, but mainly dealing with observation, are quickly stopped by the Estonians, *put in jail*

and the fact is publicly broadcast. This demonstrates the increased vigilance of the Estonian side, which knows perfectly well that a tough attitude is best in relation to Moscow.

As said by John Schindler, a former U.S. National Security Agency (NSA) analyst, “The Estonians have dealt with the Russians, and before them the Soviets, for so long, they intuitively understand Russian intelligence culture and how they operate.”¹ Estonians do not hush up nor minimize the cases of detained and deported Russian spies. In the annual report on state security (“Aastaraamat”) issued since 1998, the Kaitsepolitsei exposes Russia’s operating methods, naming people and organizations (and showing photos) of those suspected of contacts with Russian intelligence. This detailed report on the operation of the agency was the first publication of its kind in the world. The fact that Estonia has one of *the best* services in the East is attested to by its *effective* information warfare; not just in regards to making espionage cases public, but also the severity of justice: spies usually get the maximum penalty.

THE KAPO VS. HEIRS TO THE KGB

Estonian counterintelligence is said to be one of the most effective in NATO, begging the question as to the reasons for his effectiveness. Starting from square one, using extreme vetting as well as the de-Sovietization of the security apparatus certainly helped. It could have gone differently – which can be seen in the history of the activities of the main Russian agent of influence in Estonia, Edgar Savisaar. When he became the prime minister of the Estonian Socialist Soviet Republic (ESRR) in 1990,

¹ M. Weiss, “The Estonian Spymasters: Tallinn’s Revolutionary Approach to Stopping Russian Spies,” *Foreign Affairs* (June 3, 2014) accessed February 12, 2018, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/central-europe/2014-06-03/estonian-spymasters>.



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TALLINN, ESTONIA, MARCH 3, 2003. MAYOR OF TALLINN, EDGAR SAVISAAR.

he created a special agency (Eriteenistus) independent of the Soviets, drawing on former officers of the Ministry of the Interior of the ESRR. When Estonia regained its independence, Savisaar automatically became the prime minister of the Republic of Estonia. In 1991, the Kaitsepolitsei was created, as a completely new special agency, independent of the Estonian KGB, and harkening back to pre-war traditions. However, Savisaar did not subordinate it to Eriteenistus, and even began to staff it with former KGB officers. In January 1992, Savisaar lost the post of prime minister, and Eriteenistus was dissolved. A few years later, drawing on former personnel, Savisaar created a private security agency SIA, which

– as the head of the Ministry of the Interior – he used for surveillance of members of the government, including the president.

When Estonia regained its independence, the authorities recognized former officers of the Soviet intelligence services and the Baltic Military District as one of their main problems. This was especially important in creating a new counterintelligence service. Later, some of them worked and served in the institutions of the independent Estonia. The only specialists in the country on technical information gathering techniques (wiretaps, etc.) had previously worked in the KGB. The KaPo leadership decided to reach out to them until they

could train new experts. They included just about a dozen people, who were kept away from planning and managing operations. Even so, after many years it turned out that most of this group had ties with Russian intelligence. This shows that the special law adopted in 1995 to minimize the risks associated with former KGB agents could not fully solve this problem. “The law on the procedure of registration and disclosure of persons who served in the intelligence or counterintelligence services or armed forces of countries that occupied Europe, or cooperated with these

When Estonia regained its independence, the authorities recognized former officers of the Soviet intelligence services and the Baltic Military District as one of their main problems.

organizations” led to many former Soviet security agents revealing the fact of their cooperation with the KGB, in exchange for immunity and anonymity. This seriously hampered Russia’s contact with them, although it did not completely eliminate the possibility. In each of the infamous espionage scandals of recent years, the FSB or SVR officers supervising or recruiting agents in Estonia, turned out to be former KGB employees of the Republic (e.g. Herman Simm and Vladimir Veitman were supervised by Valeri Zentsov and Nikolai Yermakov).

Activities on Estonian territory and against Estonia are carried out by all three of Russia’s most important secret services: the Foreign Intelligence Service (SVR),

the Federal Security Service (FSB), and the Main Intelligence Directorate (GRU). Although the GRU coordinates espionage activities in the security sphere, the FSB is also active in this area, primarily on the border zone and at the informant level. They mainly recruited from smugglers and Russian-speaking Estonian residents who often travel to visit family in Russia. Vladimir Putin’s presidential decree of June 17, 2007, allowed Russians living in Estonia and Latvia to visit Russia without a visa. As a result, people with a Russian passport or a stateless person in Estonia can travel around both the EU and Russia without a visa, while citizens of Estonia must apply for a paid visa.

A popular recruitment method used by the FSB is to enlist people who have connections with criminal circles. Illegal crossing of the border by such persons, if only for smuggling, makes them an easy target. Insufficient control over the land border with Russia is one of the biggest weak points for Estonian counterintelligence. Most of this border runs through densely forested, hilly areas. Illegal crossings are not difficult, especially since the location of surveillance cameras is well-known to the Russians.

In turn, the SVR controls more valuable agents, often located in institutions with the possibility of access to state secrets. Economic espionage is also a significant activity. However, all three services are interested in NATO activities in Estonia, for example, allied troops residing in the country or occasional multinational exercises. Moscow is especially interested in the NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence. Estonia’s foreign and security policy, defense planning, mutual allied cooperation, development of armed forces, defense industry, armaments and introduction of new technologies are of course subjects of interest to the Russians. Moscow is not only interested in the

Estonian army, but also sees a threat in the paramilitary Estonian Defence League (Kaitseliit), Estonia's territorial self-defense force. The Russians also gather up all possible information about infrastructure. It is known that Russian diplomats catalogue and detail all the bridges in southern Estonia lying on the east-west line. Their focus is upon structures along the expressway connecting the Russian border with the Baltic Sea and the strategic railway line.

Due to Moscow's wariness of Estonian counterintelligence, Russian case officers usually meet their informants in third countries.

The Russians carry out espionage against Estonia, both from their own territory and from diplomatic missions. The centers that coordinate spy activity are the embassy in Tallinn and the general consulates in Tartu and Narva. Roughly one-third of diplomats are suspected to be intelligence officers. What distinguishes the activities of Russian "diplomats" in Estonia (and Lithuania and Latvia) from the activity of their colleagues in Poland, for example, is that they not only collect valuable data for Moscow, but also conduct subversive activities directed against the authorities. However, as noted in recent KaPo reports, the nature of the agents' cover is changing. Diplomatic status is increasingly rare, while more and more often they are illegals operating in the country or agents operating under the cover

of being businessmen and journalists. Due to Moscow's wariness of Estonian counterintelligence, Russian case officers usually meet their informants in third countries.

For the GRU, Estonia is the "gateway" to NATO and knowledge about the whole alliance, as Allied troops are located and international exercises are conducted there.

GRU

In January 2017, the Estonian service stopped a GRU employee. This was the first case in the modern history of the Baltic States that a Russian military intelligence officer was captured. It is known that he is a Russian citizen, though this says little as to whether he lived permanently in Estonia. He was convicted of spying and sentenced in May 2017 to five years in prison.

For the GRU, Estonia is the "gateway" to NATO and knowledge about the whole alliance, as Allied troops are located and international exercises are conducted there. "The NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre is one of the main objects of interest for our intelligence services in Estonia. We are also interested in NATO's defense plans for the Baltic region in the event of a deterioration of Russia's relations with the alliance, in the event of military action. Since the Estonians have been strongly integrated with the NATO intelligence community and are one of its active participants, they have learned modern methods of work and conducting operations against Russia, so this information is of great importance to

us,” wrote Mikhail Aleksandrov, Director of the Baltic Department at the Institute of the Commonwealth of Independent States in Russia, in the pages of *Kommersanta*, in August 2013.

Russian intelligence activity is particularly intensive during large NATO exercises conducted within Estonia. The GRU then not only uses human intelligence (HUMINT), but also, for example, extensively deploys Spetsnaz (special forces) drones. Many of these short-range, unmanned aerial vehicles, equipped with cameras, appeared in the Estonian sky in April 2015 during the Trident Jaguar joint-exercise. A year earlier, during NATO special forces training in the same region, the Russians activated two “telephone spectrum-towers”, with the help of which they obtained the IMEI numbers of NATO soldiers’ phones in the area of the exercises. Having such data makes possible the monitoring of special forces personnel movements. The headquarters of the aforementioned special forces exercises was located in the Eametsa base near Pärnu. This is one of the three Estonian military facilities of greatest interest to Russia, aside from Vovv and Ämari (NATO planes are

the outside and taking pictures of the base and its personnel. About ten kilometers east of Eametsa lies the village of Sindi. This village is mostly inhabited by Russians. The Kaitsepolitsei knows that that among them are people cooperating with Moscow.

FSB

The Federal Security Service, a counterintelligence organization was given the right to conduct foreign operations under Putin’s rule. However it has traditionally focused on the border area (the FSB controls the border protection forces, as was the case with the KGB during the Soviet era) and the entire post-Soviet sphere. Border guards run so-called “shallow intel” on the Estonian side of the border. Activities against Estonia are handled by the FSB district departments in Pskov and St. Petersburg, although the most important operations (such as the kidnapping of KaPo officer Eston Kohver in 2014) involve Moscow headquarters. In early 2007, Colonel Andrei Lobanov of the St. Petersburg FSB is known to have taken several attempts to recruit Estonian citizens. Soon after, there were turbulent street riots stoked by Russian radicals under the pretext of defending the monument to Soviet soldiers in Tallinn. The Kaitsepolitsei did not obtain evidence that Russian intelligence directly steered this operation (although they were responsible for a cyber-attack on Estonia that coincided with the riots). That said, it is known that intelligence officer-diplomats met secretly with Russian activists. It is also known that in Estonia at that time (April 30 – May 1) a delegation of the Duma (lower house of the Federal Assembly of Russia) made a pre-planned visit. Among its members was Nikolay Kovalyov, former director of the FSB. He gave local Russian activists detailed plans for the area around the monument, with the locations of deployed police units.

Russian intelligence activity is particularly intensive during large NATO exercises conducted within Estonia.

stationed there). In 2016 alone, Estonian counterintelligence recorded eleven suspect incidents there; these generally involved suspiciously slow-moving cars and cases of people video recording from

The FSB is interested in virtually everything in Estonia, from its internal policy and security apparatus to foreign policy and the military. Not only are officials and agents targets, but so are journalists and businessmen. The FSB tries to recruit agents among Estonian residents who visit Russia (so-called “territorial intelligence”). It is faster and easier to identify and then recruit someone on your own territory, especially if such a person happens to break the law in Russia. The FSB then has the option of discreet access to such a person, forcing them to cooperate through blackmail. The high-risk group, from the point of view of the KaPo, are Russian-speaking residents on the border areas who often travel to Russia.

According to official data from Estonian authorities, in 2015–2016 alone, five FSB spies, residents of Estonia, were arrested and sentenced to prison. Three have dual citizenship (Estonian and Russian), one only an Estonian passport, and one is stateless. None of them are ethnic Estonians. In a matter of months, they were all swiftly sentenced to several years in prison.

Arrested in March 2015, Aleksandr Rudnev, a dual citizen, had worked for the FSB since 2013. In exchange for money, he collected information on the Estonian army and its NATO allies. He was interested in unit movements, the situation in the bases, and equipment. He took photos and made videos, and then showed them to his handlers. Rudnev was also interested in everything related to border protection. He collected and transmitted information on border guard posts and officers from the Southern Prefectural Police and Border Guard (in Estonia, the police and border guards are one institution). In October 2015, Rudnev was convicted by the Tartu district court to two years in prison under paragraph 2351 of the Criminal

Code (“conspiracy against the Republic of Estonia”). That same month, the KaPo apprehended another spy, Maksim Gruzdev. This citizen of Estonia, like Rudnev, started cooperating with the FSB in 2013, he signed a commitment to cooperate in the second half of that year in the Pskov Oblast which borders Estonia. Gruzdev reported on the staff and activities of the Estonian security and investigative agencies. His espionage activity also included the KaPo. He was sentenced to four years in prison in February 2016 by the Tartu District Court, also under paragraph 2351.

Stopped in 2015, Pawel Romanov had a much longer spying career than Gruzdev and Rudnev. This Russian living in Estonia was a stateless person. He was recruited by the Russian Federal Counterintelligence Service (FSK)

The FSB is interested in virtually everything in Estonia, from its internal policy and security apparatus to foreign policy and the military.

in 1994 (the FSK later transformed into the FSB). Romanov was an experienced smuggler, and thus an invaluable source of knowledge for the Russians on the illegal crossing of the Estonian-Russian border. He collected information about the border guard posts and their personnel, responsibilities, methods of operation and borderland tactics in the south of Estonia. Thanks to this agent, the Russians knew the location of surveillance cameras in the forested sections of the border. It is also known that the FSB received information from Romanov about military

Romanov was an experienced smuggler, and thus an invaluable source of knowledge for the Russians on the illegal crossing of the Estonian-Russian border.

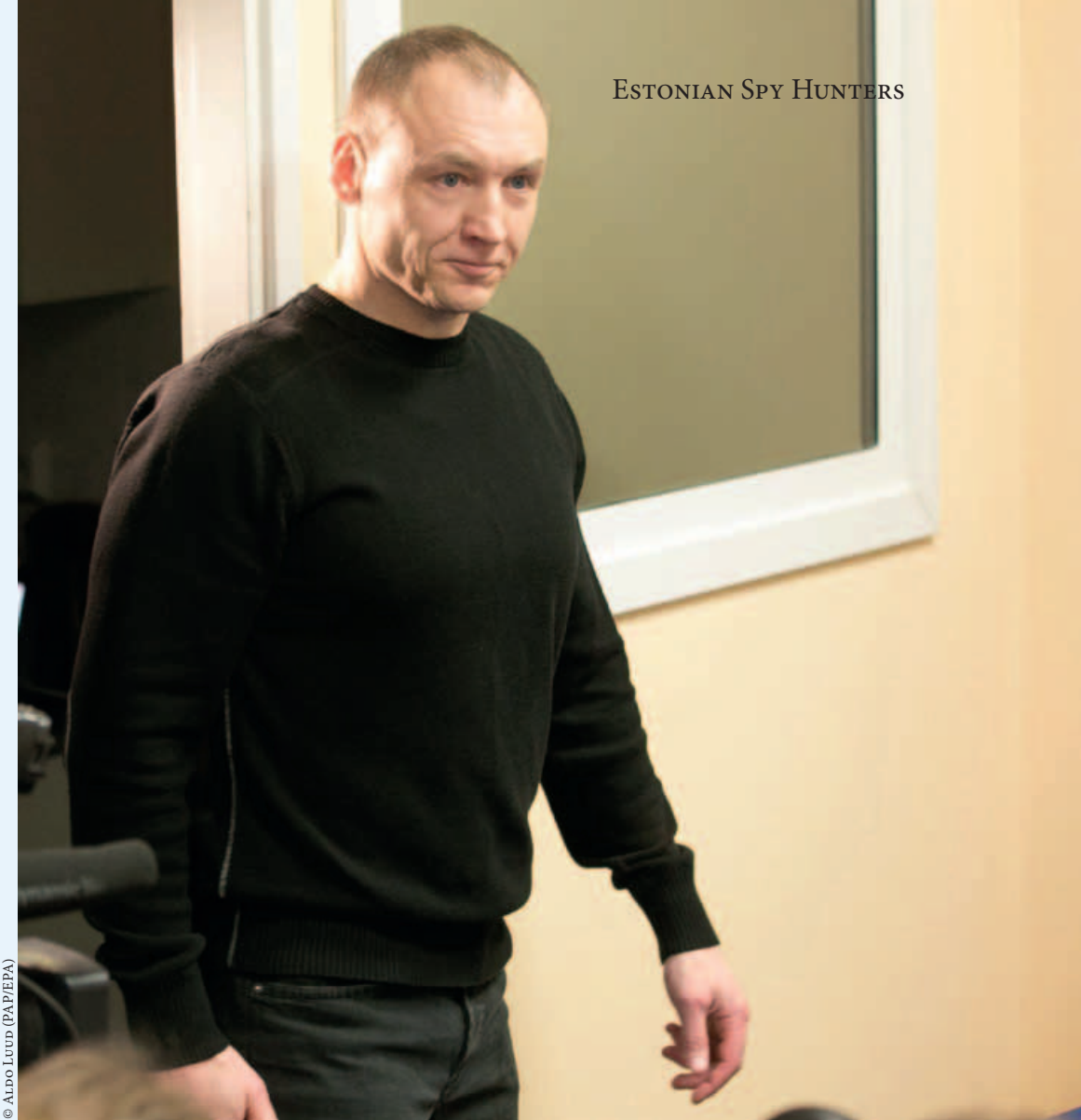
installations in southern Estonia. The district court in Tartu sentenced Romanov to four years and 10 months in prison for “non-violent acts committed by a foreigner against the Republic of Estonia” (paragraph 233 of the Criminal Code). According to the information provided by the KaPo, two more FSB agents were detained and sentenced in 2016, both of whom were dual citizens and had spied for money. Artyom Malyshev was recruited by Russian intelligence in 2011. He provided information on the activities of the Estonian army and its allies, on the movement of military equipment and border posts. He was convicted under the aforementioned paragraph 2351, to two and a half years in prison. Alik Chuczbarow had worked for the FSB since 2012. He provided information about the activities of the border guards at the Piusa post. He was given a total of three years in prison.

