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#SUPPORTUKRAINE

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Is It Possible to Stop
Russian Invasion
of Ukraine?



Dear Readers,



I present to you the first issue of the revitalized quarterly The Warsaw Institute Review. Work on this magazine has been going on in the last few months, therefore the subject matter of the texts contained in it is extremely diverse.

I am putting this magazine into your hands at a time when the criminal attack on Ukraine by the bloody regime of Vladimir Putin has been going on for over a month. At this time, we express our solidarity with Ukraine and ask a loud question: can the Kremlin's actions be stopped? Matusz Patey has his opinion on this topic and the answer to this question.

In the era of the coronavirus pandemic, many of us have faced special challenges in their lifestyles. The tourism industry is one of the main sectors of the economy in many European Union Member States. Thus, it has a large share in maintaining jobs. Anna Biernacka-Rygiel, PhD, wrote about traveling in the time of COVID-19 in our magazine.

In times of the crisis related to the COVID-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine, the most important thing is to look at the economic aspects of economies around the world. Turkey's economic problems began in 2018, when the Turkish economic growth model, which consisted of maintaining a high level of investments financed by growing foreign debt, collapsed. The difficulties intensified in 2021, and in December, the Turkish economy was on the brink of viability. You can read about it in the text written by Mikołaj Rogalewicz.

The global dimension is also associated with the increased activity of the People's Republic of China within the Association of South-East Asian Nations. China has risen to the rank of a leader in cooperation in the region, as evidenced by the recently signed trade agreement between Beijing and ASEAN countries. Wojciech Adamczyk presents the subject very insightful.

Another global issue is the illegal smuggling of weapons across the US-Mexico border and the impact of this phenomenon on the rise

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in organized crime in Mexico. Jan Hernik's analysis touches upon the sensitive issue of the right to own a gun in the United States and the impact of loose regulations on the development of Mexican cartels.

In this issue, you will read a valuable interview with Rafał Zgorzelski, PhD, which indicates the fundamental importance of Polish railways for the sustainable development of Polish economic infrastructure. Poland's economic potential has a real chance to materialize through cooperation at the regional and national level.

The latest magazine also features an interview with the mayor of the city of Rzeszów, Mr. Konrad Fijołek. One of the cities that have made the most dynamic achievements in the field of living standards, spatial development or broadly understood sustainable development is certainly Rzeszów.

In this topic, local and global development should also be mentioned in the 2030 Agenda. The success of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development depends on the effective cooperation of all actors involved. According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) report on the territorial aspect of the UN's 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), cities and regions play a key role in their implementation and should therefore make full use of their potential.

The phenomenon of the Teutonic Order state in Prussia is most often mentioned in the subject literature in the context of what the order left behind in the cultural landscape, especially when it comes to numerous spectacular castle structures and one of the most powerful castle systems on a European scale. This is a real treat for history fans.

I believe that the latest edition of The Warsaw Institute Review will provide you with useful and enjoyable reading.

I wish you a pleasant read!
With my sincere appreciation,



JAN HERNIK
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
THE WARSAW INSTITUTE REVIEW

CONTENTS



ECONOMY

MIKOŁAJ ROGALEWICZ
ECONOMIC CRISIS IN TURKEY



INTERVIEW

KONRAD FIJOŁEK
ADRIAN KOLANO
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT:
RZESZÓW MAKES AN EXAMPLE
FOR POLISH CITIES



HISTORY

ADAM HALEMBA, PhD
STATE OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER
IN PRUSSIA AS A HISTORICAL
AND CULTURAL PHENOMENON

RUSSIAN INVASION OF UKRAINE

MARIUSZ PATEY

6 IS IT POSSIBLE TO STOP RUSSIAN INVASION
OF UKRAINE?

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ANNA BIERNACKA-RYGIEL, PH.D.

10 IMPACT OF THE SARS-CoV-2 PANDEMIC
ON THE TOURISM SECTOR
IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

ECONOMY

MIKOŁAJ ROGALEWICZ

18 ECONOMIC CRISIS IN TURKEY

ECONOMY

WOJCIECH ADAMCZYK

26 CHINA'S POLICY TOWARDS ASEAN AND
OPPORTUNITIES FOR CHINA-ASEAN
ECONOMIC COOPERATION

USA

JAN HERNIK

34 THE ILLEGAL FLOW OF FIREARMS AT THE
U.S.-MEXICO BORDER AND ITS IMPACT ON
CRIME IN MEXICO: CAUSES AND SOLUTIONS

INTERVIEW

RAFAŁ ZGORZELSKI, PhD

ADRIAN KOLANO

40 POLISH RAILWAYS IN THE ERA OF
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

INTERVIEW

KONRAD FIJOŁEK

ADRIAN KOLANO

47 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: RZESZÓW
MAKES AN EXAMPLE FOR POLISH CITIES

ECONOMY

ADAM DZIEDZIC

54 AGENDA 2030: GLOBAL CAN MEAN
LOCAL. WHY ARE CITIES KEY TO THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SUSTAINABLE
DEVELOPMENT GOALS OF THE UNITED
NATIONS?

HISTORY

ADAM HALEMBA, PhD

61 STATE OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER
IN PRUSSIA AS A HISTORICAL
AND CULTURAL PHENOMENON

*You were given the choice between war
and dishonor. You chose dishonor
and you will have war.*

Winston Churchill

IS IT POSSIBLE TO STOP RUSSIAN INVASION OF UKRAINE?

MARIUSZ PATEY

Through its actions, Russia has undermined the existing order in Europe by invading Ukraine for no apparent reason. Russian forces and power ministries are killing thousands of Ukrainian soldiers and civilians. Why? The whole Russian elites are tarnished by the imperial thinking that made Russia wage wars over many centuries. Since Ivan the Terrible was in power, Russian tsars added considerable territory to the state, mostly through coercion. But the empire grabbed most land in Soviet time. After the demise of the Soviet Union, many thought Russia would follow suit with liberal Western democracies. But those who are now in power in Russia despise the Western order. At their helm is Vladimir Putin, the incumbent president of the Russian

Federation. He first worked as KGB foreign intelligence officer while after the fall of the Soviet Union he served in the Federal Security Service, or FSB. The outlet is the main successor agency to the Soviet KGB whose outreach stretched worldwide and whose origins date back to the *oprichina*, a notorious spy ring implemented by Ivan the Terrible. In its training manuals, the KGB was proud to continue the legacy of Russian statehood even though the Soviet Union emerged on the ruins of tsarist Russia. For Putin, who hailed from the Soviet security agency, efforts to restore Moscow's superiority over former Soviet republics is not a matter of economic benefits, but the mission he had undertaken far earlier than any other Western politicians even might have thought. While planning any



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politics-related tactic, the Kremlin rejects ethical reasoning.

Being efficient is what counts most for Russian siloviki. Through mass atrocities, the Kremlin seeks to attain its goals in a hostile environment. The Kremlin scraps its plans only if made forcefully to do so and when the risk of unbearable cost is real. History yet has taught us that we should neither trust Russia nor expose our vulnerabilities to the Kremlin. With its firm stance, the United States discouraged the Soviet Union from deploying nuclear missiles in Cuba in October 1962. President John F. Kennedy made clear that he was ready for nuclear confrontation. Aware of Washington's intention, Khrushchev eventually gave in. Washington's weak tenacity would have escalated the risk to the United States. Now some threats emerged and Western officials need to challenge

them all. The Russian Federation is increasingly bold in grabbing the territory of its weaker neighbors. Having studied intelligence analyses, Russian leaders believe that NATO's response cannot pose a threat to the Russian state while it is the only deterrent factor, according to senior Kremlin officials. One way to stop Vladimir Putin is to show him that Western states are ready for war with Russia, far more than just a plain armed conflict.