FSB spying activity in Estonia, however, does not just include small-scale smugglers. On November 4, 2017, during an attempt to cross the border on the bridge in Narva, the KaPo stopped Alexei Vasilyev, a Russian citizen studying in Estonia. Two days later, he heard the official allegations against him of espionage activity (paragraph 233 of the Criminal Code) and cybercriminal

activity (paragraph 2016/1) and so upon the decision of the court was placed in pre-trial detention. Vasilyev was just 20 years old and came from the village of Kingisepp in the Leningrad district, located near the border. He graduated from elementary school there, then moved to high school in Sillamäe in Estonia, where he learned computer programming. After three years he went to Russia for a period of time, officially for work, but most likely it's then that he underwent training in the FSB. Already in the summer of 2017, he returned to Estonia, to Kohtla-Järve, to a branch of the Tallinn University of Technology, majoring in computer and systems engineering.

THE DRESSEN CASE

On February 22, 2012 at Tallinn airport, counterintelligence officers detained Aleksei and Viktoria Dressen. The woman, who boarded a plane flying to Moscow, had secret materials on a memory stick which she had received moments earlier in the departures hall from her husband. Prior to 1991, Aleksei Dressen worked in the militia, where he was most likely contacted by the KGB, and contacts were renewed years later by the FSB. In 1993, Dressen moved from the police to the KaPo. For over a decade, he worked in the department fighting economic crime. The FSB recruited him as a result of a long-term operation (1998–2001). The Russians took advantage of the fact that Dressen vacationed with relatives of his wife in Russia. He began to actively cooperate with the FSB in 2007 – at the time changing his profile and beginning to deal in the KaPo with the investigation of extremists, including Russians. Dressen worked for the FSB Counterintelligence Board (DKRO), the cell carrying out operations aimed at the security services of other countries. The main roles in recruiting and then supervising him were played by two FSB officers: Major General Evgeny Tiazkun and Colonel Mikhail Loginov. Dressen usually met with his case officer



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TARTU, ESTONIA, SEPTEMBER 26, 2015. ESTONIAN SECURITY OFFICER ESTON KOHVER ARRIVES FOR A PRESS CONFERENCE. KOHVER, WHO WAS CONVICTED OF ESPIONAGE IN RUSSIA, WAS EXCHANGED FOR IMPRISONED RUSSIAN SPY ALEKSEI DRESSSEN. ACCORDING TO REPORTS, THE PRISONERS WERE SWAPPED IN SOUTHEASTERN ESTONIA AT THE BORDER WITH RUSSIA. ESTON KOHVER WAS SENTENCED TO FIFTEEN YEARS IN PRISON ON AUGUST 19, 2015, AFTER BEING FOUND GUILTY OF ESPIONAGE AND ILLEGALLY CROSSING THE RUSSIAN BORDER, FOLLOWING A CLOSED-DOOR TRIAL.

in exotic countries where he vacationed. From 2002 to 2009, these were in order: Cyprus, Turkey, Tunisia, Malaysia, the Dominican Republic and Morocco. Dressen was also initially in Moscow, but only until the transition to his activities against extremists. From then on, like many of his colleagues at the KaPo, he was formally banned from traveling to Russia. His wife Viktoria took on the role of courier. Under the guise of business activities, she often traveled to Moscow. The Dressens worked for the FSB for money. However, they masked themselves very well, as they

did not flaunt their wealth, but hoarded it. During the search of the Dressen home, investigators found 20,000 euros hidden in cash.

It is difficult to assess the true scale of damage to Estonia's security caused by the Dressen's activities. The Russians certainly obtained extensive knowledge of the KaPo's actions towards Russian radicals. But did the traitor in the ranks of Estonian counterintelligence give Moscow something more? The mere fact that the Russians picked him in

The mere fact that the Russians picked him in exchange for the kidnapped and convicted KaPo officer Eston Kohver, suggests that Dressen was a very valuable agent for the FSB.

exchange for the kidnapped and convicted KaPo officer Eston Kohver, suggests that Dressen was a very valuable agent for the FSB. It is worth paying attention to the information that the state press agency Interfax conveyed on the occasion of this exchange. It cited an anonymous source from Russian intelligence, who said that in the 1990s Dressen worked for Russian counterintelligence, obtaining information on the intelligence operations of the United States and Great Britain in the Baltic States, specifically: "For 20 years in the Estonian special services, Dressen obtained and handed over to Moscow a huge amount of valuable documents on the secret operations of the American CIA and British MI-6 against Russia directed from the Baltic states." According to that source, Dressen managed to uncover many foreign intelligence agents operating in Russia, as well as to thwart the attempts of Western intelligence to recruit senior Russian officials as agents. On July 3, 2012, the District Court in Harju found the Dressens guilty of treason and the transfer of secret information to a foreign agency. Aleksei Dressen was given sixteen years in prison while Viktoria received six years, though her sentence was later suspended. But just three years later, in September 2015, Dressen regained his freedom. Estonia exchanged him for their agent, Eston Kohver.

The KaPo officer had been lured into a borderland forest and kidnapped by the FSB in September 2014. Despite the protests of Estonia and its Western allies, Kohver was convicted of spying and sentenced to fifteen years in prison. His exchange for Dressen occurred on September 26, 2015 on the border crossing bridge at Kuniczina Gora.

SVR: POLITICS AND BUSINESS

The Foreign Intelligence Service (SVR) gathers information in Estonia of a political as well as an economic nature. There are two areas of the economy that most interest Russian spies: the transit business (one of the most important sectors of the Estonian economy) and energy. One of the focuses of Russia's intelligence activity is known to be oil shale processing and extraction technology. The Russians' task is made easier in that the Virumaa industrial region, where shale extraction is currently taking place, is the most Russified part of Estonia and borders Russia. Large strategic enterprises that are attractive to industrial spies operate there such as Viru Keemia Grupp or Eesti Energia Õlitööstus.

The Constitutional Party, bringing together Russian Estonians, formed to enter into parliament after the 2007 elections, was a project of the SVR. The leader of the party was Andrei Zarenkov, one of the leaders of the riots in Tallinn in 2007, and the protégé of Tatyana Poloskova, a collaborator with Russian intelligence and head of the OKA Foundation. The Constitutional Party received direct support from Russian diplomats. It did not add up to much as the group won just one percent of the vote. SVR activity increased markedly after June 1, 2007, when the visa agreement between the EU and Russia was simplified. Article 11 of the agreement provides the owners of diplomatic passports with entry into the EU without a visa and the possibility of staying in an EU country for up to ninety days

within a six-month period. This way SVR officers under diplomatic cover gained greater freedom of movement, which they immediately began to use. Soon after, in June 2007, an officer of the SVR political intelligence board, Vladimir Pozdorovkin, appeared at a conference in Tallinn. In 2010 alone, twenty-two visa applications were submitted by people who the KaPo suspected of ties with Russian intelligence.

THE SIMM CASE

The most valuable SVR agent in Estonia was Herman Simm. Over the course of more than ten years of cooperation, he gave the Russians about three thousand secret documents pertaining not only to Estonian security, but to NATO as a whole. Simm (b. 1947) worked in the militia of Soviet Estonia from 1970. In the 1980s, having risen to the rank of criminal inspector, he went to Moscow to study at the Ministry of Internal Affairs Academy of the USSR. Like many Estonians, he earned a side income by selling Western clothing smuggled from Finland. He was caught, and the KGB gave him a choice: either disciplinary dismissal from the militia or secret cooperation. He chose the latter. In 1991, Estonia regained its independence, the USSR collapsed and the KGB dissolved. After several years of work in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the police, Simm ended up in the Ministry of Defense.

If he hoped that he had been forgotten by Moscow, he was wrong. In 1995, SVR officers showed up. As he later testified at his trial, they blackmailed him, threatening to reveal the fact of his cooperation with the KGB, so Simm decided to work for Russian intelligence. Although he later explained that he fell victim to blackmail, he managed to earn a lot from cooperation with Moscow. He took in an average of one thousand euros a month from the Russians with bonuses for particularly important information. When he was detained, Simm and his wife Heeta were the owners of seven properties and

several very expensive plots. He explained his very good financial condition, to colleagues for example, as resulting from money he was supposed to have received from relatives in the West. But it was not the money that caused the first suspicions towards Simm. In 2000, the head of military intelligence, Major Riho Juhtegi, asked the head of KaPo (Inspector Jüri Pihl) to check Simm, because he was very interested in military intelligence, which was not at all within the scope of his authority as a defense ministry official. If the traitor could have been unmasked then, Estonia and NATO would have avoided heavy losses. Meanwhile, in 2001, Simm was promoted to the head of the newly created security department at the Ministry of Defense, gaining access to all state secrets.

In 2004, Estonia joined NATO and its system of protection of classified information had to be integrated with allied systems. Simm got the task of creating the Department of National Defense, as part of the Ministry of Defense, and, as its head, became the most important Estonian official responsible for protecting classified information. He then also had access to all the secrets that NATO members shared. He regularly went to NATO headquarters in Brussels. He acquired friends, was widely liked and appreciated by his superiors, but also emphasized his anti-Russian views at every opportunity. Absolutely beyond suspicion, in 2006 he received a medal from the president for “service to the Estonian people”. In the same year he got a medal from his Russian superiors and – according to unconfirmed reports – a secret promotion to the rank of major general of the SVR. This is when Western intelligence caught wind of the trail of the spy.

Information revealed later during the Simm trial and the report published by the prosecutor’s office shows that the SVR was managing its valuable agent very carefully. Russian diplomats in Estonia were not

involved as they were closely observed by Estonian counterintelligence. Simm met with his case officers Valeri Zentsov and Sergei Yakovlev several times a year in various EU countries outside of Estonia. A rule had been adopted that they met each time in a different place. Yakovlev was an illegal alien, so he used the false identity of a Portuguese businessman called Jesus Amoretta Graf. It was through him that Western intelligence found the trail to Simm. Yakovlev was put under surveillance after an unsuccessful attempt to recruit an important official in one of the NATO countries in southern Europe. In 2006, Simm lost the position of the head of the security department in the Ministry of Defense, but remained as the minister's adviser where he could copy and pass on confidential analyses to the Russians.

The report from NATO's internal investigation described Herman Simm as the most harmful Russian spy against the alliance in history.

In cooperation with its allies, the KaPo patiently collected evidence against Simm. Finally, they slipped him a prepared document containing specific information. When Western intelligence was sure that this information was in the possession of the Russians, Simm was taken down. He was detained on September 21, 2008, together with his wife who knew about his spying activity. For many months after the Estonian was arrested, a special team assessed the scale of the damage caused to the alliance by Simm. The report from NATO's internal investigation described Herman Simm as the most harmful Russian spy against the alliance in history. Between 2004–2006 all documents from NATO and allied countries

coming to Estonia passed through the hands of a traitor. Internal investigations into potential damage caused by the Estonian were initiated by Norway, France and Germany.

The trial took place behind closed doors. On February 25, 2009, Simm was sentenced to twelve and a half years in prison and a fine of \$1.7 million. He avoided the maximum sentence (fifteen years) because during the investigation he pleaded guilty and cooperated with prosecutors. The KaPo leadership later revealed that the knowledge gained in the Simm case helped to uncover another Russian spy.

THE VEITMAN CASE

Vladimir Veitman was a retired KaPo employee when he was arrested in August 2013, but more importantly, he had previously worked in the KGB ESRR. He was an eavesdropping specialist. When the KaPo was formed, the management of the new service decided that only a dozen or so "technical" employees, former KGB functionaries, would be hired as no alternative uncompromised personnel could be found. The people who were carried over from the KGB were to be kept away from sensitive information and from planning and managing operations. Their function was to perform technical tasks and only when it was absolutely necessary. Veitman joined the KaPo in December 1991. His good friend from the KGB days, was Nikolai Yermakov (b. 1948). From 1975–1991 he served in the Estonian KGB, and after it was dissolved, he took up business – often travelling between Estonia and Russia. He was a citizen of Russia, but with permission to stay in Estonia, but most importantly, he cooperated with the SVR. For many years, Yermakov had no idea that Veitman was working at the KaPo. It lasted until the Estonian let it slip while complaining about his family problems. Yermakov reported about this to his superiors in SVR, and they

decided to take advantage of this access. Veitman did not notify his superiors in the KaPo when the Russians began to carefully probe whether he would agree to cooperate. In the end, Yermakov convinced his friend – mainly by financial incentives – to work for Russian intelligence in 2002. Yermakov was to be Veitman's contact, who in turn was supervised by SVR officer Valeri Zentsov, who earlier (until 2001) supervised Simm. Zentsov (b. 1946) was a veteran of the ESRR KGB (1969–1991), and after the dissolution of the KGB, he continued his service in Russian intelligence. He met Veitman only once, in August 2007 in Dubrovnik, Croatia. Arrested six years later, Veitman was found guilty of treason and sentenced to fifteen years in prison and a penalty of 120,000 euros – the amount that Veitman was to have earned over a decade of spying activity.

AGENTS OF INFLUENCE

In a very recent KaPo annual report, the very beginning references the so-called “doctrine of Gerasimov” (Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation), who speaks of conducting war with non-military means to reduce the “readiness, will and values” of the opponent. The threat from Russia is more than just classic espionage. Therefore, in addition to the counterintelligence fight against agents, the KaPo pays particular attention to monitoring business and media environments. Estonians carefully monitor who wants to invest in their country, where, and the origin of the capital funds of the registered entity. After all, it was Putin himself in December 2010 who stressed that it was necessary to defend Russian business abroad and that it was necessary to use the technical and intellectual potential of Russian intelligence to realize the country's economic interests. Intelligence activity carried out through media and journalists is even more dangerous. “The Russians will do nothing militarily without creating an internal threat – or the impression of one, absent

a real threat. Information is not a goal but a tool. The goal is not information, but influence” – in the words of Martin Arpo, a high ranking KaPo officer.

Reporters sent from Russia often have a second job: in intelligence. They produce content and reports according to scripts written earlier at headquarters. According to a counterintelligence report: “They all paint the image of post-soviet Estonia as an economically, socially and culturally degenerated country on the periphery of Europe, where neo-Nazism flourishes, and the Russian-speaking population is discriminated against” (Aastaraamat 2010, Kaitsepolitsei). It is not much better with the Russian-language media in Estonia, which is full of agents. For example, the magazine *Baltiiskij mir* is indirectly financed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia, and its editor-in-chief, a former correspondent of the Regnum News Agency, Dmitry Kondrasov, is, according to the KaPo, a person associated with Russian intelligence. In turn, the owner of the Tarbeinfo publishing house is Vladimir Ilyazhevich, a former officer of the First Main Directorate of the Committee for State Security of the USSR (KGB foreign intelligence), and an active member of the Russian-speaking community in Estonia.

The media is an important part of Moscow's intelligence battle against Estonia. Effective counteraction is difficult because about forty percent of ethnic Russians in Estonia do not speak any Estonian, and two-thirds of them do not come into contact with the Estonian media at all. The Russian media is a powerful instrument for manipulating the awareness of a very large part of Estonia's Russians: research conducted in 2014 shows that in the case of conflicting reports, only six percent of them believe the Estonian media. Most trust the Russian media.

Grzegorz Kuczyński ■

December 15, 2017



KAZAKHSTAN: AN “INHUMAN LAND” INCREASINGLY HUMAN

PIOTR KOŚCIŃSKI

When in 1936, Poles from Soviet Ukraine, and later from the areas of eastern Poland seized by the USSR during World War II, were deported to Kazakhstan; they called this country the “inhuman land.” Today, while repatriations back to Poland are being organized on the basis of a new law, Kazakhstan is changing for the better and living there is increasingly easy.



ASTANA, KAZAKHSTAN, JUNE 9, 2017.
THE KHAN SHATYR ENTERTAINMENT CENTER.

© ZOLTAN BALOGH (PAP/EPA)

Operation of the NKVD took place, during which 111,000 Poles were arrested under falsified charges and killed.

Professor Henryk Stroński (University of Warmia and Mazury), a historian dealing with the history of the Polish population in Ukraine, estimates the number of people forcibly sent to Kazakhstan at 60,000 (Germans were also expelled from the border area).¹ They were sent mainly to northern and central Kazakhstan.

The deportees were dropped off on the steppe and ordered to build villages. And so, about one-hundred kilometers west of the Kazakh capital of Astana, “tozki” (points) were created, that were separated from one another by several kilometers: 10 – later named Kamianka, 11 – Kamyszenka, 12 – Pierwomajka, 13 – Łozowoje, 14 – Priiszymka.² In the north, Oziornoje, Jasna Polana, Zielony Gaj and other settlements were established. The deportees first built tents and dugouts, then houses from saman (dried clay bricks). They could not leave their villages and they remained under special supervision until the 1950s.

After the Soviet attack on Poland on September 17, 1939, thousands more people were deported from the seized areas of eastern Poland to Kazakhstan (the republic itself became a giant prison for the entire USSR). Of the survivors, most of them managed to return to Poland after the war. Only a small number of those deported in 1936 returned to Ukraine. After Kazakhstan gained independence, several thousand Poles left

From 1935, the authorities in Moscow shut down almost all institutions in the Soviet Union tied to the Polish minority, especially those in Belarus and Ukraine: schools, libraries and newspapers, as well as two Polish national regions. In 1936, large-scale resettlements of Poles from the broad border region of Soviet Ukraine took place. What was the reason? First of all, the attempt to indoctrinate the Polish minority failed. Poles did not want to join the Communist Party and collective farms, they also reacted negatively to churches being closed and the arrest of priests. After the deportations (1937–1938) the so-called Polish

¹ “Deportacje ludności polskiej do Kazachstanu w 1936 roku. Zarys historyczny”, Kancelaria Senatu RP, (2015), accessed January 8, 2018, http://senat.gov.pl/gfx/senat/pl/senatekspertyzy/3388/plik/oe-247_inter.pdf.

² P. Kościński, “Toczka 12 się zmienia”, *Idziemy* (nr 30, 2017).

for Poland and Russia, where relocation was relatively easy. Currently, there are still over 30,000 Poles in Kazakhstan. This, among other reasons, is why the Central Asian republic is important for Poland. Kazakhstan also remains an important player in both the post-Soviet sphere and throughout Asia.

RICH ASTANA

Arriving in Astana (in Kazakh the name means “capital”) one might get the impression that they have arrived in one of the richest countries in the world. It is true that in the old part of the city there are still some quite provincial streets, but old Astana, formerly known as Akmoly (from Akmola – in Kazakh “a white grave”), Tselinograd (from Russian – “city on fallow land”) and finally Akmola, with its multi-story Soviet style houses, is now the less important part of the city. A completely new cityscape, located mostly to the south of the Ishim River, dominates the capital.

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One of the symbols of the Kazakh capital is the huge Khan Shatyr (“Royal Marquee”) Entertainment Center, with an area of 127,000 square meters and a height of 150 meters, where, in addition to numerous shops and restaurants, there is also a monorail and a beach with sand imported from the Maldives. The Khan Shatyr is at the end of the axis on which

the Bayterek (in Kazakh – “Topola”) Tower monument is located, the symbol of the city, meant to embody the Kazakh folk tale about the mythical tree of life and the magical bird of happiness. At the other end of the axis is the huge presidential palace, surrounded by various government facilities.

Moving away from this new city center to the south along Qabanbay Batyr Avenue, we reach the vast headquarters of the University of Nazarbayev, founded in 2010 and a symbol of the development of education in the country. Opposite it is another giant shopping and entertainment center, Mega Silk Way, whose roof and walls are covered with a special material resistant to temperatures down to minus fifty degrees Celsius. This facility is even bigger than Khan Shatyr with an area of 140,000 square meters and half a kilometer long. Behind it is the unusual and futuristic Expo 2017 complex. In buildings covering an area of twenty-five hectares, over one-hundred countries, including Poland, staged exhibitions from June 10 until September 10, 2017. Dedicated to the energy industry of the future, the Expo was unquestionably a great success: there were two and half million visitors; thanks to the exhibition, the number of hotels and hostels in the city increased by twenty-seven percent, and 200,000 people were employed in the construction of exhibition facilities. It is estimated that revenues to the city budget from hotels and restaurants increased up to two and a half times in the three-month period of the Expo.³

OIL DECIDES

Astana’s rapid expansion was possible only thanks to the economy. Kazakhstan has been developing rapidly for years largely

³ “EXPO 2017: the deferred economic effect”, EXPO 2017, (December 2017), accessed January 8, 2018, https://expo2017astana.com/en/page_id=21113&news_id=1898.



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ASTANA, KAZAKHSTAN, SEPTEMBER 5, 2017.

due to the sale of crude oil, which of course means a dependence on its global prices. After a difficult period in 2015–2016, when GDP only grew at 1.2 and 1.1 percent annually, there was a definite improvement in 2017. According to the World Bank, in the first nine months of 2017, GDP rose to 4.3 percent, compared to 0.4 percent in the same period in 2016.⁴ The main growth factor is still oil, whose production in said period increased by 12.5 percent, especially thanks to the activation of the new Kashagan Field in October 2016. This deposit is located in the northern Caspian Sea, near the Kazakh city of Atyrau – it is estimated that it contains up to 10.5 billion tons of oil. Apart from the Kazakh KazMunaiGas, shares in the North Caspian Operating Company, which operates the field, are owned by Italians, French, Americans, British, Dutch, Chinese and Japanese.⁵

Kazakhstan has been developing rapidly for years largely due to the sale of crude oil, which of course means a dependence on its global prices.

Oil prices have also risen again (by twenty-four percent), which has helped the Kazakh economy.

The authorities in Astana are striving however to ensure that oil is not the only driving force of the country's economy. They are aiming at the development of other sectors, including agriculture, as well as improving the trade deficit. As a result, GDP growth estimates for all of 2017 can be revised from 2.4 to 3.7 percent, although in the long-term the increase is estimated at three

⁴ “Kazakhstan's Economy is Rising – It is Still All About Oil”, The World Bank, (December 14, 2017), accessed January 8, 2018, <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/kazakhstan/publication/economic-update-fall-2017>.

⁵ NCOC, (December 2017), accessed January 10, 2018, <http://www.ncoc.kz/ru/ncoc/default.aspx>.



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WASHINGTON D.C., UNITED STATES, JANUARY 16, 2018. PRESIDENT NURSULTAN NAZARBAYEV OF KAZAKHSTAN SPEAKS DURING A JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE WITH U.S. PRESIDENT DONALD J. TRUMP IN THE ROOSEVELT ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

percent annually. Much depends on the effects of structural and institutional reforms carried out under the so-called “100 specific steps”.

In 2015, President Nursultan Nazarbayev announced the implementation of five major reforms: creation of a modern and professional civil service, ensuring the rule of law, industrialization and economic growth, a unified nation for the future and transparency and accountability of the state.⁶ He incorporated them into the already mentioned “one hundred steps”. In the section concerning economic matters, there is talk of the introduction

of market-based land sales, optimization of tax and customs policies and procedures, gradual abandonment of the state monopoly on assessing design documentation, abandonment of old, Soviet norms for European standards, strengthening the institution of the business ombudsman to protect the interests of entrepreneurs and attracting strategic investors in several industries (e.g. road infrastructure and tourism, milk and meat production).⁷

To what extent are these plans being implemented? They are being met with unexpected obstacles, as discussed in the last section of this article. The privatization program is moving very slowly. In 2016, it was announced that within two years, many key, state-owned enterprises would be sold, while the state-owned “Samruk-Kazyna” sovereign wealth fund, would leave itself a blocking share of twenty-five percent plus one share and that fifty-one

⁶ “Plan natsii – 100 shagov po realizatsii piati institucionalnykh reform N. Nazarbayeva”, *Kazinform*, (May 20, 2015), accessed January 8, 2018, http://www.inform.kz/kz/plan-nacii-100-shagov-po-realizacii-pyati-institucional-nyh-reform-n-nazarbaeva_a2777943.

⁷ Ibid.

percent of shares must remain in the hands of Kazakh investors. However at the end of 2017, “Samruk-Kazyna” announced that preliminary work was still underway, and that privatization might begin in the second half of 2018. Among the companies prepared for this are Air Astana and Kazatomprom, an importer and exporter of uranium and other fuel components for nuclear power plants.⁸ The Astana International Financial Center (located in buildings left after the Expo 2017), which is to co-organize privatization, is also just in the early stages of development. It is almost certain that the implementation of this very ambitious plan will take much longer than originally intended.

THE INCREASINGLY MODERN COUNTRYSIDE

That said, the capital is just a fragment of Kazakhstan and it is enough to leave Astana and drive slightly away from the beautiful roads to see that it is different in the countryside. The first thing you will notice after leaving the expressways is the quality of the roads, which is simply terrible. According to the ranking prepared by the World Economic Forum, Kazakh roads rank 115 out of 137 countries assessed.⁹ The “Road quality map”¹⁰ is available online, and mainly shows highways and expressways connecting main cities. The villages, however, can be reached primarily by side roads that were once even covered with asphalt, but have fallen into total disrepair and can only be reliably traversed by off-road

vehicles. Not only is the poor quality of materials to blame, but also long and very harsh winters, frosts with temperatures reaching minus forty-five degrees Celsius, snowstorms and spring thaws.

The countryside is changing very slowly, but it is changing. Nevertheless, the old houses remain as they were, although there are very few clay brick buildings left. The villages are usually very far apart, because there is plenty of room on the steppe. One-story houses dominate, surrounded by gardens where potatoes and vegetables are grown; taller buildings are very rare. What distinguishes these villages from European ones are the omnipresent electric poles. The cables that have disappeared underground in Europe hang high here, often crossing and creating strange, interwoven networks.

The main problem is still the weather. “The climate was once worse than now,” says the Akim (head of the village) of Pierwomajki, Vyacheslav Dembicki. “Now the temperature of minus thirty-five to forty-two degrees lasts only a week, and then it is only minus twenty-five. Once, a strong frost kept for months,” he adds. But winter in Kazakhstan lasts from September to May. In the remaining months there is a very short and intense summer. This means that agriculture, the basis of village functioning, can normally only exist for a few months. In the remaining period, cattle must be kept in heated barns.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, kolkhozy (collective farms) and sovkhozy (state-owned farms) ceased to exist; if there were waterworks, usually they stopped working, if there was a sewage system, it also broke down. In Pierwomajka, the land of the kolkhoz was divided among former collective farmers, formally speaking, cooperators, and thus co-owners of the entire land. Later, the villagers leased it to a company owned by a private farmer,

⁸ “Privatizatsiya natskompaniy Kazakhstana ozhet nachatsiya vo II polovinye 2018”, *CA-portal*, (November 16, 2017), accessed January 8, 2018, <http://www.ca-portal.ru/article:38946>.

⁹ “Dorogi Kazakhstana priznane odnimi iz khudshikh v mirie”, *NUR KZ* (November 1, 2017), accessed January 8, 2018, <https://www.nur.kz/1663980-dorogi-kazakhstana-priznany-odnimi-iz.html>.

¹⁰ Autotourist.KZ o dorgakh i putyeshesviyakh, accessed January 9, 2018, <http://autotourist.kz/index.php/routes>.

encompassing up to 30,000 hectares. In Europe this would be a gigantic farm. “Our farm can be profitable if it has at least two-thousand hectares of land,” emphasized Akim Dembicki.

In the countryside, schools and pre-schools have changed the most in recent times. You can see that the authorities have spent a lot of money. The school in Pierwomajka is renovated and clean, and there are free textbooks for every student in the library. The kindergarten, divided into five groups – four Polish age groups and one Kazakh – is also renovated and spotless. Each group has two rooms, in one are cots and in the other are chairs, tables and toys, and there is a separate playground outside. You can see that a lot of effort has been invested into the development of children and young people. If the countryside continues to change as much as the schools and pre-schools, then there will be fewer and fewer people willing to leave.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, kolkhozy (collective farms) and sovkhozy (state-owned farms) ceased to exist; if there were waterworks, usually they stopped working, if there was a sewage system, it also broke down.

AUTHORITARIANISM IN THE BACKGROUND

It should be remembered that politics in Kazakhstan are far different than in Europe,

unless we compare it to Belarus. At present, supreme state power rests in the hands of the 77-year-old president Nursultan Nazarbayev, who was the first secretary of the local communist party in the USSR. Nazarbayev, however, is gradually reducing the scope of his power. In a nationwide TV message on January 25, 2017, he announced the transfer of some of his powers to the parliament and government. Kazakhstan is to become a parliamentary-cabinet republic, while the president is to become an arbiter, although he will continue to set foreign and defense policy for the country.

Even if implemented slowly, this change is very serious and has huge consequences. The Freedom House organization, dealing with human rights, defines the political system in the country as a “consolidated authoritarian regime” and on a scale from 1 (most democratic) to 7 (the least democratic) awarded Kazakhstan 6.64 points.¹¹ In turn, the Democracy Index in 2016 showed Kazakhstan in 139th place (out of 167), just behind Russia (134) and China (136), but ahead of Azerbaijan (148), Uzbekistan (158) and Turkmenistan (162).¹²

It must be remembered that in the lower house of parliament (Majilis) the president's party, Nur Otan, has the majority, 84 out of 107 seats, while the “constructive opposition” Naghyz Ak Zhol and the communists have 7 each; this means that until there are changes in the party system, political changes will be more of a formality.

In December 2017, a miners' strike was carried out in the mines belonging to ArcelorMittal. A few hundred of them

¹¹ Kazakhstan Country Profile, Freedom House, 2018, accessed January 9, 2018, <https://freedom-house.org/report/nations-transit/2017/kazakhstan>.

¹² Democracy Index 2016, accessed January 9, 2018, <https://infographics.economist.com/2017/Democracy-Index/>.



ASTANA, KAZAKHSTAN, SEPTEMBER 8, 2017. EXPO 2017.

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stopped their work, demanding a thirty-percent wage hike. Besides this, last year was basically calm, unlike in 2016, when there were serious riots related to the government's land privatization plans. Part of society was afraid that the possibility of selling land to foreigners meant that it would go to the Chinese.¹³ Anti-Chinese sentiments flooded social media, often repeating the falsehood that a large part of Kazakhstan would be turned over to Chinese settlers. Hence the outbreak of riots in Atyrau and Aktobe in April. The government was forced to suspend its plans. Another wave of protests swept through in May. However, unlike in 2011 in Zhanaozen, where police killed fifteen people during the riots, police activities were relatively mild.¹⁴

¹³ B. Pannier, Majlis Podcast: "Kazakhstan's Protests, One Year Later", Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (April 30, 2017), accessed January 9, 2018, <https://www.rferl.org/a/qishloq-ovozi-kazakhstan-protests-one-year/28460322.html>.

¹⁴ E. Marat, "Kazakhstan had huge protests, but no violent crackdown. Here's why", *Washington Post*, (June 6, 2016), accessed January 9, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/06/06/kazakhstan-had-big-protests-without-a-violent-crackdown-heres-why/?utm_term=.82398df1443e.

The question is how much the planned changes might disturb the current, stable situation in Kazakhstan. The authoritarian rule of Nazarbayev has one positive effect: it provides stability. There are no ethnic disputes there, although "Kazakhization" is proceeding, for example, through the requirement for non-Kazakhs to learn the Kazakh language (planned alongside this is the replacement of Cyrillic with the Latin alphabet). There are no religious disputes, and although the dominant religion is Islam, Islamists are not a threat. According to the Global Terrorism Index, Kazakhstan is 94th in terms of threat (the lower, the safer), while Russia is 40th, the U.S. 36th, and neighboring Kyrgyzstan 84th.¹⁵ For now, however, Kazakhstan is changing gradually and slowly, becoming a better place to live and definitely more human, than in the past.

Piotr Kościński ■
January 15, 2018

¹⁵ Global Terrorism Index 2016, accessed January 9, 2018, <http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2016.2.pdf>.

THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA AND THE FUTURE OF JIHADISM

MARCIN ORŁOWSKI

Much is said about the reforms to be initiated by Crown Prince Mohammad bin Salman.

Nevertheless, there is a risk that despite the likely mixed success of many economic and social projects, the successor to the throne may not be able to meet societal expectations. Signals of this are already visible in the Saudi Vision 2030 plan. This report proposes, for example, the privatization of education, an area that has been dominated by the clerics. Many of them have not hid their extremism and successfully recruited jihadists. Will the change from state to private patronage however turn out to be disastrous?

Popularly, jihadism is considered to be linked with Western interference, but it turns out that it is not the main cause of its formation. It is the result of defects in the

economic, social and territorial structures of the Middle East. Jihadism is also not divided, instead only dispersed. Saudi Arabia, despite its financial wealth, is one of the countries most at risk of jihadism. The wealthiest elites can afford to have relaxed moral standards after all. From their point of view, the jihadists who often threatened the Saudi Arabian regime are (speaking in terms familiar to us) nothing but deistic communists proclaiming liberation theology.

JIHADISM – DO WE REALLY UNDERSTAND IT WELL?

The beginnings of Islamism and jihadism date back to the 1920s and 1960s, respectively, and the date of the appearance of global jihadism is considered 1979. This is due to the following criteria:



RIYADH, SAUDI ARABIA, FEBRUARY 17, 2018. PORTRAITS OF SAUDI ARABIAN KINGS DECORATE THE WALL OF A HOUSE AT THE AL SHARQIYA (EASTERN) PROVINCE PAVILION DURING THE AL-JENADRIYAH FESTIVAL, THE BIGGEST CULTURAL HERITAGE EVENT IN SAUDI ARABIA

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- the founding of the pan-Islamizing (communizing) Muslim Brotherhood organization in Egypt in 1928;
- popularization of Muslim thought and schools sanctioning violence in the 1960s;
- the engagement of Muslim fighters in the war in Afghanistan in 1979.

It has been popularly accepted that global jihadism in the last four decades has spawned four waves. The first was created as a result of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (1979) and assumed the creation of an international group of Muslim fighters that would liberate Muslim territories from occupation. This goal was to be carried out by the Afghan Services Bureau (Maktab al-Khidamat), which was continued by Al-Qaeda. The second came after the fall of the Islamist revolts in Algeria and Egypt (circa 1997), and its purpose was to expel the United

Saudi Arabia, despite its financial wealth, is one of the countries most at risk of jihadism.

States from the Middle East, where they supported the rule of “apostates.” The third was after the fall of the “emirate” of Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan (2001), i.e. the loss of a “safe haven” for extremists. The fourth was caused by the U.S. invasion of Iraq (2003) and the takeover of power by Shiites in that country and the destabilization of Syria (2011).

There are five errors in this perception of jihadism however. The first problem is the belief in the actual existence of these waves.