It is vital to take economic, political, and military action to deter Russia:

1. Curb Moscow's access to technology used by its industry, notably branches such as armaments, petrochemical, and mining.
2. Tighten restrictions on Russian banks and financial institutions, also by banning them from the SWIFT system.

RUSSIAN INVASION OF UKRAINE

3. Reduce Russian energy (crude, gas, coal) and petrochemical (fertilizers) purchases.
4. Restrict the export of food products to Russia.
5. Ban Russian flights and restrict cargo shipments to and from Russia.

Render financial and humanitarian assistance to Ukraine. Indeed, Western nations are more or less consistent in imposing punitive measures on Russia and backing Ukraine. Some relief schemes have been launched to support the war-torn country, although their scope is debatable.

Political efforts should produce opposite effects to what the Kremlin had declared as its war rhetoric:

1. Isolate Russia in sports, culture, and science worldwide.
2. Remove or isolate Russia from international agencies and blocs alike. (In 1939, the League of Nations expelled the Soviet Union from membership for its actions against Finland).
3. Hold senior Kremlin officials responsible for war crimes at the International Criminal Court in The Hague.
4. Call on Russian troops to surrender, offering them asylum in any EU country as a reward.
5. Accept Moldova, Georgia, Finland, and Ukraine as NATO and EU members. This would leave Moscow to reflect on the implications of this decision.

Despite secondary sanctions, Moscow refuses to scale down military operations in Ukraine.

The North Atlantic Alliance should thus take military action:

1. Hold large-scale military drills along NATO's border with the Russian Federation. Uncertain of NATO goals,



the Kremlin would need to deploy considerable military forces and relocate some of them from Ukraine. This would relieve Ukraine's armed forces.

2. Send military equipment to Ukraine, including offensive weapons.
3. Allow trained foreign volunteers to fight side by side with Ukrainians.
4. Enforce a no-fly zone over Ukraine. If these efforts fail, the Kremlin should be given a three-day ultimatum to withdraw all troops from Ukraine and deploy NATO forces to make Russia surrender.

Would this escalate the conflict uncontrollably while running a bigger



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risk of a nuclear response from Russia? I doubt so. „Collective“ Putin is not interested in waging a lost war nor does he seek to go down in history as the gravedigger of Russia. The war he has declared is not a defensive one; it is an offensive operation. Putin will retreat because he knows Russia will never win a confrontation with NATO while Moscow’s pullout does not necessarily mean serious consequences. Russia will not lose an inch of its territory while the Kremlin—through its skillful diplomats— is sure to retain some of the areas it has grabbed past 2014. It seems that threats from weapons of mass destruction may arise considerably in face of the Russian defeat in its struggle

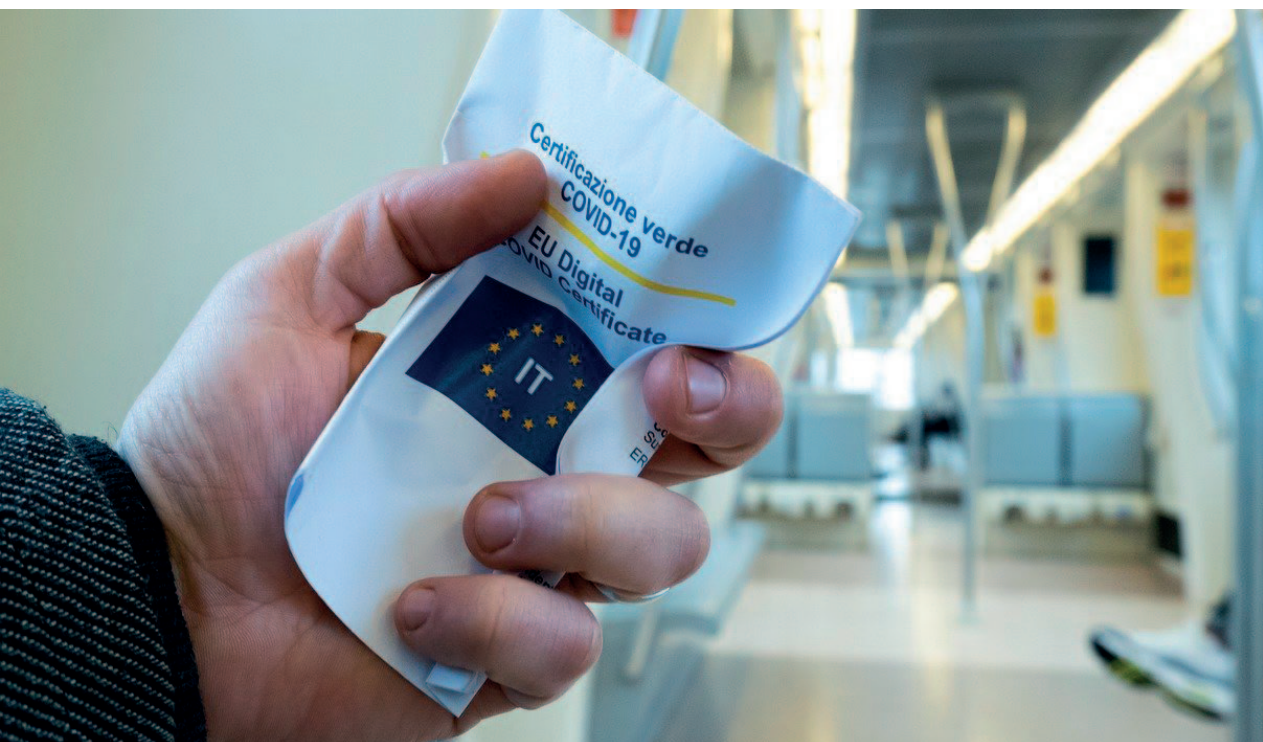
with Ukraine than that against NATO as the Western military bloc has adequate response capabilities while Kyiv does not. One can comment on the Western attitude, saying that anyone who is passive towards an aggressor that invades neighboring states in fear of losing comfort cannot feel safe. They may be next. What might intimidate an armed offender is just another armed desperate person, willing to spill blood to defend their values. May Churchill’s words about Munich and the 1938 peace-saving efforts not resonate again in 2022.

Mariusz Patey ■
March 2022

IMPACT OF THE SARS-COV-2 PANDEMIC ON THE TOURISM SECTOR IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

ANNA BIERNACKA-RYGIEL, PH.D.

The tourism industry is one of the main economic sectors in many European Union Member States. As such, it has a large part to play in maintaining the employment rates. The SARS-CoV-2 pandemic is harming the tourism industry. The extent of the losses incurred by this sector will largely depend on how the pandemic develops further and how it is contained, both within the individual Member States and at the EU level.



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TOURISM ON A GLOBAL AND EUROPEAN SCALE

Globally, tourism is a major economic sector – the third-largest export segment – and it accounted for 7% of global trade in 2019.¹ In Europe alone, this sector provides 27 million jobs. It also makes a significant contribution to the economies of countries such as Germany (3.9%), France (7.4%) and Spain (11.8%).²

The EU (as a whole) is the most visited region in the world, with around 37% of all international tourists having arrived here in 2019. Therefore, tourism was a crucial sector of the EU economy, accounting for 9.9% of gross domestic product and 11.6 per cent of all jobs across the EU in 2019.³

¹ United Nations, *Policy Brief: COVID-19 and transforming tourism*, <https://www.unwto.org/tourism-covid-19>, [accessed: 09 Jan 2022].

² Ibidem.

³ European Court of Auditors, *Special Report. EU support for tourism – Need for a fresh strategic*

According to statistics, the international tourist traffic was growing at an average annual rate of around 4% worldwide since 1995.⁴ In 2019, international tourist numbers reached 1.5 billion.⁵ Approximately 9 billion people travelled within their own countries.⁶ Many factors contributed to the increase in the tourism activity, including the societies growing wealthier and the budget means of transport and Airbnb-style accommodation emerging.

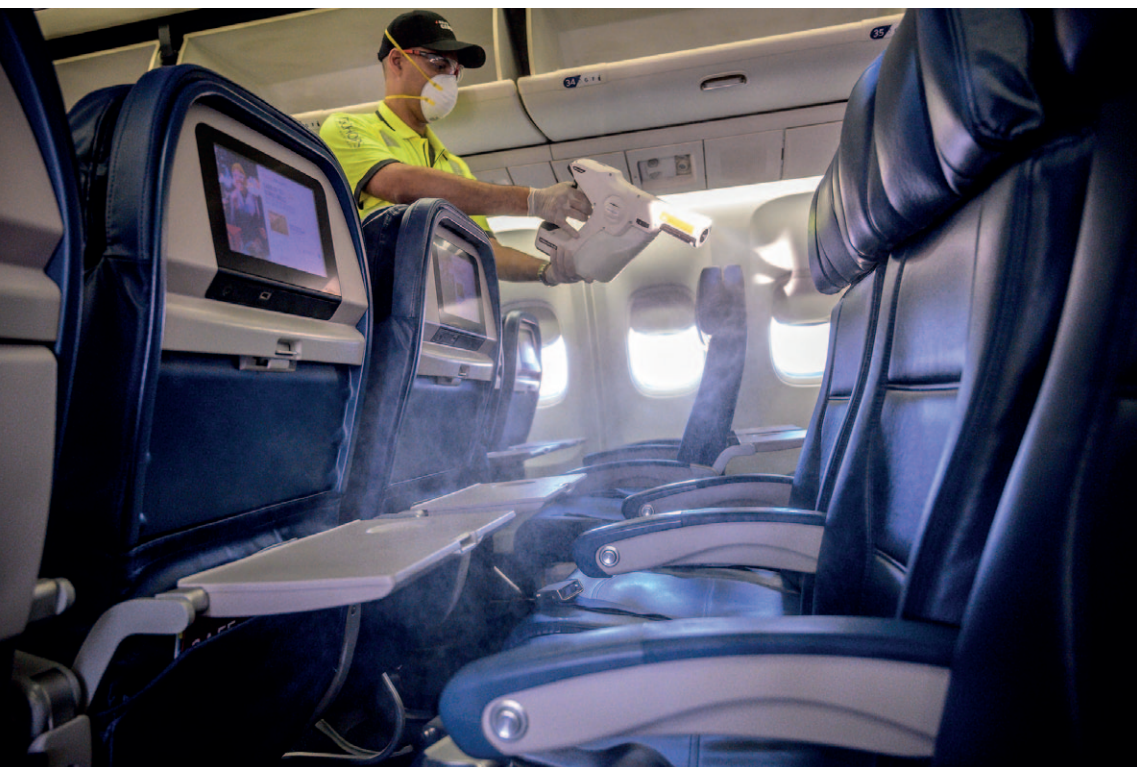
However, it deserves to be pointed out here that the tourism industry is usually the first to react to any crisis, as it was shown, for example, by the decline in

orientation and a better funding approach

⁴ K. Stojczew, *Ocena wpływu pandemii koronawirusa na branżę turystyczną w Polsce* [Assessment of the impact of the coronavirus pandemic on the tourism industry in Poland], *Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego we Wrocławiu* 2021, no. 65 (1).

⁵ United Nations, *Policy Brief: COVID-19...*, op. cit., [accessed: 09 Jan 2022].

⁶ Ibidem.



© SOURCE: FLICKR

tourist traffic by around 4% in 2009 due to the economic crisis.⁷

THE COLLAPSE OF TOURIST TRAFFIC DUE TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE SARS-COV-2 PANDEMIC

The current breakdown of the tourism industry has no precedent in history in terms of the scale and the extent. This is because it affects each and every tourist destination. Global international tourist travels in 2020 are estimated to have decreased by 79% compared to 2019.⁸ The Asia-Pacific region saw an 82% downturn in arrivals.⁹ The decline in the Middle East, on the other hand, was 73% and in Africa – 69%.¹⁰ International travels to Europe and both Americas fell by 68%.¹¹ At the very beginning of the pandemic,

90% of countries closed their UNESCO World Heritage sites. In the initial wave of the crisis, around 90% of museums were closed.¹²

The decline in international travel has led to a global loss of \$2.4 trillion in 2020 alone.¹³ The losses in the tourism industry may translate, on average, into a 2.5 times greater decrease in the real GDP, and the countries that are more heavily dependent on this sector of the economy may experience even a decline that is four times greater.¹⁴ In May 2020, the World Tourism Organisation estimated that 100-

⁷ K. Stojczew, op. cit.

⁸ Ibidem.

⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰ Ibidem.

¹¹ Ibidem.

¹² United Nations, *Policy Brief: COVID-19...*, op. cit., [accessed: 09 Jan 2022].

¹³ *Światowa turystyka straciła w czasie pandemii 5 bln dolarów* [World tourism lost \$5 trillion during the pandemic], Forsal, <https://forsal.pl/transport/lotnictwo/artykuly/8205350,swiatowa-turystyka-stracila-w-czasie-pandemii-5-bln-dolarow.html>, [accessed: 09 Jan 2022].

¹⁴ Ibidem.

120 million people are at direct risk of losing their jobs as a result of the crisis.¹⁵

Such a decline in tourist traffic during the pandemic is due to the very nature of travel, which, to a large extent, involves moving between regions, countries and continents. Moreover, it often requires staying in large crowds of people, which gave rise to great social anxiety, especially at the beginning of the pandemic.

The increased tourist traffic may have posed some danger to the travellers, the employees of accommodation facilities and cultural sites, and the local residents.

In addition, at a time of aggravated economic uncertainty, the demand for tourism services is decreasing, both in the business tourism sector and in private travel. The pandemic has caused a significant slowdown in economic growth and even an economic recession in some sectors. As a result, many people have lost their jobs, which led to reduced income.

Mobility restrictions are also an important factor. If travel regulations may unexpectedly change at any time, it is very difficult for individuals and travel agents to plan their journeys. According to the WHO data, in April 2020 alone, 96% of tourism-related destinations worldwide could not provide their services due to pandemic restrictions.¹⁶

An example of a similar event in the past – albeit on a smaller scale, as it affected

a limited area – was the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) outbreak in 2002-2004. Back then, Hong Kong saw its tourism GDP decline by 41%, Singapore – by 43% and China – by 25%.¹⁷

It is also worth noting that a drop in demand for tourism services also entails decreased funds for environmental protection, because as much as 7% of global tourism is focused on wildlife.¹⁸

CHANGES IN THE TOURISM INDUSTRY CAUSED BY THE SARS-CoV-2 PANDEMIC

The virtually complete arrest of tourism at the beginning, citizens' fears related to travel, and the need to adjust to the tighter budgets in companies and households have entailed many changes in the tourism industry.