Jihadism is a term coined on the basis of the Indo-Pakistani conflict, and popularized after the clash between the Western and Muslim worlds. However, the concept of jihad – as a spiritual and physical battle – goes back to the very beginning of Islam.

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Given the natural tendency of empires to break apart, battles for supremacy between groups and state entities, as well as rebellions, that today we would call terroristic or jihadist, have plagued the Muslim world and surrounding regions practically from the moment Islam emerged. Looking at jihadism as a phenomenon of the past two-hundred years at most, is a result of the perspective of colonial nations (primarily France and Great Britain) and the United States. It also connects with the Indian perspective, a product of the territorial conflict with Pakistan. A common feature of these views is jihadism's opposition to the order imposed in the region either peacefully or through force. European countries could recognize however, if they were to be convinced that it is appropriate, that they are dealing with jihadism from

the first moment of an armed clash with Muslims. Islam, like every religion, proclaims peace; but it does not exclude the possibility of fighting, if only in the name of peace and the interests of the community. As long as the goals of jihadists are not reached, their struggle is endless. Jihadists assume that their physical and spiritual struggle is as permanent as the revolution that Trotsky envisioned.

The second mistake is assuming that jihadism is an intermittent phenomenon that moves by stages. As a strategic goal, jihadists want to restore the unity of lawful power over the Muslim community. This perspective is far-reaching, probably exceeding the life spans of many generations and therefore requiring steady action. In addition, it is an unclear vision that is simplified in many ways, and therefore utopian to a large extent. Jihadism is thus a permanent and centuries-old phenomenon, benefiting from the interests and conflicts of regional countries and the foreign powers present in the Middle East.

The third mistake in the perception of jihadism is limiting it to Sunni and non-national groups. Both Sunnis and Shiites can be jihadists, and the pan-Islamic ideologies of jihadist organizations are

Jihadists assume that their physical and spiritual struggle is as permanent as the revolution that Trotsky envisioned.

often a cover for the national interests of individual countries in the region. An example is the anti-Israeli Hamas, which (although Sunni) is sponsored not only by Sunni states, but also by the Shiite Islamic Republic of Iran. In addition, the Sunni Al-Qaeda and Muslim Brotherhood are carrying out transnational activities, however in obtaining resources, including recruits and financing, they primarily make use of local, national conflicts. The Shiite Hezbollah works no differently. In this way, the local branches of the parent organizations are transformed into autonomous, local (tribal) national movements, such as ISIS or Hamas. In the same way, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps of Iran created, among others, Hezbollah in Lebanon in the 1980s.

On the other hand, organizations at the local or national level are often transformed into supranational ones, for example: inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood, the Afghan Services Bureau transformed into Al-Qaeda; Al-Qaeda in Iraq into ISIS; the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood became a supranational organization in the 20th century and currently seem to have open support from Turkey; Lebanese Hezbollah found imitators (also supported by Iran) in Iraq, of whom there will probably be no shortage of in Syria after the defeat of ISIS. At present, there is speculation about the possible (if only temporary) combining of forces of the so-called Islamic State and Al-Qaeda, as well as Hamas and Hezbollah. Although both fronts, as far as they crystallize, seem to have many discrepancies between them due to the fact that they are anchored in the local structures of various countries of the region, their strategic, long-term goals are basically identical.

The fourth, perhaps the most important mistake, is to perceive all currents of jihadism as being divided, and unable to merge into one stream. This hypothesis

is undermined by the so-called Arab Spring, which with the appropriate demographic and macro-political conditions could transform into a Muslim Spring.

It is enough to see that the “jihad of liberation” is but another form of the more culturally familiar “liberation theology”.

The fifth, and the most critical error, is the perception of jihadism as exclusively correlated with the intervention of Western states into North Africa and the Middle East. Defects in the economic and social structures at the foundation of authoritarian rule in the region are in themselves a sufficient generator of frustration and polarization, which in turn finds an outlet in jihadism.

Jihadism is therefore a methodically mixed (armed and peaceful) anarcho-revolutionary and communizing movement (assuming the achievement of complete solidarity of the Ummah, i.e. the community of the faithful, encompassing the peoples of the book, including Christians). It may pose a threat to any state and society that it considers to be apostates. It is enough to see that the “jihad of liberation” is but another form of the more culturally familiar “liberation theology”.

THE THREAT OF JIHADISM IN SAUDI ARABIA

If we look at the present situation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, we can see that King Salman and Crown Prince Mohammad bin Salman are clearly



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WASHINGTON D.C., UNITED STATES, MARCH 14, 2017. PRINCE MOHAMMAD BIN SALMAN OF SAUDI ARABIA, IN THE STATE DINING ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

anxious about jihadist activity. There are several reasons for such concerns.

The first are the circumstances in which Mohammad bin Salman came to power. Thus far, succession took place between the sons of Ibn Saud (Abdulaziz). However this time it came with a generational change – Mohammad is Ibn Saud's grandson and exceptionally young at thirty-two. Claimants to the throne are numerous, as Ibn Saud fathered many children in his life. This means that Mohammad could expect resistance to the legitimacy of his future power. However,

a generational change at the highest level of power was anticipated in the 1990s, so it should not be too difficult for the Saudis. Even appropriate institutional arrangements were made (the Allegiance Council composed of electors to choose successors to the throne). Therefore, it is difficult to avoid the impression that, for example, the November arrests of many prominent family members and other former confidants on charges of corruption was more of a show of force than a real consolidation of power in the hands of the young prince. However, if Mohammad actually nominates a prince and viceroy who are not accepted by his opponents, he will have cause for concern. Opponents can not only shorten Mohammad's reign without having to deprive him of the throne, but can also force him to make concessions by taking advantage of societal dissatisfaction.

The second reason for concern is precisely this social dissatisfaction, which is a very real threat to Saudi Arabia. To understand the scale of the threat, some wider socio-economic context is necessary. It is only after understanding this that one can see how exposed the Kingdom is to social tensions and how they are forced to forcibly suppress them. This context will also explain the modest and gradual reforms over the course of many years. In addition, it is worth mentioning that each of these changes was introduced in order that the Kingdom's authoritarian royal power could survive as long as possible. The population of Saudi Arabia has doubled in the last twenty-seven years. Currently, sixty percent of Saudis are under thirty years old. It is almost exactly the same amount as the entire non-Saudi segment of the Kingdom's inhabitants. Officially, unemployment in Saudi Arabia is less than thirteen percent, but it is speculated that unofficially it is double that. Population growth intersected with the fall in oil prices and led to the need

to cut subsidies, which are the main benefit for public sector employees. Positions in the state sector are occupied primarily by Saudis since they face employment difficulties in the expatriate-dominated private sector.

Due to the increasing number of graduates of domestic and foreign universities, steps were taken to “Saudize”, that is, to expel expatriates for the benefit of native citizens. Therefore, by the end of 2020, all expatriates working in the public sector (about 70,000 people) are to be laid off. The “Saudization” process touches on two sensitive issues: the threats of corruption and nepotism. Although “Saudization” will not negate these threats, it postpones the need to reduce benefits to the public sector. Forcing excessive cuts in public benefits is risky and the steps already taken have been insufficient. Therefore, the next pressures that Saudi society will face are fiscal solutions. Last year a selective tax on goods and a residence tax for expatriates was introduced, and from 2018, a five percent VAT will be introduced. Mohammad bin Salman’s anti-corruption efforts were welcomed by both the public and the clerics because they represented a solidarity gesture of the justice of elites with society. However, a high percentage of young people in the population of Saudi Arabia means the state has great difficulty meeting the requirements and needs of its citizens. This has been the condition for many years. This means that despite reforms, social polarization exists and will continue to exist until the age pyramid of the population stabilizes. This is what caused – and will cause – such high attraction to extremist groups in the Kingdom. Therefore, it should not be assumed that there will be fewer terrorist incidents there in the future. It is highly likely that there will be more.

The third reason is that the introduced reforms aim to build an industrial

The reforms foreseen in the V30 are also supposed to build a base of social support, but at this moment they do not assume societal control over the elites.

base to ensure economic growth while reducing dependence on oil production. This objective is part of the package of twelve reform programs embodied in the Saudi Vision 2030 (V30) plan. According to V30, reforms are to be introduced gradually over five-year periods. Due to historical analogies, the V30 is allusively compared to the reforms of Deng Xiaoping in China and in the Soviet Union, and those of the White Revolution of the last Shah of Iran. A general similarity between the V30 and other reform strategies exists, because all are a contract between the elites and society. Although speculation has been primarily about economic reforms, the social dimension is equally important. The reforms foreseen in the V30 are also supposed to build a base of social support, but at this moment they do not assume societal control over the elites. In this regard, the main intermediaries (apart from clan relations) are still the clerics, who in exchange for gestures by Mohammad bin Salman to curb elite corruption and increase social justice, support the liberalization of social mores, though they are reluctant to do so. It is worth mentioning here that the clerics are not against social freedoms simply for religious reasons but as a matter of image. Only the elite can afford (financially) greater social freedoms. That is why

Mohammad bin Salman's actions remain – on a national scale – only gestures that do not directly translate into a decrease in corruption overall in the Kingdom.

More importantly, the degree of success of the reforms and, above all, the scale of providing jobs, a dignified life and opportunities for leisure time, will determine real public support. The experience of Chinese, Soviet and the Shah's reforms, indicate that industrial development and modernization does not go according to plan while there are difficulties in meeting high social expectations. Therefore, building an industrial base unrelated to energy will be a big challenge, also due to the threat of corruption and the incompetence of personnel, who have already wasted some of the funds they have received. In all cases of such wide reforms, the elite's adaptability was crucial (the Saud dynasty can be considered a party, given the size and number of familial relationships) and the degree of their internal solidarity. For this reason, although in recent years in Saudi Arabia there was no shortage of gestures to liberalize public life, the Sauds cannot abandon the strong support of the clerics.

The intervention of the U.S.-led coalition in Afghanistan and Iraq resulted in a dramatic increase in the number of terrorist attacks in Saudi Arabia.

The fourth reason is the heritage of Sunni puritanism engrained into the Saudi nation, known as Wahhabism. Saudi Arabia was created thanks to Wahhabism,

which does what the authorities in Riyadh cannot do – it spreads itself in various forms. More than once in the history of the Kingdom have opponents of various reforms revolted (e.g. student protests in 1956, the uprising in Buraidah in 1994). In addition, despite the many tensions with the religious establishment, the Sauds are responsible not only for internal social mood, but externally in other Muslim countries, especially Sunni ones. The reason for this is obvious – they are the historical center of the Islamic world. They cannot tolerate any internal or external enemy who would accuse them of submitting to foreign powers or apostasy. The first split of the Saud dynasty with a group of militant puritan Wahhabis, called the Brothers, appeared in the 1920s. At that time, the goals and political interests of King Ibn Saud were at odds with those of the Brothers who wanted the territorial expansion of the Kingdom. Making themselves known through arbitrary assaults on neighboring countries, they began to threaten the Saud dynasty. In the face of such danger, the King made a decision to obtain a legal statement (fatwa) from the clerics to settle the dispute. Having received a positive opinion of the King's judgment, Ibn Saud decided to purge the ranks of his troops of Brothers. However, the Brothers made themselves known again fifty years later, when in 1979 they occupied the Grand Mosque in Mecca. The occupation lasted two weeks and was a response to the apostasy of the Saudi authorities and their submission to foreign forces. These are the same accusations as from the time of the first split in Islam. Similar accusations could arise again if the foreign policy of the Kingdom will be too submissive to external pressures, and the social contract will be considered unfair.

After 1979, the number of attacks did not increase – the Kingdom responded with, among other things, restrictive social

norms with the support of the clerics. However, in the 1990s, attacks were directed against American, British and French troops present in Saudi Arabia. Jihadist organizations have recognized that the power of apostates in Muslim countries can only be overthrown if their ties with Western countries, and especially to the U.S., are severed – the tragic crowning of which were the attacks on September 11, 2001. The intervention of the U.S.-led coalition in Afghanistan and Iraq resulted in a dramatic increase in the number of terrorist attacks in Saudi Arabia. The years 2004–2005 were particularly intense, when Abdullah, who had in fact served as the *de facto* king since 1995 (when King Fahd became unable to rule for health reasons), formally took power.

Although subsequent years were calmer, the emergence of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria and the intensification of the conflict on the Sunni-Shiite axis caused a significant number of attacks in the entire Kingdom. The main target of these attacks, however, were areas inhabited by Shiites or nearby communities (e.g. provinces bordering Yemen). The distinction between perpetrators of attacks on specific organizations is important – the tension between Sunni and Shiite citizens is growing – but the fact of increasing jihadist activity in Saudi Arabia is more important. This activity is also connected with Saudi Arabia accusing Qatar of supporting the Muslim Brotherhood, who have been recognized by the authorities in Riyadh as a terrorist organization. They shared a fate similar to that of other “brotherhoods” in the history of this nation. The Kingdom’s conflict with Qatar turned out to be in part the implementation of the goals of the attacks of the 1990s, which led to the departure of U.S. troops from Saudi Arabia. There is an air base located in Qatar. The U.S. could abandon it if pressure increases.

JIHADIST EVOLUTION, SAUDI ADAPTATION

The Saudi Muslim Brotherhood are still in Saudi Arabia despite the repercussions that fell on them for their actions against the monarchy in the 1990s and during the Arab Spring. They remain an important political asset in the Kingdom, and are also an inalienable foundation of the Saudi education system to this day. Although extremist groups and individuals (including Al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden) often broke away from this organization, Riyadh, along with their loyal clerics, tries to co-opt the Brotherhood members. Considering the education privatization plan in the V30 plan, it can be assumed that King Salman does not intend to abandon the Brotherhood if they are loyal in return for the benefit of relative financial independence. This raises doubts, however, whether such activities will guarantee the pacifism of the Brothers. It seems more likely that there will be an attempt to take control of the Brotherhood by the elite, who are the potential donors on behalf of private education in the Kingdom.

The problem remains, however, that the reforms proposed in the V30 do not take political transformations into account. This means that in the case of unfavorable political and social circumstances the Brotherhood and jihadist groups may take advantage of the internal weakness of Saudi Arabia and demand political concessions. The opposition could then find support among some of the princes arrested in November this year, part of whom declared the legitimacy of democratizing the Kingdom’s form of government. Therefore, if the reforms provided in the V30 are not a success, proposals for real changes can be expected. Although this forecast may seem unrealistic at the moment, it does not have to be a distant one – conditions conducive

to such a course of events may appear at a rapid pace. However, while the state of the Saudi economy is not threatened by crisis or implosion, and the authorities can offer their elites participation in privatization, a revolution will be forestalled. Possible attacks in the Kingdom will lead to reduced social expectations, and an increased need to ensure security in an authoritarian manner, at the expense of claims for new civil liberties and rights.

In addition, the co-opting and use of the Brotherhood and the traditional and loyal clerics in a joint way can serve the Saudis to compete for leadership in the region. In this respect, they have a common opponent: Shiite Iran and local organizations supported by it in the region. One of the Kingdom's internal problems with external implications is that the oil-rich provinces are inhabited by Shiites, demanding equal treatment. Due to geographical location, these provinces

a degeneration, whether the true right vision of a larger Muslim state entity not buried by the Sunni-Shiite schism? The majority of the analytical works I have read for years assume the continuation of the Sunni-Shiite conflict as a certainty, but would an inter-factional alliance, despite divisions, be unrealistic? There are many processes that take place at such different speeds that it is impossible to see the moment of their coupling, especially during the lifespan of the individual. Therefore, the threat of jihadism in Saudi Arabia and the region – both Sunni and Shiite or combined – should be treated as continuous and probable.

IS JIHADIST THE RIGHT WORD?

Finally, we should consider whether it is more legitimate to interchangeably call terrorists in Europe: Islamists, terrorists, radicals, fundamentalists, jihadists or perhaps more precisely, anarcho-Muslims? From the perspective of jihadists, anarchy is only a transitional stage leading to a new order. The secular states of Europe, on the other hand, are attractive to many moderate and peaceful, though often conservative Muslims, who respect the secular supreme authority that ensures them security, prosperity and freedom of democratic participation. Therefore, the jihadists are also nothing but anarchists to them. Using a distinction between Muslims and anarcho-Muslims would allow a more effective fight against the generalizing perception of the Muslim community. In addition, ideologically, it would create a breakthrough for the conceptualization, crystallization and promotion of European Islam, which would be determined and motivated to coexist with the secular authorities and societies of Europe.

Marcin Orłowski ■
December 15, 2017

From the perspective of jihadists, anarchy is only a transitional stage leading to a new order.

cannot be effectively penetrated by pro-Iranian elements. However, the Sunni-Shiite discord has one common interest: defeating Israel. Although the vast majority of Muslims rejected the Islamic State because of its deeds, it effectively opened the way to the more moderating influence of Wahhabism and Saudi Arabia, such as in Iraq. The declared tightening of relations between Saudi Arabia and Israel against Iran may, however, reactively lead to a resurgence of communizing pan-Islamism. A radicalized inhabitant of the region (especially in Syria and Iraq) could ask, although the Islamic State was

THE POLISH ECONOMY – CHALLENGES AND OUTLOOK

CEZARY KAŻMIERCZAK

The economy is inseparable from politics. All market participants, both entrepreneurs and consumers, function within strictly defined legal conditions which are decided solely by politicians.

Economic life is also influenced by relations with other countries in the international arena – the national representatives managing the country retain the initiative here as well. This very close relationship between politics and the economy is clearly visible in the example of Poland. At the moment it is a rich country, if we use the entire globe as a reference point. It is enough, however, to narrow down the perspective to European countries or simply “developed” ones to see that, on this scale, Poland is only moderately well-off. This is the result of many factors – from those indirectly related

to politics, through to those resulting from government decisions of a relatively short-term nature, up to great movements on the geopolitical stage. Understanding the processes that have occurred over the last century in Poland is necessary to comprehend not only the current economic situation of the country, but also to anticipate its potential.

POLAND'S LEVEL OF AFFLUENCE

Let us start with hard facts. According to OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) data for 2016, Poland is the 15th largest economy (measured by GDP) in the world.

**WARSAW, POLAND, APRIL 27, 2015. CEZARY
KAŹMIERCZAK, PRESIDENT OF THE UNION
OF ENTREPRENEURS AND EMPLOYERS.**



We are being outpaced not only by global powers such as the United States, Germany or the United Kingdom, but also by important nations, though far from superpowers, such as Spain or Australia. Of course Poland has a higher nominal GDP than countries much richer than it, such as Norway, which is a natural result of a larger number of inhabitants. It gets much worse if we look at the approximate level of the nation's wealth, i.e. GDP *per capita*. Here, Poland already occupies a middling position (about \$24,900 at constant prices), and it is one that is more likely to drop than one that is on the verge of matching the best with a little effort. Poorer countries include Bulgaria, Romania, Latvia and Turkey, however tiny Estonia or the neighboring Czech Republic, are richer. One could conclude that there are no good reasons to be pleased. So where did the idea that Poland has achieved huge economic success since 1989 come from? And why is it that every year we hear that Poland is once again among the countries with the fastest economic growth in the EU? In order to answer these questions it is necessary, following the recommendation contained in the first paragraph, to analyze the historical processes directly affecting the condition of the Polish economy today.

It should be clearly stated that since 1989, Poland has enjoyed a second and also the longest period of full independence since the 1790s. At the end of the 18th century, the weakness of the Polish state and its inability to reform, resulting from the decadence of “noble democracy”, combined with political intrigues and hostile neighbors, allowed Russia, Prussia and Austria to divide Polish territory between them. In 1795, Poland disappeared from the world map and only thanks to the attitude and defensiveness of the Polish spirit, did the substance

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of the nation in the form of language, culture and tradition, survive. The partitions happened a long time ago, but their economic and social effects are still visible today. Informally we divide the country into Poland “A” and “B”, where the latter is much less developed. The genesis of this disparity can be found, among other places, in those partitions – the lands under the Prussian partition were characterized by much better infrastructure and development than the areas occupied by the other two empires. Even today, if we look at the railway network map of Poland, it is clearly visible that it is most extensive in the former Prussian partition.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD

As already stated, Poland regained its independence in 1918. The state was taken back from the occupiers (outside the lands of the Prussian partition) in a poor condition economically and in terms of infrastructure. This was made worse by the effect of World War I, during which – due to wide scale looting – Poland lost huge amounts of public and private property. The interwar period (the two decades following



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WARSAW, POLAND, SEPTEMBER 10, 2009. THE “NOWY ŚWIAT” BANKING AND FINANCIAL CENTRE, THE FORMER SEAT OF THE WARSAW STOCK EXCHANGE. THE BUILDING WAS BUILT IN 1948–1952 AS THE SEAT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY (COMMUNIST PARTY) AT THE INTERSECTION OF ALEJE JEROZOLIMSKIE AND NOWY ŚWIAT STREETS.

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the regaining of independence until the outbreak of World War II) was in economic terms devoted primarily to the reconstruction of industry and the implementation of economic programs on a huge scale. For example building the port in Gdynia and making it the largest on the Baltic Sea, and construction of the Central Industrial Region inhabited by six million people, whose task was to increase the industrial potential of Poland. Thus in 1938, Poland was a wealthier country (GDP *per capita*) than countries such as Portugal, Spain and Greece.



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WARSAW, POLAND, JULY 1981. THE SEAT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PZPR (POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY) ON THE CORNER OF ALEJE JEROZOLIMSKIE AND NOWY ŚWIAT STREETS, DECORATED BEFORE THE 9TH EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS OF THE PZPR.

CONSEQUENCES OF WORLD WAR II DESTRUCTION AND A CENTRALLY PLANNED ECONOMY

The development of the Second Polish Republic was effectively halted at the outbreak of World War II, during which Poland suffered huge losses, both human and economic. According to estimates by the Office of War Compensation (formed at the end of the war by the communist authorities), the damages resulting from the German occupation amounted to about \$650 billion (roughly twice the annual GDP

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of Norway). After the war, Poland found itself in the Soviet Union's sphere of influence. It was necessary to rebuild infrastructure, factories and practically entire cities (as in the case of Warsaw). Additionally, the socialist system introduced a centrally planned economy, nationalized industry, and

The foundation of the domestic economy is the dynamically developing sector of micro, small and medium-sized enterprises, which produce over sixty percent of Poland's GDP.

fought against private enterprise. It was only on June 4, 1989, that the era of real socialism ended with the defeat of the communists in the Polish parliamentary elections. Unfortunately, it left its mark on the Polish economy for years to come. The democratic opposition took power over a country where hyperinflation was raging, shortages plagued the economy, and state-owned industrial plants were becoming increasingly inefficient. Both a political transformation and economic transformation were necessary. In Poland an unprecedented undertaking was carried out, involving a 180-degree turnabout in the economic system within the framework of parliamentary democracy. Many free-market reforms stabilized the exchange

rate and caused intensive economic development, but it was not without social costs.

AFTER REGAINING INDEPENDENCE

From 1990 to 2015, Polish GDP per capita increased more than sevenfold, which was definitely the best result in Europe. At the same time, during the reforms as well as in the years following them, structural problems related to the transformation of the economy appeared. One of them was high unemployment – ranging from more than ten percent in the first half of the nineties to nearly twenty percent in the early twenty-first century.

At the moment, Poland is characterized by a free market economy, record low unemployment (6.9 percent in September 2017), a stable GDP growth rate (estimated at 3.7 percent in 2017) and good prospects for the near future. The foundation of the domestic economy is the dynamically developing sector of micro, small and medium-sized enterprises, which produce over sixty percent of Poland's GDP. According to Eurostat, Polish GDP is mainly generated by trade, transport, industrial and construction enterprises. The share of agriculture (3.4 percent) is relatively low, as well as businesses in the information and communication sectors (3.5 percent). Our entrepreneurs are happy to trade with foreign partners (we can boast of a surplus in the balance of international trade), and Polish products are well-regarded worldwide. Therefore it seems that we have all the advantages needed to catch up with the wealthiest countries in Europe over the next few decades. And this is the basic ambition of Poles, especially after joining the European Union, when a whole generation of young people finally began to travel to the West unhindered and could

compare their quality of life to that of their peers from other countries.

STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS OF THE POLISH ECONOMY

Unfortunately, the Polish economy is still struggling with a few basic structural problems, which in the next few years may have key (negative) significance for its development. First of all, we are in a terrible demographic situation. This is a common problem for the European Union countries, but in Poland it can be felt front and center. Not only because we have one of the lowest fertility rates in the world, but also because we do not have capital saved up that could alleviate the costs of higher budgetary burdens imposed by the retirement system.

Secondly, the Polish economy is too heavily regulated. We create too many laws that are completely unnecessary for the healthy functioning of the market, and only restrict the activity of entrepreneurs who would like to develop new activities, but must instead spend long hours reading updated regulations.

Thirdly, there is a serious risk of falling into the trap of middling development, due to the fact that in competition with other countries we do not maximize the only advantages that we have at our disposal; given that competition in globalization takes place not only for commerce, but also for entire companies, and thus the budget revenues from taxes paid by them. During the boom caused by the implementation of basic free market principles in the West, Poland did not exist as a political entity, or it had to build its own state, or was destroyed during the war, or was in the Soviet zone of influence. In this situation, we had no way to compete with capital,

know-how or inventions – there was no opportunity to create and accumulate these resources in Poland.

The only way we can compete is with laws and institutions, so that people will want to settle in Poland and that companies will see the benefits of transferring their activities to Poland.

The only way we can compete is with laws and institutions, so that people will want to settle in Poland and that companies will see the benefits of transferring their activities to Poland. It will only be possible to catch up with the West in terms of affluence if these three problems are solved, although in reality the first two are consumed by the third. If Poland skillfully identifies potential competitive advantages relative to other countries, and then proceeds to effectively make the most of them, there is a good chance that in the coming decades it will join the richest countries in the European Union. And considering that twenty-eight years ago we were a nation on the verge of economic collapse, terribly indebted abroad, with declining industry and an eternal shortage of consumer goods – this would be an exceptional achievement!

Cezary Kaźmierczak ■
December 15, 2018

THE RACE THAT STARTED IN DREAMS

CZESŁAW LANG

“We would like to present a proposal for you to write something for our journal *The Warsaw Institute Review*, in which you will explain the Tour de Pologne (Tour of Poland) phenomenon”, I was asked some time ago.

“An interesting challenge,” I thought. I glanced at the dictionary to remind myself of the terminology. A phenomenon is “a rare, remarkable person or thing.” Is the Tour de Pologne something like this? I do not want to judge the event that I am responsible for organizing, but I know that we have come a long way and we have in fact created something unique in Polish sport. I know that the Tour de Pologne is not just another sporting event, but something unique that connects people, attracts them to the race route or in front of televisions, and at the same time showcases Poland to the world.

I am not exaggerating: the race is broadcast in 130 countries and viewers see the beautiful parts of our country through their TV screens. Kraków, which is already very popular, strengthens its brand even more. Other regions can tell their story by showing their best side. This opportunity cannot be overestimated. If someone wants to translate this into monetary value, there is simply no cheaper and more effective means of promotion than through sport, especially cycling. For example, let’s look at Rio de Janeiro. Everyone associates this Brazilian city with the carnival, the Christ the

THE RACE THAT STARTED IN DREAMS



WARSAW, POLAND, OCTOBER 17, 2016.
FORMER CYCLIST AND DIRECTOR OF THE TOUR
DE POLOGNE (TOUR OF POLAND) CZESŁAW LANG
AT THE PREMIERE OF HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY,
ZAWODOWIEC (PROFESSIONAL).

Redeemer statue, Copacabana, right? And yet, after the fantastically presented Olympic cycling race in 2016, I received a lot of calls from friends who were shocked at how stunningly beautiful Rio is. I also saw such reactions in online forums, and through other channels. All of this because hundreds of millions of people sat down in front of television sets to watch the best in the world compete, then in the process they saw something more – a fantastically beautiful environment. The Tour de Pologne is similar. Our race is more than just sport, but I will write more on that later.

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Did I expect such success? I do not know, but I definitely dreamed about creating something great. When, as the first cyclist from our part of Europe, I made it to a professional peloton,¹ I was as happy as a child, because I wanted to see a different, more colorful and better world. I went to Italy and competed with the best there. I observed the world's largest events up close.

Ultimately, I stopped racing, although I could have probably extended my career.

I already had other ideas, however. Of course, many cyclists try to organize their own teams. However, I thought that I would take a different road. A quarter of a century has just passed since the first Tour de Pologne for which I was responsible. Twenty-five years since, and yet I still remember everything exactly. Once, at the airport, I met the former director of the Tour de France. Jean-Marie Leblanc embraced me like a friend, though later he asked somewhat teasingly: "What's up, Cesare? I hear you are planning to do an event like ours in Poland?" I said that it would not be the same, because we have our own beautiful history, which is worth showing to the world at the occasion of a great sporting event. I also added that I wanted the Tour de Pologne to be just as well-organized as the world's biggest races. He looked at me and patted me on the back, but I did not notice great faith in his eyes. Besides, there were similar reactions everywhere. Anyway, it was similar a century ago.

When we organized the Tour de Pologne in 2016, the slogan of the event was "On the Trail of History". I dug into the historical record. The Battle of Warsaw happened in 1920, but hardly anyone knows that those people who fought then at Radzymin, real patriots, later organized a cycling race. They turned to the French for help. The Tour de France already existed, so the French had experience. However, they wrote back to the Poles that they would be better off giving up the idea, because it was too difficult and they would certainly not be able to handle it. I can imagine what they felt...

When I took the wheel of the Tour de Pologne, it was the beginning of the 1990s, Poland had just broken free from communism, people were learning to live in a new reality and had a lot of problems on their minds. Above all, they wanted to secure the well-being of their families.

¹ The main body of riders in a cycling race.



RZEPISKA, POLAND, AUGUST 4, 2017. FROM LEFT: CALEB EWAN FROM THE ORS GROUP, BERT DE BECKER FROM THE SUN GROUP, DANNY VAN POPPER FROM THE SKY GROUP, MARTIJN KEIZER FROM THE AND JAN BERT LINDEMAN FROM THE TLJ GROUP, KAMIL GRADEK, SARAMOTINS ALEKSEJS FROM THE BORA-HANSNGROHE GROUP, ON THE SEVENTH STAGE (132 KILOMETERS) OF THE 74TH TOUR DE POLOGNE IN BUKOWINA TATRZAŃSKA.

From the beginning, I followed certain rules. First of all, professionalism.

When I met potential partners and said what I wanted to do, most only smiled. “Professional cycling? Mr. Lang, give me a break. Maybe in a few years,” they said. But I did not want to give up. I found partners, I invested my own savings, I started the project. And we made it. From the beginning, I followed certain rules. First of all, professionalism. I know that many will wince in a moment, but a quarter of a century ago I knew that a race is a product. It must have value, but also be beautifully packaged. The main protagonists must feel well taken care of, the media must broadcast everything appropriately, and the fans need to know that they are participating in something special. Of course, there have been and will be missteps, although the assumption is always the same: everything must be ready to the last detail.

Our race is often compared with the Tour de France. It is a fact that you can always find some common elements. Besides, we have nothing to be ashamed of, although at the same time it is worth remembering that it is hard to compare our budget with what they are capable of. We’re not complaining about anything, we’re doing fine, but sometimes I laugh, we entered the race in a Syrena (Polish car produced from 1957–1972) and we’re staying neck and neck with Formula 1 cars. We don’t lag behind in any way. After each season, we are judged by the bosses of world cycling and we get the same grades as the Tour de France or Giro d’Italia, and all elements are taken into account – from accommodations, through awards, to safety. We earn over 99 points out of 100.

Sometimes our inferiority complex annoys me, that if something is Polish, it is supposedly worse. This is not true, we can do great things, and at the same time we have fantastic fans.

I remember 2016. Then, the Tour de Pologne was taking place in a difficult time. It overlapped with the Euro soccer championship, which attracts huge



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ZABRZE, POLAND, AUGUST 1, 2017. CYCLISTS ON THE FOURTH STAGE (238 KILOMETERS) OF THE 74TH TOUR DE POLOGNE, FROM ZAWIERCIE TO ZABRZE.

interest, and many fans were already waiting for the Olympics in Rio de Janeiro. However, the love for cycling won. On the route of our national track, three million fans watched the cyclists live. Millions more followed the competition in front of TVs. This is the biggest prize and the biggest measure of the success of our event. Then, after that race, I thought it was the realization of the goal that I set at the very beginning when I had only my dreams and a little savings. It was not about proving anything to anyone, but about dreaming to create something like that, a brand, that is recognizable all over the world, and guaranteed to be high quality. I remember a study carried out by Pentagon Research in 2013. It showed that the Tour de Pologne is the most recognizable annual sporting event in Poland. Statistically, more than four out of five respondents heard about the event organized by Lang Team. This is another measure of success.

In our country there is no bigger annual sporting event. Every day of the race, over twelve-hundred people are working on it and secure it. Hundreds of vehicles travel the route ahead of, alongside and behind the cyclists. These people have to be ready for anything. I respect all sports disciplines

and event organizers, but cycling is different from a soccer or volleyball game. There, everything happens in one place. Here, it's just the opposite. I remember 2016 well. The mountain stage of the race took place in exceptionally difficult weather conditions. Rain was flooding the roads. In Zakopane we managed to make it, but in Bukowina Tatrzańska I had to make the decision to cancel the stage. There was no way out, although hundreds of people worked to make it possible to conquer the mountain roads, and the fans were waiting.

The most important thing, however, is safety. We're constantly working on it. We have changed the type of fences separating fans from cyclists at the end of stages, and we are introducing other safeguards. I often think back to the Olympics in Rio. Annemiek van Vleuten was coming down from the last hill, riding for the gold medal, and she fell. She hit her head against a curb. Many fans thought that Dutch woman would not survive. My heart also stopped when this accident was shown on television. I knew that the cyclist could have killed herself and I was furious at the organizers. I did not understand how they could accept such amateurism in securing the route. During the Tour de Pologne,

after overcoming the “royal loop”, there is an exceptionally sharp downhill ride from Gliczarów. The cyclists speed along at up to 100 kilometers per hour and suddenly have to overcome a sharp bend. Safety must be absolutely guaranteed in such places. We set out special nets there, similar to those in alpine skiing competitions, and we also line the curbs with mattresses. If someone falls, they’ll be saved.

During an event as high-profile as the Tour de Pologne, and in such a sport as cycling, you have to take care of everything. We’ve been learning this for years and we’re still learning because there are always new things and better solutions in every respect. At the same time, I feel that it is worth doing, because the race is successful. I always knew that Poles love cycling. I remember empty streets in the times of Ryszard Szurkowski and other celebrities of the Polish peloton when everyone was inside watching the races. I remember the Peace Race; which fans were very fond of. I did not have the ambition to repeat that success, but I knew what I wanted to create. I have already written of the fact that the race became a brand, which in turn is a showcase of Poland.