Firstly, we must point to the digitalisation of this industry. This includes e.g. contactless check-in and check-out of accommodation (mainly hotels)¹⁹. Such technological solutions minimise or even eliminate some potential points of contact with hotel staff and other guests. Using the online check-in option, interaction with the reception personnel may be eliminated. In such a case, before the stay, the guests usually receive an email with a link to an online form, easy to fill in using a smartphone or other device. In addition, many travel agencies have abandoned any contact with their holiday reps at the destination site. The tourists spending holidays abroad can buy a trip or check the details of their departure in dedicated smartphone

¹⁵ *Koronawirus dobije turystykę. W 2020 r. możliwy spadek podróży nawet o niemal 80 proc. [Coronavirus is going to kill tourism. Travel may be reduced by up to nearly 80 per cent in 2020]*, Forbes, <https://www.forbes.pl/gospodarka/wplyw-koronawirusa-na-swiatowa-turystyka-w-2020-roku-szacunku/j9jmsv0>, [accessed: 09 Jan 2022].

¹⁶ *Zmiany w branży turystycznej w związku z epidemią COVID-19 [Changes in the travel industry due to the COVID-19 outbreak]*, startup.pfr.co.uk, <https://startup.pfr.pl/pl/aktualnosci/zmiany-w-branzy-turystycznej-w-zwiazku-z-epidemia-covid-19/>, [accessed: 09 Jan 2022].

¹⁷ K. Stojczew, op. cit.

¹⁸ United Nations, *Policy Brief: COVID-19...*, op. cit., [accessed: 09 Jan 2022].

¹⁹ C. Sawier, *Bookassist wprowadza technologię bezkontaktową dla hoteli [Bookassist introduces contactless technology for hotels]*, Bookassist, <https://bookassist.org/pl/blog/bookassist-wprowadza-technologie-bezkontaktowa-dla-hotelu/>, [accessed: 09 Jan 2022].

applications. These changes to tourism will become permanent, and it will also affect the related professions. We may anticipate that there will be a significant reduction in demand for travel agent representatives temporarily posted abroad. Travel agencies are more likely to hire the residents of the given region who are fluent in the required language. To a large extent, this will allow travel agencies to make savings on, for example, renting accommodation or business cars for the people employed at the destination.

Also, the MICE sector (Meetings, Incentives, Conferences and Exhibitions Industry) is becoming digitalised, particularly in terms of the organisation of the events, which initially were attended only remotely, but nowadays, a hybrid option is the most common form,²⁰ i.e. a combination of a live meeting with the possibility of active or passive virtual participation. This trend in the industry is likely to continue permanently, which means that event companies need to both know and have the relevant tools.²¹ Changing the approach to the event organisation appears crucial, as up to 65.5% of businesses in the industry lost from 75% to even 100% of their profits

at the start of the pandemic in 2020 alone.²²

Because of the required social distance, some hotels have withdrawn or significantly limited the services of tourist entertainers and the all-inclusive option for the duration of the pandemic, introducing an *a'la carte* menu and even serving meals to rooms. This has certainly reduced the demand for the personnel, mainly the entertainers. However, one may predict that the fear of the pandemic and the desire to travel may, in the long term, cause tourists to choose the all-inclusive hotels, as it reduces the need to visit restaurants and to stay in groups of other people. Of course, the condition is that hotels take all the safety precautions.

For the same reason, noticeably fewer local tours are organised (so-called optional trips), as their organisers had to get tourists from different parts of the world to mingle together, e.g. in one coach or on one ship. This trend was particularly evident in 2020, before the introduction of the vaccines. Individual tourists, on the other hand, are more likely to choose car hire.

In the long term, this may lead tourists to choose destinations and hotels they know and consider safe (also in terms of hygiene or low incidence of diseases in the region) on the one hand, and to choose to travel in smaller groups or use the services of a tour guide on the other hand. This may increase the number of tourist attractions in already familiar regions and destinations.

²⁰ *Event hybrydowy i SoLoMo – nowy trend branży eventowej? [Hybrid event and SoLoMo – the new event industry trend?]*, Bossa Nova Events, <https://bossa-nova-events.pl/2018/05/05/event-hybrydowy-i-solomo-nowy-trend-branz-y-eventowej/>, [accessed: 09 Jan 2022].

²¹ "It is time to consider a different type of an event, namely the hybrid event. We may anticipate situations such as a global pandemic, where the only option is to move the event to virtual reality. However, in some situations, personal meetings will be the most effective way to collect the leads and engage the audience. The hybrid events, i.e. the events combining in-person and virtual experiences, will become an important part of the 'new normal' in the MICE industry." Quote from: *Eventy hybrydowe – co należy o nich wiedzieć [Hybrid events – what you need to know about them]*, Power Events, <https://powerevents.pl/eventhybrydowy/>, [accessed: 09 Jan 2022].

²² *Rynek MICE w czasach pandemii [The MICE market in the times of pandemic]*, Positive Hotel, <https://positivehotel.pl/rynek-mice-w-czasach-pandemii/>, [accessed: 09 Jan 2022].



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THE MEASURES TO MINIMISE THE NEGATIVE IMPACT OF THE SARS- COV-2 PANDEMIC ON THE EU TOURISM INDUSTRY

The experts do not expect tourism to return to a pre-pandemic state before 2023.²³ High vulnerability of this sector to various crises implies the necessity to develop mechanisms and solutions at the EU level to ensure the sustainable development of the sector.

However, it should be stressed here that the tourism policy, like the protection and improvement of human health, is

regulated entirely by the Member States.²⁴ Partial transfer of their competencies to the EU level must be preceded by changes in the treaties.

Article 6

The Union shall have competence to carry out actions to support, coordinate or supplement the actions of the Member States. The areas of such action shall, at European level, be:

- (a) protection and improvement of human health;*
- (b) industry;*
- (c) culture;*

²³ Światowa turystyka straciła w czasie pandemii 5 bln dolarów [World tourism lost \$5 trillion during the pandemic], op. cit., [accessed: 09 Jan 2022].

²⁴ Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, Article 6, OJ. C 202 of 07 June 2016.

- (d) tourism;
- (e) education, vocational training, youth and sport;
- (f) civil protection;
- g) administrative cooperation.²⁵

Therefore, the principle of subsidiarity is involved here, but it must not be abused by the EU.²⁶ However, the EU, despite its limited role in this area, has introduced several supportive instruments for the tourism businesses and employees, including:

- liquidity support;
- tax relief;
- relaxation of the state aid rules;
- temporary suspension of the EU slot allocation provisions.²⁷

They were intended to facilitate travel planning and to provide financial aid to the tourism businesses.

To support travel planning, the European Commission has launched the *Re-open EU* portal, which contains all information on the regulations on travelling to the individual Member States.²⁸ It is updated on an ongoing basis.

The EU has also introduced the EU Covid Certificate, confirming the right

to move freely within Europe during the pandemic.²⁹ It provides an additional opportunity to confirm one's COVID-19 health status and complements the already existing solutions at national borders. It presents three states:

- a vaccinated person;
- a person who has recovered (a convalescent);
- a person with a negative test for COVID-19.

However, one must remember that each EU Member State may have different rules related to a given status because of the above-mentioned exclusive competence of the Member States to protect and improve human health.

Given the differences between the Member States, the European Parliament, representing EU citizens, adopted, in March 2021, a resolution on establishing an EU strategy for sustainable tourism.³⁰ It aims, among other things, to show possible action plans to respond to the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic. In its resolution, the European Parliament e.g. "asks the Member States to fully implement, without delay, common and coordinated criteria for safe travel, as adopted by the Council in its recommendation on a coordinated approach to the restriction of free movement, while facilitating the deployment of the EU Passenger Locator Form, digitally where possible, with full respect for data protection rules (...); calls for the European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control (ECDC) to monitor and continue to publish, in a

²⁵ Ibidem.

²⁶ "When applied in the context of the EU, the principle of subsidiarity serves to regulate the exercise of the Union's non-exclusive powers. It rules out Union intervention when an issue can be dealt with effectively by Member States themselves at central, regional or local level. The Union is justified in exercising its powers only when Member States are unable to achieve the objectives of a proposed action satisfactorily and added value can be provided if the action is carried out at Union level." Further reading: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/7/zasada-pomocniczosci>, [accessed: 09 Jan 2022].

²⁷ *Zmiany w branży turystycznej w związku z epidemią COVID-19 [Changes in the tourism industry due to the COVID-19 outbreak]*, op. cit., [accessed: 09 Jan 2022].

²⁸ Re-open EU, European Union Portal, <https://reopen.europa.eu/pl/>, [accessed: 09 Jan 2022].

²⁹ EU Covid Certification, <https://www.gov.pl/web/mobywatel/unijny-certyfikat-covid>, [accessed: 09 Jan 2022].

³⁰ *Establishing an EU Strategy for Sustainable Tourism*, Legislative Observatory European Parliament, [https://oeil.secure.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/popups/ficheprocedure.do?lang=en&reference=2020/2038\(INI\)](https://oeil.secure.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/popups/ficheprocedure.do?lang=en&reference=2020/2038(INI)), [Accessed: 09 Jan 2022].

IMPACT OF THE SARS-CoV-2 PANDEMIC ON THE TOURISM SECTOR IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

timely manner, the colour coded map of Union countries and regions, including islands – where sufficient information is available – with a view to offering travellers and businesses a coordinated and efficient response (...); the Commission and the Member States to develop as a matter of priority a common vaccination certificate and a system of mutual recognition of vaccination procedures for medical purposes, which should be rolled out in parallel with the distribution of vaccines, while preserving individuals' rights to privacy and data protection.”³¹

However, it deserves to be noted here that the European Parliament resolutions do not have the force of a legally binding document.³² Instead, they usually express the EU position on important issues and provide guidelines for relevant actions to be undertaken in the future.

The World Tourism Organisation – UNWTO – has created a subsite on the future of tourism. It is available in English, Spanish, French and Arabic.³³ In all its posts, press releases or reports, the UNWTO stresses the need for global coordination of actions to rebuild tourism.³⁴ Therefore, the UN has defined

the following priorities for the relaunch of tourism:

- mitigation of socio-economic impacts on livelihoods;
- boosting competitiveness and building resilience (including by promoting national and regional tourism);
- supporting innovation and the digitalisation of the tourism ecosystem;
- fostering sustainability and inclusive green growth;
- ensuring coordination and partnerships for the relaunch or transformation of tourism³⁵.

Such actions, i.e. defining common objectives, priorities, exchange of good practice and information at a global and European level, are essential to strengthen a tourism sector weakened by the pandemic and to maintain jobs or facilitate the personnel retraining. For the first time in the history of the EU, it is necessary to prove the solidarity of the Member States in introducing uniform restrictions at the entry or the vaccination requirements, which will allow travellers to gradually adjust to the new travelling rules, and thus make it easier and quicker for the tourism sector to adapt to the new reality.

Anna Biernacka-Rygiel ■
March 2022

³¹ *European Parliament resolution of 25 March 2021 on establishing an EU strategy for sustainable tourism*, European Parliament Portal, https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2021-0109_PL.html, [accessed: 09 Jan 2022].

³² *Unia grozi Polsce palcem. Czym są rezolucje Parlamentu Europejskiego? [The European Union is waging its finger at Poland. What are European Parliament resolutions?]*, Business Insider, <https://businessinsider.com.pl/wiadomosci/rezolucje-parlamentu-europejskiego-czym-sa-i-co-oznaczaja-dla-polski/t3v9efe>, [accessed: 09 Jan 2022].

³³ UNWTO, *Guiding tourism's recovery*, <https://www.unwto.org/tourism-covid-19>, [accessed: 09 Jan 2022].

³⁴ “Global coordination is essential for tourism to deliver on its status as a leading generator of opportunity for all. UNWTO leads the way forward, uniting tourism leaders from all over the world. Now more than ever, we need a sector united on behalf of the millions of people who have trusted their future to the power of tourism to drive sustainable growth”.

More: United Nations, *Policy Brief: COVID-19*, op. cit., [accessed: 09 Jan 2022].

³⁵ Ibidem.

ECONOMIC CRISIS IN TURKEY

MIKOŁAJ ROGALEWICZ

Turkey's economic problems began in 2018, when the Turkish economic growth model collapsed. The model involved maintaining high levels of investment financed by ever-increasing foreign debt. Relevant reforms were not introduced despite a temporary improvement in the economic situation in 2019 due to favourable global trends and the Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey (CBRT) significantly increasing the interest rate. Turkish President Recep Erdoğan, on the other hand, pushed a lax monetary policy, and the central bank became heavily dependent on him. The problems resurfaced in early 2020, when Turkey's total foreign debt reached almost \$440 billion. Turkey was also affected by congestions in global supply chains and the associated price hike. The problems intensified in 2021, and by December the Turkish economy was on the brink

of collapse. Inflation reached 36%, and the rising prices are accompanied by a currency crisis. The weakening Turkish lira (TRY) poses a threat to the stability of the domestic banking system, which is indebted in dollars. The Turkish President is fighting the growing problems with a rather unusual economic policy.

ORIGIN OF TURKEY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Turkey's economic problems are linked to the policies pursued by Recep Erdoğan. To illustrate the causes of the country's current economic situation, let us take a look at the policy pursued by the Justice and Development Party (AKP) since it came to power.

When the AKP took power in Turkey in November 2002, the Turkish economy was recovering from the severe financial crisis of 2000-2001, which caused the



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country's worst recession since World War II.¹ In 2001, Minister of Economic Affairs and the Treasury of Turkey Kemal Derviş, who had previously worked in senior positions at the World Bank, began implementing reforms based on support from the International Monetary Fund (IMF).² The reforms proved successful, but did not prevent the government of Bülent Ecevit from losing the election. This was how AKP came to power. The party was initially led by interim Prime Minister Abdullah Gül and then, from 2003, by Recep Erdoğan.³ The new

government continued to implement the reforms initiated by its predecessors. The reforms brought great success and empowered the position of AKP.⁴ In fact, they appeared to be a remedy for the banking system and contributed to the increase in foreign direct investments.

Since the very beginning of his term, Erdoğan has employed aggressive, pro-growth strategies with excellent results. At that time, among other things, he initiated the implementation of expensive infrastructure projects, courted foreign investors and encouraged businesses and consumers to incur debt.⁵

¹ M.J. Patton, *The Economic Policies of Turkey's AKP Government: Rabbits from a Hat?*, „Middle East Journal” 2006, Vol. 60, No. 3, p. 513.

² F. Özatay, *Turkey's 2000-01 Financial Crisis and the Central Bank's policy in the aftermath of the crisis*, Bank of Albania, 2002, p. 3 [online], https://www.bankofalbania.org/rc/doc/turku_ang_230_1_12984.pdf, [accessed: 24 Jan 2022].

³ K.B. Kanat, *Ak Party's Foreign Policy: Is Turkey*

Turning Away from the West?, „Insight Turkey” 2010, Vol. 12, No. 1, p. 205.

⁴ M.J. Patton, op. cit., p. 515.