The next goal was to create many other events around the Tour de Pologne, which would permanently enter the landscape, and at the same time would have social and educational functions. We spent years creating the MTB Grand Prix series, in which Maja Włoszczowska and Ania Szafraniec were “brought up”. It was happening during a big boom in mountain biking. We “packaged” this event in an extraordinary way. There was television, the biggest media and huge interest, and athletes were fighting for the prize in the form of a new car. In some editions, a mass of kids took part. For years we have been developing other projects such as the Nutella Mini Tour

de Pologne. Every year, I closely observe hundreds of kids who get shirts similar to those of the professional racers. In addition, they compete on the same route traveled by the “adult” peloton several hours later. I see the commitment, passion and joy on the faces of these children. This is the biggest prize. For years, this event was supported by my daughter Agata and she was also infected with passion and commitment. We are proud that everything has blossomed this way.

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The next event, which “sprung up” at the Tour de Pologne, was the Amateur Tour de Pologne. An unusual event, though... not for everyone. To participate in it, it’s not enough to simply get up from behind the TV and start. I mean, it’s possible, but it does not bode well for success. Amateur cyclists conquer the “royal loop” around Bukowina Tatrzańska, and this is a really big challenge. However, the event has grown so much and is so popular that sign-ups start in January, and there aren’t enough places on the starting list for everyone. This is also a measure of success.

For a long time, I also wanted to help in education. This is how the idea of creating a series of cycling marathons was born. A decade or two ago, the bicycle was usually thought of as just a means of transportation. Later, everything changed and it became a tool



WARSAW, POLAND, JANUARY 26, 2014. TWO-TIME OLYMPIC AND FOUR-TIME UCI ROAD WORLD CHAMPIONSHIP MEDALIST, RYSZARD SZURKOWSKI, TOOK FIRST PLACE IN THE "GOLDEN" TOP TEN ALL-TIME POLISH CYCLISTS POLL. THE EVENT TOOK PLACE DURING THE 1ST CYCLING CHAMPIONS BALL.

© BARTOMIEJ ZBOROWSKI (PAP)

used for physical activity and a healthy lifestyle. Bicycle paths were created, and sometimes I found myself in places where...bicycle traffic jams had formed. And, however annoying it might be, this sight made me realize how much everything is changing. Marathons have become a response to a social need. We gave the chance and opportunity for entire families to ride on various routes. There are distances for well-trained people, but also those on which you can ride with your child. On the routes I meet both small children and seniors. What more could you want?

None of this would have been possible without the right partners. It's a huge job that needs to be done year-round. Cycling is a rewarding sport for advertisers, but you have to convince them to it. The family of Tour de Pologne partners is a really big one today and that is another reason to be proud. There are global brands with us, such as Carrefour or Hyundai, there are domestic giants like Lotto, Tauron or Lotos, there are many other companies and we strive to look after each of them as best we can.

There are also cities and local governments that understand better and better the opportunity that promotion through sport offers. We try to show the most beautiful places in our country in the best possible way. Shots from helicopters, motorcycles, continuous action, and beautiful spots in the background. This is how you "do" sports today and people appreciate it, because the Tour de Pologne reaches over one-hundred countries around the world, and in Poland it builds a sense of community and pride. To understand this, you have to take part in it in any role, preferably as a fan. Therefore, there is nothing left for me to do but to invite everyone to the 75th Tour de Pologne, an exceptional race taking place in the year which marks the 100th anniversary of Poland regaining independence. We will celebrate a threefold jubilee: the 75th edition, ninety years since the first edition and finally, my humble anniversary of a quarter-century of taking responsibility for our national cycling event.

But this is not all, because I know that together, with fantastic fans and, above all, for them, we still want to develop the Tour de Pologne and everything that is happening around it. We are not going to stop; our heads are still full of ideas.

Czesław Lang ■
January 15, 2018

AMERICAN RELIEF AND POLAND'S INDEPENDENCE

NICHOLAS SIEKIERSKI

Later this year, Poland will celebrate its centenary of regaining independence on November 11, 1918. There will surely be many speeches and ceremonies, but what emphasis will be placed on the foreign country and the Pole who deserves much of the credit for this event?

I am speaking of the United States, then emerging as a superpower, and Ignacy Jan Paderewski the virtuoso pianist-statesman, whose efforts ensured American support for Poland's liberation from one-hundred and twenty-three years of enslavement.

The attempts by Herbert Hoover, Edward House and President Woodrow Wilson to negotiate a relief program for Poland modeled on the Commission for Relief in Belgium, though unrealized during the war, brought the plight of Poland to the world stage. This contributed

to an increased, international political interest in the distant land. Not only was the deplorable humanitarian situation publicized, but so was the reality of Poland's subjugation to three neighboring empires. The post-war operations of the American Relief Administration buttressed the proclamations made by the American government in support of Polish independence in the preceding years.

The Americans did not take an interest in Poland simply out of a sense of justice and morality (though these were



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WARSAW, POLAND, JUNE 9, 2015. AT A CEREMONY TRANSFERRING THE PAINTING PADEREWSKI AND WILSON (1939) BY ARTHUR SZYK AND “WILSON’S NOTES”, ILLUSTRATING THE EFFORTS OF U.S. PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON LEADING TO POLAND’S REBIRTH, TO THE CENTRAL ARCHIVES OF MODERN RECORDS (AAN) IN WARSAW.

important factors), but because they were induced to do so by Poles in America, most notably by Paderewski. It was largely Paderewski’s personal friendship with Edward House, Wilson’s closest adviser, that impressed upon the President the importance of Poland’s independence as a condition of peace after the war.

Although some of the most influential men in America took a great interest in seeing Poland regain her freedom, their support was not unconditional. While American influence on Polish politics appears to have been measured and intermittent (certainly when compared to Poland’s troubled history with Germany, Russia

and Austria-Hungary) it was brought to bear on occasion. The most effective form of this leverage was the threat of withholding critical food aid to the newly reborn nation in the early months of 1919, unless the country's civilian and military leaders recognized the necessity of a strong civil government with Paderewski as prime minister.

AMERICAN POLONIA AND POLISH RELIEF

The American government was preoccupied with a plethora of matters, even before entry into the war. The maintenance of its focus, even inconsistently, on both the humanitarian and independence issues surrounding Poland, was due largely to American Polonia.

Major immigration into the United States from Poland took place between the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Though exact numbers are impossible to determine, between two and three million Poles lived in America by 1914. The major concentrations were in the large cities such as New York, Pittsburgh and Detroit, though the undisputed center of American Polonia was Chicago.

With Poland partitioned between Germany, Russia and Austria, political life was necessarily carried out by Polonia émigrés, the most influential centers being in the United States and Western Europe. The ideological dividing line in Polish émigré politics in the early 20th century was between nationalism and socialism. Though there were many figures associated with both movements, the best known were Roman Dmowski and Józef Piłsudski, the former being the leader of the National Democratic Party and the latter being the most well-recognized leader of the Polish Socialist Party (though he left the party at the outbreak of World War I.)

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These political divisions were also present in the United States, though groups associated with nationalists would dominate. Over the course of the war, the nationalists would side with the Entente powers, based on the belief that Polish independence could only be achieved when her mortal enemy, Germany, was defeated. The socialists on the other hand, sided with the Central Powers, specifically with Austria (Piłsudski's base of operations was in the Austrian-controlled Galicia region), believing the defeat of Russia, Poland's other mortal enemy, to be the only way that a Polish state could re-emerge. As the chief financial support base for Polish political activity in Europe during World War I, American Polonia would gain paramount importance among Polish leaders.

The key figure in Polonia politics in America turned out to be neither Dmowski nor Piłsudski (neither spent very much time in America, with the latter only visiting once while traveling to Japan), but of all people a world-renowned concert pianist, Ignacy Jan Paderewski. Having toured Europe and America extensively for many years, and being fluent in English (among other languages), Paderewski was the most famous Pole in the world at the

time. His activities during World War I as Poland's most eloquent champion would also make him the country's best known political figure.

Paderewski, along with Nobel-prize-winning writer Henryk Sienkiewicz, formed the General Committee of Relief for War Victims in Poland (Generalny Komitet Pomocy Ofiarom Wojny w Polsce) in January 1915, which came to be informally known as the Vevey Committee, named after the Swiss city in which they were headquartered. The committee was the epicenter of the small, but highly influential group of Polish émigrés that would help to focus the efforts of Polonia organizations in the United States.

Having toured Europe and America extensively for many years, and being fluent in English (among other languages), Paderewski was the most famous Pole in the world at the time.

Also established in the U.S. in October 1914 in Chicago, was the Polish Central Relief Committee (Polski Centralny Komitet Ratunkowy, PCKR), a federation of major Polish organizations including: the Polish Roman-Catholic Union, Polish National Alliance, Polish Falcons' Alliance, Alliance of Polish Women, National Council and others. This organization was influenced by the National Democrats and Dmowski.

The National Defense Committee (Komitet Obrony Narodowej, KON) was formed in 1912 in Pittsburgh and enjoyed a brief period of hegemony over Polonia

politics. However, once it became clear that KON was not a broadly representative organization, and that the majority of their leadership were partisans of Piłsudski's Polish Legions, the coalition collapsed. The KON would play a minor, oppositional role in American Polonia politics.

The Polish Central Relief Committee and Vevey cooperated, thanks to Paderewski's arrival in America in April 1915 and his tour of Polonia organizations around the country. Disagreements over whether the relief organizations should engage in political actions or remain apolitical led to strong antagonisms between the Vevey Committee and the KON. The latter's support of the Central Powers and the association of Vevey with the Entente, and their respective opinions as to which side would better realize Polish independence, was the basis of this friction.

In total, the Vevey committee received approximately \$4 million in donations during the course of the war, \$2.5 million of which came from the United States. This was quite a sum, accounting for the fact that a majority of donations, at least from the U.S., were from working class Poles who earned less than \$400 per year.

While American Polonia was a force to be reckoned with, ultimately its greatest influence was realized by one man. Paderewski enjoyed the respect, financial support and access to media platforms (namely newspapers and public appearances) afforded by Polonia, which allowed him to carry on practically full-time political work from 1915 onward. Though sometimes vain, naive and prone to nervous breakdowns, Paderewski was able to create a personal connection with the most influential men in America at the time. His efforts highlighted the issues of Polish relief and independence in a way that no other individual or group could come close to.



LAWRENCE ALMA-TADEMA, *PORTRAIT OF IGNACY JAN PADEREWSKI* (1890). FROM THE EXHIBITION "PADEREWSKI" (FEBRUARY 17–MAY 20, 2018) AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN WARSAW.

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PADEREWSKI, COLONEL HOUSE AND WOODROW WILSON

Paderewski's activities on Poland's behalf would eventually lead him to meet President Wilson's closest advisor, Edward Mandell House on November 12, 1915. The purpose of the meeting was Paderewski's desire to impress upon House the need for Polish relief and to request assistance in securing aid from the administration.¹ Colonel House (an honorific title, as he had no military background) was immediately taken in by Paderewski's dynamism, energy and patriotic zeal. "We were friends at our first meeting. I knew at once that I was in the presence of a great man, and one with

whom it would be a delight to work. He inlisted [sic] my sympathies for Poland."² House later reflected on the importance of the Paderewski friendship to his involvement in the Polish cause:

"It was solely through Paderewski that I became so deeply interested in the cause of Poland, and repeatedly pressed upon the President Paderewski's views, which I had made my own. That was the only real influence regarding Poland that I counted, and I am sure if Woodrow Wilson were alive he would tell you that he was actuated by the same impulse that governed me."³

¹ Edward Mandell House Papers, Series II, Diaries, Volume 3, Yale University Library Digital Collections, http://digital.library.yale.edu/cdm/ref/collection/1004_6/id/3841.

² M.B.B. Biskupski, *The United States and the Rebirth of Poland: 1914–1918*, (St. Louis: Republic of Letters, 2012), 134.

³ House to Orłowski, January 15, 1931, House Papers, Box 84, f. 2916.

Years later, the value that Paderewski tied to the friendship with House, whom he referred to as “Poland’s providential man”,⁴ took tangible shape in the form of a statue of House that he funded in 1932 in Warsaw’s Skaryszewski Park. It is one of the few statues of Americans in Poland (other than the busts of Ronald Reagan and George Washington in Warsaw, and Woodrow Wilson in Poznań). While President Wilson gets credit for facilitating Poland’s independence, it is clear that House’s interest in the matter, further inspired by Paderewski, led him to emphasize its importance upon the President:

“The close relationship growing between House and Paderewski had the effect of gradually aligning the United States government with the faction in international politics represented by the maestro. Although other factors were involved, the personal element represented by the Paderewski-House relationship should not be discounted, especially in the earliest American involvement in Polish affairs.”⁵

Years later, the value that Paderewski tied to the friendship with House, whom he referred to as “Poland’s providential man”, took tangible shape in the form of a statue of House that he funded in 1932 in Warsaw’s Skaryszewski Park.

One of the early effects of Paderewski’s and Polonia’s efforts was the declaration by Wilson of January 1, 1916 as “Polish Relief Day”, following a resolution passed in Congress, with the Red Cross serving as the administrator of money collected. Though the gesture was received with great excitement among Poles, only \$64,000 was raised in all of 1916 through this charitable endeavor. A combination of factors was at work here, though the dominant one was likely the far greater familiarity of Americans with fundraising appeals for the Commission for Relief in Belgium, chaired by Herbert Hoover, which was collecting donations in the millions of dollars each year.⁶

The most practical results of the Paderewski-House relationship during the war was the influence on Wilson that led to several important references to Polish independence in his major speeches:

“Sympathy for the war suffering of the Poles merged with sympathy for their demand for the unity and independence of their nation. In this way the restoration of Poland became a war issue for a large public long before it was accepted by the foreign offices of Europe...popular support of Polish aspirations gained headway more rapidly in America than elsewhere, and this championship... was to be given new force in President Wilson’s speech on January 22, 1917.”⁷

This timeframe, several months before America’s entry into the war, was part of a final effort to negotiate peace in Europe with the United States as the mediator. Although more of an illustrative example than a powerful statement of intent, the Polish question was given

⁴ H. Paderewska, *Memoirs, 1910–1920*, (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 2015), 88.

⁵ Ibid. 136.

⁶ M.B.B. Biskupski, *op.cit.*, 141.

⁷ H.H. Fisher, *America and the New Poland*, (New York: Macmillan, 1928), 90–91.

international exposure in a way that it had not received before:

"I take it for granted, for instance if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland, and that henceforth inviolable security of life or worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of Governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own."⁸

Nearly one year later, after America had already entered the war, Wilson gave his landmark "Fourteen Points" speech on January 8, 1918. The thirteenth point addressed Poland and was a more definitive statement of Wilson's vision for a free Poland:

"An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant."⁹

A closer analysis of the point reveals that it was not as much of a ringing endorsement of Polish independence as some had hoped. The use of the word 'should' instead of 'must' (the latter having been applied to Belgian independence in an earlier point) indicated that a controversy existed on the matter. As was explained to Paderewski by House later, it was not an ultimatum.

In Professor Marek Biskupski's analysis, "Essentially, the very principle of Polish independence was reduced from the level of basic war aims (signified by the use of "must" in the case of Belgium) to that of ethical endorsement."¹⁰ Wilson's statement may also reflect an academic and theoretical view of international affairs rather than a practical one. The border conflicts that engulfed Poland from the moment independence was declared were a natural consequence of reconstituting a new state surrounded and populated by ethnic groups with conflicting claims. Wilson's abstract way of thinking did not account for this however:

"He [Wilson] was convinced that the moral good of reconstituting Polish independence could be had without major territorial revisions. His conversion to the cause of Polish independence was essentially moralistic: part of a larger *moral* vision of world order. Within this new order the demands of realpolitik discussed by his own advisers, could be ignored as no longer valid...In reality he was merely the champion of the *idea* of Polish independence, not of a rational program to assure its maintenance."¹¹

Wilson was frustrated by Poland's initiative to establish its borders through military force, rather than wait for the wise men of the Paris Peace Conference to draw the new boundaries on a map. Herbert Hoover provides an insight into Wilson's mindset in his tellingly titled *America's First Crusade*, "He, however, believed and continued to believe, that he could bring a 'new order' to the Old World. The words 'new order,' 'justice,' 'right,' 'reason' were constantly upon his lips. He believed that he had the power to impose this new order upon Europe, that it would remove the major cause of their

⁸ M.B.B. Biskupski, *op.cit.*, 239.

⁹ President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, January 8, 1918, Yale Law School, The Avalon Project, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/wilson14.asp.

¹⁰ M.B.B. Biskupski, *op.cit.*, 331–332.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 406–407.

incessant wars.”¹² America’s involvement in the peace process would be a great experiment into how well its values could be transferred to Europe’s new nation states with their conflicting interests.

All the Western Allies declared support for Polish independence by Armistice Day, November 11, 1918. The United States was the first world power to commit to self-determination of nations in Eastern Europe, at least in principle. The establishment of the first new government in Poland by Piłsudski would test the principle in practice.