⁵ M. Chudziak, *March of the Rope Dancer, Turkey's economic policy in the face of crisis* [Marsz Linoskoczka, Polityka gospodarcza Turcji w obliczu

Those circumstances made the Turkish economy grow rapidly in the first decade of Erdoğan's rule, and Turkey was deemed an "economic miracle". Poverty was reduced, and Turkish society grew richer. Turkey also coped relatively well with the global financial crisis of 2007-2009. A slowdown in the GDP growth in 2008 to 0.6 per cent and a recession of -4.8 per cent in 2009 were followed by strong growth of 8.4 per cent in 2010 and 11.2 per cent in 2011.⁶

However, Turkey's economic success was based on a negative current account balance. It was the import of capital that made the key impetus for the development of the Turkish economy. Moreover, Turkey was dependent on the import of energy resources and, simultaneously, it did not manage to generate a foreign trade surplus. It was already in 2010 that some voices pointed out that Turkey should move towards sustainable development, as its economy was on the verge of "overheating".⁷

The Justice and Development Party was re-elected in 2011. Then, they began the process of consolidating the power and creating a system in which the economic policy is subordinated to the party's interests. It was also the period when the dynamic economic growth slowed down. In 2013, Turkey struggled with serious internal problems. A revolt in Istanbul's Gezi Park that led to massive nationwide protests against the governance of

Erdoğan took place at that time.⁸ And among the elites, there was a conflict between AKP and its allies, which led to the gradual marginalisation of the Gülen Movement. The real turning point came in 2016, after the failed coup d'état, with mass arrests and purges in the state institutions.⁹ Those internal tensions strengthened the power of AKP and enhanced Erdoğan's position. Simultaneously, they significantly affected the economy. While after 2002 the Turkish government allowed some flexibility in economic matters and adjusted its economic policy to external conditions, this flexibility decreased since 2016. The government began to subordinate the economy to its political objectives and to strengthen its supervision over the key economic areas. The business initiatives were more and more controlled, and the governmental power became increasingly centralised.¹⁰

The expansionary monetary policy allowed Turkey to maintain a relatively high rate of economic growth. However, it was the inflow of foreign capital which posed the stimulus for development, and it led to an increase of the Turkish companies' and banks' indebtedness. The expansion resulted in foreign exchange imbalance, rising inflation and the weakening of the Turkish currency. Turkey's external debt reached \$450 billion at the end of 2017, while the central bank's foreign reserves amounted to \$85 billion.¹¹ In addition, many of the indebted businesses stood on

kryzysu], OSW, Warsaw 2021, p. 14 [online], https://www.osw.waw.pl/sites/default/files/PW_Marsz-linoskoczka_net.pdf, [accessed: 24 Jan 2022].

⁶ *Real GDP Growth*, IMF [online], https://www.imf.org/external/datamapper/NGDP_RPCH@WEO/OEMDC/ADVEC/WEO_WORLD, [accessed: 24 Jan 2022].

⁷ K. Fahim, *As Turkey's economy struggles, Erdogan goes it alone*, "Washington Post" 2022 [online], <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/01/21/erdogan-turkey-economy-inflation/>, [accessed: 24 Jan 2022].

⁸ N. Pope, *Turkey: marching toward one-man rule*, *Journal of International Affairs* 2017, Vol. 71, No. 1, p. 19.

⁹ M.K. Oke, *Where is Turkey heading?*, 'SEER: Journal for Labour and Social Affairs in Eastern Europe' 2017, Vol. 20, No. 2, p. 234.

¹⁰ M. Chudziak, op. cit., p. 14.

¹¹ W. Gadowski, *Troubles of the Turkish lira [Kłopoty tureckiej liry]*, *Financial Observer*, 2020 [online], <https://www.obserwatorfinansowy.pl/bez-kategorii/rotator/kłopoty-tureckiej-liry/>, [accessed: 24 Jan 2022].



© SOURCE: PIXABAY

the verge of bankruptcy. To stimulate the rapid growth, the Turkish government decreased taxes, introduced subsidies for businesses and loan guarantees for the private sector. Meanwhile, the S&P credit rating agency downgraded Turkey's rating from BB/B to BB-/B and warned of an "overheating" of economy.¹² In mid-2018, Turkey invested nearly \$18 billion in foreign bonds and stocks, deepening the financial meltdown. The situation was exacerbated by Erdoğan's statements that he had the right to influence the central bank policy.¹³

BEGINNING OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IN TURKEY

The Turkish model of economic growth collapsed in 2018, which involved high levels of investment financed by rising

foreign debt, and Turkey faced an economic crisis. Inflation reached 25 per cent in November, and the value of the Turkish lira was significantly eroded.¹⁴ In August 2018, U.S. President Donald Trump doubled the customs tariffs for Turkish steel and aluminium imports, leading to a rapid fall in the value of the Turkish lira, which tanked by 20% a few days after the U.S. decision.¹⁵ In response to the high inflation, the Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey boosted the interest rate, which first rose from 13.5 per cent to 16.5 per cent in May and then up to 24 per cent in September.¹⁶ The increase was strongly opposed by the Turkish President, whose

¹² W. Bartosik, *Turkey on the brink of crisis. What will Erdogan do?* [Turcja na krawędzi kryzysu. Co zrobi Erdogan?], Michael/Ström Brokerage, 2018 [online], <https://michaelstrom.pl/raporty-i-analizy/artykuly/292/turcja-na-krawedzi-kryzysu-co-zrobi-erdogan>, [accessed: 24 Jan 2022].

¹³ B. Daragahi, *Erdogan Is Failing Economics 101*, Foreign Policy, 2018 [online], <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/05/25/erdogan-is-a-mad-economist-and-turkey-is-his-laboratory/>, [accessed: 24 Jan 2022].

¹⁴ H. Ellyatt, *Inflation hits 25% in Turkey - but experts warn the central bank must now hold its ground*, CNBC, 2018 [online], <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/11/05/inflation-has-hit-25percent-in-turkey-but-now-the-central-bank-must-hold-its-ground.html>, [accessed: 24 Jan 2022].

¹⁵ J. Tankersley, A. Swanson, M. Phillips, *Trump Hits Turkey When It's Down, Doubling Tariffs*, "New York Times" 2018 [online], <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/10/us/politics/trump-turkey-tariffs-currency.html>, [accessed: 24 Jan 2022].

¹⁶ *Turkeys' Interest Rate*, TradingEconomics, [online], <https://tradingeconomics.com/turkey/interest-rate>, [accessed: 24 Jan 2022].

position was that a high interest rate hampers economic growth and causes inflation. Erdoğan attempted to exert pressure on CBRT governor Murat Cetinkaya to reduce the interest rate. However, Cetinkaya did not do so, and Erdoğan forced him to resign from the position of the central bank's governor in July 2019.¹⁷ Keeping the interest rate high at 24 per cent has had a positive impact on the Turkish economy and has helped to alleviate the economic problems. Murat Uysal became a new CBRT governor in 2019, and he served his duty for over a year. Over the last few years, the governors of the Turkish central bank have been changed several times, which only shows the level of the bank's politicisation. The institution should be, however, independent from the government.

ERDOĞAN'S MONETARY POLICY

The President of Turkey advocates low interest rates of central banks to stimulate the economy. At the same time, he strongly opposes high interest rates, arguing that they slow down the economic growth and fuel inflation. Are these theses true? The first of his claims – yes, it is. When the central bank raises the interest rate, commercial banks have less ability to borrow for maintaining their minimum reserve, so they grant loans at the increased interest rate. This implies more expensive credits for companies, so fewer businesses borrow. Investment is declining, causing a slowdown in the economic growth. However, Erdoğan's other argument, i.e. a claim that high interest rates increase inflation, goes against conventional economic theories. In fact, the interest rate hike causes a fall

in borrowing and consumer spending, leading to a fall in prices.

The monetary policy promoted by the President of Turkey is unusual and has been criticised by most economists. According to the “Washington Post” analysis, Erdoğan's approach to high interest rates may be rooted in his experience as a food industry businessman, which he was before he started his political career.¹⁸ This is because a lot of Turkish companies finance their operating costs by contracting loans. According to Erdoğan, increased interest rates make the loans more expensive for them, so they pass the costs on to consumers by increasing the prices of the products they sell. However, many economists challenge the view that an interest rate is a significant part of the businesses' expenditure and that manufacturers' pricing power is sufficient to impose their will on consumers.

DETERIORATION OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

In 2019, Turkey temporarily recovered from the recession, and its tourism revenue was \$34 billion. In turn, decreased oil prices have resulted in lower transport costs. The situation has stabilised thanks to favourable global trends, such as the expansionary monetary policy in the USA and lower commodity prices. The Turkish economy was also positively affected by the high CBRT interest rate, which was increased to 24 per cent in September 2018, thus reducing inflation. In the second half of the following year, however, the CBRT began to gradually lower the interest rate,

¹⁷ O. Coskun, E. Toksabay, *Turkey's Erdogan fires central bank chief as policy rifts deepen*, Reuters, 2019 [online], <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-cenbank-governor-idUSKCN1U1032>, [accessed: 24 Jan 2022].

¹⁸ O. Ant, L. Thomasson, *How Erdogan's Unorthodox Views Rattle Turkish Markets*, “Washington Post” 2021, [online], https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/how-erdogans-unorthodox-views-rattle-turkish-markets/2021/03/22/cbd4837c-8b37-11eb-a33e-da28941cb9ac_story.html, [accessed: 24 Jan 2022].

which was below 10 per cent in the first half of 2020.¹⁹

Despite the improvement in the economic situation, proper reforms have not been introduced, and at the same time the strategy of stimulating the investments generating increasing foreign debt of the economy was quickly revived. As of late 2019 and early 2020, Turkey's total external debt stood at nearly \$440 billion, while the reserves amounted to around \$80 billion.²⁰ In the first months of 2020, the situation deteriorated again. The CBRT, on the other hand, introduced gradual interest rate cuts to drive the economic growth rate by keeping consumption and investment high, which led to higher inflation. The Turkish economy was also negatively affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, although Turkey achieved the economic growth of 1.8 per cent in 2020.²¹ To avoid having to declare insolvency, the government took many measures to protect the Turkish lira. However, these proved ineffective, and what saved Turkey was the help of expanding foreign exchange with Qatar and China.²²

Turkey's economic crisis escalated significantly in 2021 as a result of the deteriorating global economy and the CBRT's controversial monetary policy. Turkey has been also affected by the congestions in global supply chains and the associated price hike. Despite the persistently high inflation, the CBRT, without prior announcement, began to cut the interest rate even more, reducing it from 19 per cent to 14 per cent between

September and December. It resulted in a rapid GDP growth, drastic increase in inflation and weakened the Turkish lira.²³

Inflation in Turkey rose to 36.08 per cent in December 2021, compared to 21.31 per cent in the preceding month. This is the highest level since September 2002. The main price increases occurred in relation to food and non-alcoholic beverages (43.80 per cent), transport (53.66 per cent), housing and utilities (28.57 per cent), household furnishing and equipment (40.95 per cent), hotels, cafes and restaurants (40.85 per cent) and clothing and footwear (20.13 per cent).²⁴

The end of the year also saw a sharp depreciation of the national currency. In January, TRY 6.7 were exchanged for \$1, and this rate increased to TRY 18.6 in mid-December. The Turkish lira depreciated by almost 40 per cent against the US dollar in 2021.²⁵ Over the last five years, the Turkish lira has lost almost 72% of its value against the US dollar, and over the whole decade, the depreciation reached 86%. The depreciating Turkish lira poses a threat to the stability of the domestic banking system, which is heavily indebted in the American currency. Moreover, it increases the burden on some parts of the industry, as they have to import components that are more costly for Turkish manufacturers when the currency is weak. The negative consequences of Turkish lira depreciation also include fuelling inflation in consumer goods and reducing the prosperity of the society, as reflected, for example, in

¹⁹ *Turkeys' Interest Rate*, TradingEconomics, op.cit., [accessed: 24 Jan 2022].

²⁰ M. Chudziak, op. cit., p. 9.

²¹ *Turkey Economic Monitor: Navigating the Waves*, The World Bank, 2021 [online], <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/turkey/publication/economic-monitor>, [accessed: 24 Jan 2022].

²² M. Chudziak, op. cit., p. 39.

²³ M.M. Kubilay, *Turkey's self-made currency crisis*, Middle East Institute, 2021 [online], <https://www.mei.edu/publications/turkeys-self-made-currency-crisis>, [accessed: 24 Jan 2022].

²⁴ *Turkey Inflation Rate*, TradingEconomics [online], <https://tradingeconomics.com/turkey/inflation-cpi>, [accessed: 24 Jan 2022].

²⁵ D. Cupolo, *Turkey gambles on economic turnaround as cost of living skyrockets*, Politico, 2021 [online], <https://www.politico.eu/article/turkey-gamble-economic-turnaround-cost-living-receptayyip-erdogan/>, [accessed: 24 Jan 2022].



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rising food prices. Another problem is the dependence of the Turkish economy on expensive imports of basic products such as meat, fertilisers or metals.

RESPONSE TO THE CRISIS

In response to the worsening economic situation, the government presented the “New Economic Model” (NEM) on 30 November 2021. The initiative is aimed at creating a surplus in foreign exchange and at stabilising the economy. According to the plan, a low central bank’s interest rate and weak Turkish lira are supposed to make exports based on domestic resources more competitive. The CBRT reserves, on the other hand, should be boosted by export earnings, allowing further interventions. However, the planned measures do not involve fighting inflation in any way, and they even will exacerbate it.²⁶

²⁶ A. Michalski, J. Jakóbowski, *Economic crisis in*

The government is also taking some ad hoc steps to temporarily stabilise the economic situation, such as CBRT interventions in defence of the Turkish lira, loans from its own banking sector and other central banks, in particular of China and Qatar. Furthermore, to limit the sharp decline in the population’s purchasing power, the government has increased the minimum wage. In late December 2021, Erdoğan also announced the introduction of a profit guarantee scheme for bank deposits in the Turkish lira, aimed o compensate for its potential depreciation against the dollar, which indeed strengthened the Turkish currency.²⁷ After the guarantee was

Turkey [Kryzys gospodarczy w Turcji], OSW, 2021 [online], <https://www.osw.waw.pl/pl/publikacje/analizy/2021-12-27/kryzys-gospodarczy-w-turcji>, [accessed: 24 Jan 2022].

²⁷ *Erdogan urges citizens to exchange savings in foreign currencies for Turkish lira [Erdogan wzywa obywateli do wymiany oszczędności w obcych walutach na liry]*, Forsal, 2022 [online], <https://forsal>.

announced, the exchange rate in Turkey is TRY 12 per USD 1 (previously it was TRY 17.8).

The government's proposal to address the crisis is not a detailed agenda of reforms, and what the government hopes to achieve is to placate and reassure the investors. Erdoğan's actions are aimed mainly at avoiding a collapse and improving the economic situation before the upcoming presidential election in 2023, which may be held sooner than expected.²⁸ The present activity of Turkey is mainly oriented toward short-term effects. AKP seeks to maintain its dominant position in the state and to defend its own order. Erdoğan wants to wait out the adverse economic circumstances and open Turkey up to additional sources of financing through cooperation with Qatar and China.