HUMANITARIAN AID AS POLITICAL LEVERAGE

In December 1918, it finally became possible to send direct aid from America. A “food mission” departed France under the instruction of Herbert Hoover, then Food Administrator of the United States under President Wilson. By January 1919, when the mission had arrived in Poland, Hoover had become the director of the American Relief Administration (ARA), tasked with providing famine relief to Europe. At the request of the Polish government and following the reports of the food mission describing conditions

in Poland, it was decided to provide Poland with aid. Ultimately the mission would help establish more than four-thousand “kitchens” run by tens of thousands of Polish volunteers, serving daily meals to over one million Polish children and nursing mothers by 1920.

Herbert Hoover had been explicit in his instructions to the mission: “Keep entirely out of politics. There are political missions assigned to political work, and we should forward to them any matters of interest in their work, or to the advantage of Poland in the general Allied cause, but your work is entirely that of relief.”¹³ However, in his memoirs written several years later, Hoover relates an incident that was quite the opposite of his instruction:

“Dr. Kellogg [chief of the mission] advised me of the impossible political situation. He felt there was only one hope and that was for Piłsudski, who had the army’s backing, to be put on a pedestal. To close up the factions, he recommended that Ignacy Paderewski, the favorite of all Poles, should be placed at the head of a stronger cabinet as Prime Minister and take control of the civil government. Not only did Paderewski hold the imagination of all the people, but he was a man of superlative integrity, deeply imbued with democratic ideals. Dr. Kellogg asked that he be authorized to inform Piłsudski that unless this was done American co-operation and aid were futile. I did so and got the hint reinforced from President Wilson. As a result, Piłsudski was elevated to the position of “Chief of State,” and Paderewski became Prime Minister on January 16.”¹⁴

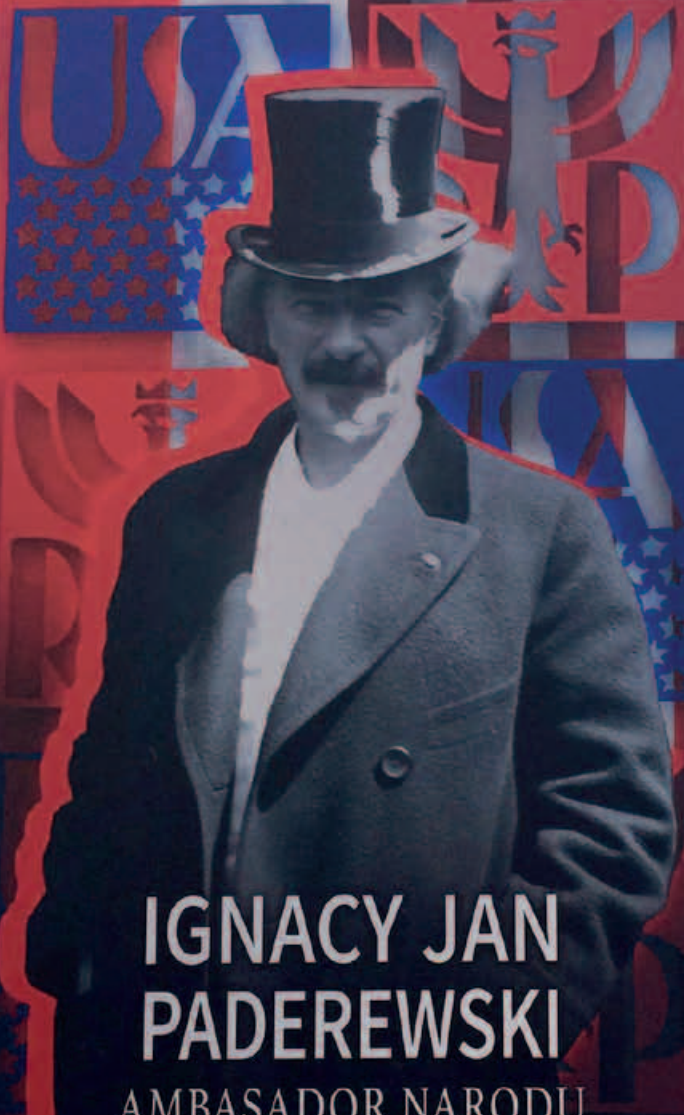
Ultimately the mission would help establish more than four-thousand “kitchens” run by tens of thousands of Polish volunteers, serving daily meals to over one million Polish children and nursing mothers by 1920.

¹² H. Hoover, *America’s First Crusade*, (New York: Scribner’s, 1942), 3.

¹³ W.R. Grove, *War’s Aftermath*, (New York: House of Field, 1940), 36.

¹⁴ H. Hoover, *The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover: Years of Adventure, 1874–1920*, (New York: Macmillan, 1951), 356–357.

FROM...
POLAND
... WITH
LOVE...



IGNACY JAN
PADEREWSKI
AMBASADOR NARODU

AMBASSADOR OF THE NATION

FRAGMENT OF THE EXHIBITION "FROM POLAND WITH LOVE" (OCTOBER 18,
2017-JANUARY 14, 2018) FEATURING IGNACY JAN PADEREWSKI, CREATED BY THE
HISTORY MEETING HOUSE IN WARSAW.



FRAGMENT OF THE EXHIBITION "FROM POLAND WITH LOVE" (OCTOBER 18, 2017-JANUARY 14, 2018) IGNACY JAN PADEREWSKI, CREATED BY THE HISTORY MEETING HOUSE IN WARSAW.

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Nowhere in his writings does Vernon Kellogg confirm that this incident did indeed take place. However, the incident is corroborated by Wilson himself at one of the Paris Peace Conference meetings on May 17, 1919: "President Wilson said that M. Paderewski had a letter in his possession from Mr. Hoover, informing him that aid would only be extended to Poland so long as he was in charge."¹⁵ The context of the discussion was the apparent refusal of the Poles to cease operations on the Ukrainian front, despite Paderewski's protest and threat to resign.

¹⁵ U.S. Department of State, Papers Relating to Foreign Relations of the United States: Paris Peace Conference 1919, Washington D.C. Government Printing Office, 1919, 5: 676, <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS1919Parisv05>.

There is dispute among scholars as to the veracity of Hoover's statement, in one case blaming him for a memory lapse.¹⁶ While it is not inconceivable that Hoover confused some of the facts, the more questionable part is that Kellogg himself would suggest such a serious intervention into Polish affairs. It is more likely that Hoover, if not Wilson or House, put forward this idea. The statement by Wilson in Paris supports this. In the spring of 1919 Wilson also suggested withholding aid to Poland if certain issues relating to the Jewish minority were not addressed. This further strengthens the idea that the U.S. government was willing

¹⁶ T. Komarnicki, *Rebirth of the Polish Republic: A Study in the Diplomatic History of Europe, 1914–1920*, (London: William Heineman, 1957) 261.

to use food aid as leverage on both the political structure and policy of the Polish state, at least in the early months of its existence.

The main reason for this influence was the cautious attitude of the Americans towards Piłsudski. Ironically, the Polish nationalist faction, which had gained so much support in America both from Polonia and the U.S. government, was subordinated to Piłsudski and his circle, which had been largely frozen out of funding and political influence among the Allies during the war.

“Hoover’s admiration for the Polish artist may have been the main factor in his expressed preference for Paderewski as the head of government. Also, Piłsudski’s past association with socialism, though it was the Polish type of intensely patriotic and democratic socialism, may have bothered Hoover, who throughout his life was a consistent opponent of any form of socialism.”¹⁷

The apparent intervention of Hoover or Wilson on Paderewski’s behalf was an attempt to tip the scales in favor of an individual that they felt valued democratic principles, was an idealist like they were, and most importantly, was someone they knew and could work with. Paderewski returned to Europe on the SS *Megantic*, still a British troopship at the time, and stopped in London for consultations with the British Foreign Office prior to his return to Poland,¹⁸ which shows the measure of importance that he was treated with by the Allies. Piłsudski on the other hand was seen differently:

“The General was a revolutionary soldier. He was wholly without

experience in civil government. He was a dictatorial person with a strange mixture of social and economic ideas. He set up a ministry mostly of military and doctrinaire character that was concerned with such matters, rather than with the heartbreaking and immediate job of governmental housekeeping.”¹⁹

The Chief of State recognized Paderewski’s popularity in both Poland and abroad, and the role he could play representing Poland at the Paris Peace Conference.

Publicly Hoover showered Piłsudski with praise during his 1919 visit to Poland, “Poland is fortunate in having in her leadership two out of the six or seven great idealist statesmen of the world, Mr. Piłsudski and Mr. Paderewski.”²⁰

However, this type of rhetoric was more a matter of statesmanship and wishful thinking, while his memoirs more closely present his true beliefs. Despite the obvious preference of Allied leaders, it’s debatable whether their interventions played a decisive role in the composer’s appointment as prime minister of Poland by Piłsudski. The Chief of State recognized Paderewski’s popularity in both Poland and abroad, and the role he could play representing Poland at the Paris Peace Conference. It is nonetheless an episode that highlights the importance America placed on Poland, especially as the Bolshevik Revolution threatened

¹⁷ J. Lerski, *Herbert Hoover and Poland: A Documentary History of a Friendship*, (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1977), 8.

¹⁸ H. Paderewska, *op.cit.*, 121.

¹⁹ H. Hoover, *Memoirs*, 355–356.

²⁰ J. Lerski, “Hoover Address at Lwów city hall, August 15, 1919”, 82.

The 116,000 American lives claimed in “the war to end war” was the price of entry onto the political and cultural battlefield of Europe.

to spill over the borders of Russia, as it did in 1920. The tremendous resources poured into Poland by the U.S. served as a kind of insurance policy meant to increase the physical wellbeing of its citizens and to jumpstart the economy of the newly reborn nation.

CRUSADE FOR PEACE

Despite the failure of attempts to provide relief to Poland during World War I, the issue of Polish independence was brought to the forefront, and post-war relief carried out by the ARA, while an extraordinary humanitarian endeavor in its own right, was a means of ensuring that Poland remained free to the greatest extent that America was able to do at that time. As Herbert Hoover saw it, “Our Americans had been more detached from the war, and had the least degree of hate. Our statesmen were free to rise above it. We had no ideas of acquiring territory or reparations or profit. What we wanted was for Europe to so order itself as to end wars.”²¹ America’s influence on Paderewski’s selection as Prime Minister of Poland, even if not the decisive factor, shows that when Europe failed to “order itself” in an acceptable manner, the United States would push events in the direction it preferred.

The 116,000 American lives claimed in “the war to end war” was the price

of entry onto the political and cultural battlefield of Europe. The entire post-war relief project, which extended well beyond Poland, coupled with the Paris Peace Conference and League of Nations, was meant to be the framework that would realize a lasting peace. While it is easy to dismiss it as a hopelessly naive enterprise that was doomed to failure from the start, understanding the motivation behind it provides an insight into the pioneering mindset of American leaders at the time. Their horror at Europe’s self-destruction that left nearly twenty million dead, coupled with a uniquely American approach to solving problems, motivated their desire to forge a new paradigm for Western civilization.

This underappreciated aspect of Poland’s modern history should get its due during the celebrations and events to come later this year. The excellent exhibit “From Poland with Love”, created by the History Meeting House and the Karta Center in Warsaw recently, is a perfect example of how this story should be told. The exhibit highlighted the extraordinary symbol of gratitude created by the Poles in thanks for American relief: 109 volumes containing 5.5 million signatures (twenty percent of the pre-war population) and beautiful illustrations, delivered to the White House in 1926. A searchable database has been created online for Poles to track down the signatures of their ancestors. Both of my grandfathers, then young boys, signed the volumes. Poland’s fate could have been far different were it not for America’s intervention on her behalf and the unlikely friendship between Colonel House and Ignacy Paderewski. Poland’s heavy reliance on the United States for its security today is reason enough to highlight these historic ties of friendship between the two nations.

Nicholas Siekierski ■

January 15, 2018

²¹ H. Hoover, *America’s First Crusade*, 10.

POLAND: FIRST TO FIGHT

BOGUSŁAW KOPKA PHD, PAWEŁ KOSIŃSKI PHD

Poland was the first country to firmly resist the brutal expansion of the totalitarian powers that were utterly indifferent to the rights of weaker countries. Poland's armed resistance to German aggression on September 1, 1939, was a turning point in world politics towards the Third Reich. Contrary to the hopes of Adolf Hitler, on the third day after the commencement of military operations, the German attack on Poland transformed into a world war.

The six-year war gradually spilled onto successive continents and eventually spread to most of the world. The fortunes of the Allied and Axis forces changed many times. The most difficult period for the anti-Hitler coalition was between the summers of 1940 and 1941. The most spectacular shifts of the front were experienced by the USSR, which was forced into the Allied camp by the Germans themselves. The Japanese attack on the United States of America sealed

the fate of the Axis Powers. From the first to the last day of war, Poland fought in accordance with the old motto of Tadeusz Kościuszko, Kazimierz Pułaski and its nineteenth-century insurgents: "for our freedom and yours" (o wolność naszą i waszą).

GLORY TO THE HEROES

During the September Campaign in 1939, the Polish Army fought alone against the aggressors from the west, south and east. In the face of the overwhelming

Fourth Partition of Poland October 1939



From the first to the last day of war, Poland fought in accordance with the old motto of Tadeusz Kosciuszko, Kazimierz Pułaski and its nineteenth-century insurgents: “for our freedom and yours” (o wolność naszą i waszą).

advantage of the Wehrmacht and the Red Army, a defeat in the first stage of the war was inevitable. The last large Polish units surrendered in the Lublin region at the beginning of October 1939. However, it is not an empty slogan to say that the Polish Army never laid down their arms. The officers and sailors of three Polish destroyers (ORP *Błyskawica*, ORP *Grom* and ORP *Burza*), two submarines (ORP *Orzeł* and ORP *Wilk*) and military transporters and mobilized civilian ships, fought ceaselessly. Later they were joined by refugees from Poland – Polish soldiers temporarily interned in Romania and Hungary – who after many adventures were sent to France and Syria (a French mandate).

Starting in November 1939, seven large land units and eight aviation squadrons were formed out of the Polish soldiers

in France and mobilized Polish migrant workers. In the defense of France (in the second phase of the campaign, after the Germans broke through the front on the Somme and Aisne – including under Lagarde and Clos du Doubs) and Norway (near Narvik), approximately fifty thousand Polish soldiers took part in the fighting. In the second half of June 1940, around twenty-five thousand Polish soldiers were evacuated from France to the British Isles. After a time, they would serve as the basis for the formation of the 1st Polish Corps, commanded successively by Generals Marian Kukiel, Józef Zając and Mieczysław Boruta-Spiechowicz. Formed in Syria, the Independent Brigade of Carpathian Riflemen went to Palestine in order to save itself from internment, and was moved again to Egypt several months later. In the spring of 1941, it was stationed at Mersa Matruh, and from August – together with British units and a Czechoslovak battalion – defended Tobruk against the Italians and German siege for nearly four months.

The Polish Air Force in Great Britain was famous for taking part in the Battle for Britain. The No. 303 Polish Fighter Squadron was the most effective unit participating in the fighting. A total of 145 Polish pilots serving in four Polish squadrons of the Royal Air Force (five percent of all RAF pilots) shot down approximately 170 German aircraft and damaged 36, representing about twelve percent of Luftwaffe losses. In addition, Polish pilots in three-hundred combat aircraft took part in the bombing of Germany and German military facilities in occupied countries, fought in North Africa, Italy and even the Far East and supported the Allied invasion of Western Europe. During the war almost two thousand Polish airmen died or went missing in action. The Polish Air Forces in Great Britain were commanded by Generals Władysław Kalkus, Stanisław

A total of 145 Polish pilots serving in four Polish squadrons of the Royal Air Force (five percent of all RAF pilots) shot down approximately 170 German aircraft and damaged 36, representing about twelve percent of Luftwaffe losses.

Ujejski and Mateusz Iżycki. By the end of the war almost fifteen thousand people served in the Polish Air Forces (pilots, crews, ground and technical staff).

During the course of the war (apart from the aforementioned ships evacuated from the Baltic Sea and militarized civilian ships in the Polish navy), ships provided by the British also took part, including: ten fast attack craft, six destroyers, three submarines and two cruisers. Polish-crewed ships took part in 1162 patrols and combat operations (fighting against surface ships, submarines, coastal artillery and airplanes) and escorted 787 convoys operating on the Atlantic and Arctic Oceans and adjacent seas. During the war about 660 Polish sailors perished, and the navy lost one cruiser, four destroyers, one minesweeper, two submarines, six trawlers, two gunboats, six auxiliary vessels and eighteen mobilized merchant ships. For this entire period the navy was led by Vice Admiral Jerzy Świrski. By the end of the



MARKOWA, POLAND, FEBRUARY 2, 2018. PRIME MINISTER MATEUSZ MORAWIECKI DURING A VISIT TO THE ULMA FAMILY MUSEUM OF POLES SAVING JEWS IN WORLD WAR II IN MARKOWA.

© PAWEŁ SUPERNĄK (PAP)

war, almost four thousand sailors served in the Polish Navy.

After the German attack on the USSR and the signing of special Polish-Soviet agreements, it became possible to organize a Polish army composed of political prisoners who had been arrested earlier in the Soviet occupation zone in eastern Poland and detained in the USSR. The commander of the Polish Armed Forces in the USSR, also released from the Gulag, was General Władysław Anders. Ultimately, six infantry divisions were formed. In two stages in April and August 1942, the army was evacuated to Iran (over 115,000 people went there by November, including around 78,500 soldiers and 37,000 civilians – among whom there were almost 18,000 children) and from September 1942, together with the Polish Army in the Middle East, formed the Polish Army in the East (APW). In July 1943, the 2nd Polish Corps of over 50,000 soldiers was formed out of

it. In August and September it was moved to Palestine and Egypt (where Corporal Menachem Begin, future prime minister of Israel, was allowed release from service).

In 1943 the Polish Army was thrown onto the Italian front with the Independent Commando Company making it there in the autumn, having made it through North Africa. At the turn of 1943 and 1944, the 2nd Corps was transported to Italy, becoming part of the 8th British Army. Poles on the Italian front in 1944 played an active role in: defense operations along the Sangro River, a breakthrough of the Gustav Line during the offensive on Rome (taking the fortifications on Monte Cassino and Piedimonte in May), pursuit activities along the Adriatic coast to Ancona, a breakthrough of the Gothic Line; and in 1945, the attack on Bologna. Polish troops also took part in opening the

second front in Europe on June 6, 1944. In Operation Overlord, the largest air-sea invasion in history, units of the Polish Navy (five ships and eight militarized merchant ships) and the Polish Air Force (eight fighter squadrons and three bomber squadrons) took part. At the turn of July and August, the 1st Armored Division (16,000 soldiers, 380 tanks and 4,000 motor vehicles) were transported to France, commanded by Brigadier General Stanisław Maczek. Battles over nearly nine months led this unit through France, Belgium, Holland and Germany, including: a battle in the Falaise-Chambois and Ormel hills, the operational pursuit of the 7th German Army, the crossing of the Seine and Somme, the liberation of Abbeville, Ypres, Ghent, Lokeren, St.-Nicolas, Stekene, St.-Gilles, Baarle-Nassau and Breda. Furthermore they attacked Moerdijk with the task of taking control of the two longest bridges in Europe and seizing a bridgehead on the other side of the Meuse (this task could not be carried out because the retreating Germans blew up the bridges) and a few months later, chasing the enemy on the territory of the Reich, crowned by the occupation of Wilhelmshaven, the base of the German Navy.

On September 18, 1944, the 1st Independent Parachute Brigade (as part of the 1st British Airborne Division) commanded by Brigadier General Stanisław Sosabowski, was sent to fight for bridges on the Rhine in the Netherlands and open the way to the Ruhr Basin; though its soldiers had been training for almost three years for an entirely different mission to support a national uprising in Poland. Until September 26, about 1,600 Polish paratroopers fought in Operation Market Garden, including heavy fighting in the Arnhem-Driel area to hold bridges and cover the retreat of bloodied British units. In October the brigade was withdrawn to England

In May 1945, the Polish Armed Forces totalled about two-hundred thousand soldiers, but none of them was invited to take part in the London Victory Celebrations on June 8, 1946.

and only in May 1945 was it sent for occupation duty in Germany.

During these battles the Polish 2nd Corps lost about seventeen thousand soldiers and officers (about thirty-six percent of its personnel), including 2,301 killed; the 1st Armored Division lost about five thousand soldiers (about thirty-one percent of its personnel), including 1,053 killed; the 1st Parachute Brigade lost a total of about 400 soldiers (about twenty--three percent of personnel), including forty-seven killed. The total casualties of the Polish Armed Forces in the West amounted to about forty-three thousand soldiers, including 7,608 killed in action or later from wounds sustained in battle. In May 1945, the Polish Armed Forces totalled about two-hundred thousand soldiers, but none of them was invited to take part in the London Victory Celebrations on June 8, 1946.

THE HOME ARMY

During World War II, Poles not only fought in foreign lands but also within their occupied country. The Home Army (AK) was an integral part of the Polish Armed Forces and was subordinate to the supreme commander. The first armed underground organizations were established in Poland before the end of

The Home Army (AK) was an integral part of the Polish Armed Forces and were subordinate to the supreme commander. The first armed underground organizations were established in Poland before the end of September 1939.

September 1939. The Service for Poland's Victory (SZP) was established in Warsaw on September 27. The order to organize the Union of Armed Struggle (ZWZ) – based on the structures of the SZP – was issued in Paris on November 13 by the supreme commander. At the end of June 1940 (after the defeat of France), the leadership of the ZWZ was transferred to Poland. In order to elevate the military union to a national armed force, in which all soldiers in active military service serve, the ZWZ was renamed as the Home Army (without any organizational changes) on February 14, 1942 in London. Included in this action of merging smaller groups into the Armed Forces in the Country, were the Socialist People's Guard (1940), the National Military Organization (1942), the Peasant Battalions and the National Confederation (1943) and the National Armed Forces (1944).

The main task of the ZWZ-AK was to conduct armed resistance against the German occupiers (intelligence, sabotage and subversion) and to prepare a nation-wide uprising, which was to break out

at the moment of the collapse of German defenses. In the face of doubly negative conditions (steadily increasing, stiff resistance from the Wehrmacht and the lack of political agreement between the Republic of Poland and the USSR), the AK leadership decided to conduct Operation Tempest. Regional AK units engaged in open warfare from January to November 1944, as the German-Soviet front approached. The earliest battles took place in Volhynia, then in Podolia, Vilnius, Białystok, Polesie, Lviv, the Lublin region, Kraków, in and around Warsaw, in Radom, Kielce and Łódź. All AK operations that led to revealing themselves to the Red Army ended with the arrest of Polish officers and the forced enlistment of soldiers into the Soviet-controlled People's Army of Poland.

The Warsaw Uprising of 1944 ended after two months of heroic fighting. The insurgents did not receive any effective help from the Soviets. Though it was justifiable militarily, great power politics prevented it – Stalin was doing everything to prevent the reconstruction of a sovereign and democratic Poland. Facing the Red Army's occupation of the entire territory of pre-war Poland, the last commander of the AK Brigadier General Leopold Okulicki issued an order in Częstochowa on January 19, 1945 to disband the organization. In the spring of 1944, the Home Army numbered over 350,000 sworn soldiers.

In March 1945, fifteen leaders of the Polish Underground State, lured by the promise of peace negotiations, were treacherously arrested by the NKVD. They were immediately transported by plane to Moscow and after several weeks of investigation, they were tried in June. On-call Soviet judges, who had convicted the "old" Bolsheviks in Stalinist show trials in the 1930s, gladly deprived the undisputed leaders of the Polish nation of their freedom. This took place during

the negotiations on the establishment of the Soviet-sponsored Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, under the patronage of: the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Vyacheslav Molotov, the British Ambassador to Russia Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, and the U.S. Ambassador to Russia Averell Harriman.

STALIN'S POLISH ARMY

A separate chapter in the history of the Polish armed forces was written by units formed by the order of Joseph Stalin starting in May 1943. The Polish 1st Tadeusz Kościuszko Infantry Division was created as the initial unit of the Polish People's Army on August 10, 1943. It was expanded into the 1st Polish Corps on March 16, 1944, then transformed and later renamed on July 29, 1944 into the 1st Polish Army. On August 8, 1944, the 2nd Polish Army was also created. All of these units were military and politically subordinate to the USSR and in direct opposition to the plans of the Polish government-in-exile. The commanding officers had either served in the Polish Army and then recruited by the NKVD while in Soviet captivity in 1939–1941, or were specially delegated Red Army officers and graduates of separate courses and officers' schools. The commander of the 1st Division and the 1st Army was Brigadier General Zygmunt Berling (Stalin granted him the rank of general). The soldier's ranks were filled by exiles who failed to join the Polish Army that had been evacuated to Iran a year earlier or by Poles living on Polish territory gradually occupied by the Red Army starting in the second half of 1944. Polish troops on the Eastern Front fought against German armies in Ukraine, Belarus, and the territories of Poland, Germany and Czechoslovakia.

By the end of military operations, the total casualties of the Polish Army fighting alongside the Red Army amounted to

By the end of military operations, the total casualties of the Polish Army fighting alongside the Red Army amounted to over sixty-seven thousand, including approximately seventeen thousand killed; Stalin treated Berling's soldiers as cannon fodder.

over sixty-seven thousand, including approximately seventeen thousand killed; Stalin treated Berling's soldiers as cannon fodder. In May 1945, the Polish People's Army amounted to about 370,000 soldiers. The "Polish authorities" installed by the Soviets west of the German-Soviet "friendship border" of 1939, could carry out conscriptions there, although they were boycotted in anticipation of the return of the legitimate government from London.

THE SOVEREIGN POLISH AUTHORITIES

The Polish government, unlike most of the governments of countries invaded by Germany, never surrendered to the aggressors or disgraced themselves through collaboration with the occupation authorities. After the attack by the USSR, on September 17, 1939, the president of Poland, the supreme commander of the Polish Army and the Polish government, left the country. The Polish authorities intended to get to France

through Romania and there, with the help of Western allies, coordinate the further struggle for the liberation of the homeland.

However, the hopes of President Ignacy Mościcki, Marshal Edward Śmigły-Rydz and Prime Minister Felicjan Sławoj Składkowski, went up in smoke.

The Romanian authorities, under pressure from Berlin, Moscow and Paris, demanded that the Polish authorities waive their sovereign state prerogatives (Germans and the Soviets – because they were intent on annihilating the Polish state, and the French – because they did not want to cooperate with people disgraced by military disaster, but to whom they had treaty obligations). When the Poles did not meet these demands, they were forcibly interned.

This regrettable fact, however, was not the end of Polish legal statehood. According to Article 24 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland (the so-called April Constitution of 1935) in wartime, the president of Poland was authorized to appoint his successor. After some turmoil (the original candidate, Major Bolesław Wieniawa-Długoszowski, the Polish ambassador in Italy, was rejected due to the intrigues of the pre-war political opposition and the repeat pressure of the French government), Władysław Raczkiewicz became president at the end of September. A few days later, the new president appointed General Władysław Sikorski as Prime Minister, and he formed a coalition cabinet, and was also appointed Commander-in-Chief soon after. Until December 1939, Polish authorities operated in Paris, and later in Angers, where they held extraterritoriality status. After the fall of France, the president, supreme commander and government moved to London and there they exercised legal power, until the disgraceful withdrawal of recognition by the United

Kingdom and the United States on July 6, 1945.

After the catastrophic plane crash at Gibraltar in July 1943, in which General Sikorski was killed, Stanisław Mikołajczyk became Prime Minister, and General Kazimierz Sosnkowski the Commander-in-Chief. Due to the criticism of the allies' passivity in the face of the Warsaw Uprising, General Sosnkowski was replaced in September 1944 by General Tadeusz Bór-Komorowski (who was in German captivity from October 5, 1944 to May 5, 1945, and his duties for much of that time were carried out by General Władysław Anders). After the resignation of Prime Minister Mikołajczyk in November 1944, he was replaced by Tomasz Arciszewski.

THE PHENOMENON OF THE POLISH UNDERGROUND STATE

During the war, the Polish state did not just exist in exile. Its secret structures, subordinate to the Polish Government-in-exile, also functioned in the territories occupied by Germany and the USSR. The Polish Underground State (the term was first used in the underground press in January 1944) operated from September 1939 (the creation of the Service for the Victory of Poland) until July 1945 (the self-dissolution of the Council of National Unity and the Government Delegation to the Country).

The underground state developed thanks to the broad support of loyal Polish citizens and the agreement of the most important political parties, which had been in the political opposition until the start of the war. These included the Polish Socialist Party, Peasant Party and National Party; these were represented in the Main Political Council, part of the Service for Poland's Victory. The organization evolved and



Plac Żelaznej Bramy. Widok okolic placu Żelaznej Bramy z nad ogrodu Saskiego. Widoczny m.in.: uszkodzony pałac Lubomirskich i Hale Mirowskie i Bazar Janasza oraz spalone targowisko Gościnny Dwór. W lewym dolnym rogu uszkodzona kamienica Granzowa, powyżej spalone domy wzdłuż ulic: Królewskiej, Granicznej i Skórszanej.

Z kolekcji Roberta Marcinkowskiego

WARSAW, POLAND, FEBRUARY 26, 2015. AN EXHIBITION OF UNPUBLISHED AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHS OF WARSAW AT THE JABŁKOWSKI BROTHERS DEPARTMENT STORE. THE PHOTOS WERE TAKEN BY THE LUFTWAFFE ON SEPTEMBER 20, 1939.

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changed names numerous times between October 1939 and July 1945: the Main National Defense Council, the Political Coordination Committee of the Government Delegation to the Country, the National Political Representation, and finally, the Council of National Unity.

The Government Delegate for Poland governed the underground civil administration in the country (in the rank of deputy prime minister from May 1944) on behalf of the authorities in London. By the end of the occupation, the administration consisted of more than a dozen departments.

The most important tasks of the Polish Underground State were: expanding the struggle for independence and

The Polish government, unlike most of the governments of countries invaded by Germany, never surrendered to the aggressors or disgraced themselves through collaboration with the occupation authorities.

ROTMISTRZ WITOLD PILECKI

13 V 1901-25 V 1948

OCHOTNIK DO AUSCHWITZ
JEDEN Z NAJODWAŻNIEJSZYCH
ŻOŁNIERZY II WOJNY ŚWIATOWEJ



WARSAW, POLAND, MAY 10, 2017. A MONUMENT TO CAPTAIN WITOLD PILECKI ON POLISH ARMY AVENUE IN WARSAW'S ŻOLIBÓRZ DISTRICT.

sovereignty of the country and for its defense after the war, maintaining continuity of state institutions, supporting the care of especially persecuted fellow citizens (including Jews), organizing underground teaching – especially secondary and higher education prohibited by the Germans, ensuring the undisturbed seizure of power after the end of hostilities and preparing political and economic reforms in a democratic spirit.

During the occupation, the emissaries of the Polish Underground State informed the Polish government in London about German genocide

against the Jews – both Polish and foreign citizens brought to the territories of occupied Poland. This information was provided by the Polish government to the governments of the allied powers. As early June 1942, Prime Minister Sikorski, in a radio address broadcast by the BBC, presented the situation of the Jewish population in occupied Poland and asked the Allies to bring the Germans to account for the crimes they had committed. In December 1942, the Polish ambassador in London, Edward Raczynski, gave the governments of the signatory states of the Declaration of The United Nations an official



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The Polish Underground State (the term was first used in the underground press in January 1944) operated from September 1939 (the creation of the Service for the Victory of Poland) until July 1945 (the self-dissolution of the Council of National Unity and the Government Delegation to the Country).

diplomatic note from the Government of Poland. In response, these governments announced a joint declaration in London, Washington and Moscow condemning German crimes. Legendary courier from Warsaw and emissary of the Polish Underground State Jan Karski even met with President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in July 1943. Poland's dramatic appeals to exert real pressure on the criminals (e.g. the threat of retaliatory bombings) remained unanswered.

The penalty for assisting Jews in occupied Poland was death. The Governor-General of occupied Poland Hans Frank

issued the regulation on October 15, 1941. Nevertheless, there were many courageous people who decided to help the persecuted. Though more than 6,700 Poles have been honored as Righteous Among the Nations since 1963, this does not reflect the scale of the aid. The current estimates of Polish historians (Teresa Prekerowa and Władysław Bartoszewski) indicate that most probably it was about 300,000 Poles who helped. Some of them suffered a cruel death, often together with their families. One such shocking case is the fate of the Ulma family, who on March 24, 1944, were murdered by German police posted in Łańcut. In addition to the eight Jews from the Didner, Goldman and Grunfeld families whom they had hidden, the Germans shot Józef Ulma, his wife



THE ULMA FAMILY, THE MUSEUM OF POLES SAVING JEWS IN WORLD WAR II IN MARKOWA.

Wiktoria (nine months pregnant) and six children: Stanisława (8 years old), Barbara (6), Władysław (5), Franciszek (4), Antoni (3) and Maria (1).

Private civic initiatives also led to the institutionalization of assistance actions. On September 27, 1942, Zofia Kossak-Szczucka and Wanda Krahelska-Filipowicz founded the “Konrad Żegota” Temporary Committee for Assistance

to Jews. On December 4, 1942, this committee was transformed into the Council for Aid to Jews – Żegota. The main centers of the Council subordinate to the Polish Government-in-exile, were located in Warsaw, Kraków and Lviv. Żegota’s activity consisted in organizing help in the form of food, medicine and clothes as well as searching for safe hiding places and providing ‘Aryan’ documents. Around 4,000 Jews in hiding

received material support from Żegota, and about 50,000 false documents were furnished.

The Catholic Church in Poland gave invaluable assistance in issuing fictitious birth certificates and sheltering many Jews in its monasteries. It is also worth mentioning the efforts of Irena Sendler, who directed the children's section of Żegota in Warsaw (in 1965 she was honored with the Righteous Among the Nations medal, in 1983 she planted a tree in the Forest of the Righteous, and in 1991 she received honorary Israeli citizenship), where she managed to save over 2,000 Jewish children led out of the Warsaw Ghetto. Most of them were placed in Polish families. Several hundred were saved thanks to the help of Sister Matylda Getter, the mother provincial of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in Warsaw (Congregatio Sororum Franciscanum Familiae Mariae) – these children survived the war in orphanages and monasteries belonging to the congregation, among others in Anin, Białoleka, Chotomów, Pludy and in Warsaw itself. About two-hundred other children were sent to the Father Boduena Home, an orphanage of the Municipal Welfare Department in Warsaw, and about one-hundred teenagers ended up in the underground resistance.

Bogusław Kopka, Paweł Kosiński ■

January 15, 2018

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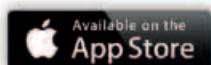


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