However, the actions undertaken by Turkey are not going to solve the structural problems of the economy, particularly, the issue of rising inflation. Simultaneously, they will increase the burden on the banking system. The measures are also taken with scepticism by the Turks and by large business groups who fear a loss of their manufacturing capacity. With all those issues, President Erdoğan's popularity is eroding.

CONCLUSION

The economic crisis in Turkey will deteriorate in the coming months. Ad hoc measures to stabilise the currency and increase the purchasing power of the society are not going to solve Turkey's problems in the long run. Turkey will also be adversely affected by the actions of the NEM, which assumes only short-

term improvement and aims to make Erdoğan's government survive. Export gains due to a weak Turkish lira may improve the foreign exchange balance, but at the same time, they will lead to significant capital outflows and currency fluctuations. High inflation is another serious problem Turkey will face, one fuelled by the CBRT keeping interest rates low.

Institutions deciding on Turkey's capital inflows (e.g. the IMF) expect broad economic reforms aimed, among other things, at changing the financing model for economic growth from the lax monetary policy and fiscal expansion into increased productivity and higher savings rates. Achieving this would involve the rebuilding of the banking system and reducing the share of public investment in total growth, so AKP will not agree to do so.

If the NEM fails to deliver the expected results, the political and social situation in the country could deteriorate and there may be mass protests against the governance of Erdoğan. The potential meltdown poses a threat to the survival of the AKP power. The consequences of Turkey's economic collapse will entail serious international repercussions. Turkey's main creditors are the European banks, so a collapse of the Turkish economy will affect the Eurozone. We can also expect an international crisis connected with the Turkey-EU relations, in the context of, among other things, cooperation in terms of migration affairs. A breakdown in the balance in the Middle East is also possible, as Turkey plays an active role there.

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²⁸ A. Michalski J. Jakóbowski, op. cit., [access: 24 Jan 2022].

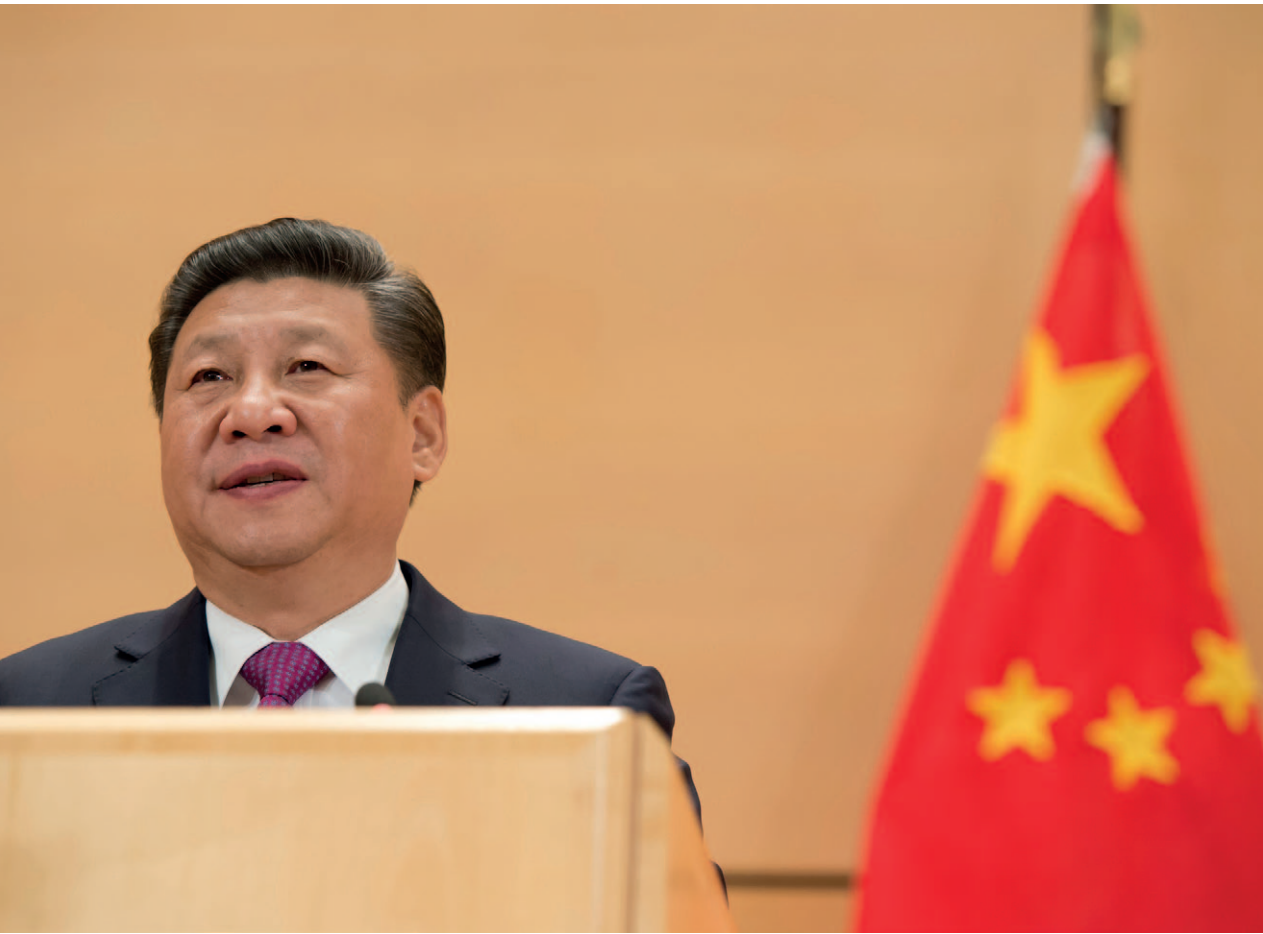
Mikołaj Rogalewicz ■

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CHINA'S POLICY TOWARDS ASEAN AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR CHINA- ASEAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION

WOJCIECH ADAMCZYK

The author proposes to analyze China's policy towards ASEAN and opportunities related to the China-ASEAN economic cooperation. In the article, the author will try to identify the strengths and weaknesses of this partnership, and answer the question, "How does China perceives economic cooperation with ASEAN?", and "What are the opportunities for the deepened economic cooperation between China and ASEAN?". In his thesis, the author will try to prove that the "Belt and Road Initiative" has put ASEAN in a leadership



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position for China's regional cooperation in the continent, and it can be confirmed by already implemented and upgraded China-ASEAN Free Trade Area. What's more, the author will attempt to briefly summarize the history of the economic relationship between both actors and will take a perspective on Indonesia's opportunities for further economic partnership. In this article, the author will try to summarize all the most important factors that are building the foundations of this relationship.

INTRODUCTION

Since the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), a global Chinese development strategy has been proposed by the Chinese government in 2013, the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) has been considered as one of the most vital external actors invited to the project to achieve so-called common prosperity¹. As Jenn-Jaw Soong stated, the previously established China-ASEAN free trade area (CAFTA) forged the “golden decade” (2003-2013) in the bilateral economic development, and after the launch of the BRI, it upgraded to a “diamond decade” (2014-2024) of economic relations². Going further, the China-ASEAN strategic partnership confirms the leadership of ASEAN’s position in the East Asian regional cooperation.

This close cooperation simultaneously creates evident opportunities, such as improved policy coordination, or an introduction of new mechanisms of innovation into the member states, but at the same time relations between China and ASEAN faces some challenges. Trade and investment competition, trade surplus, or “China threat” theory might negatively affect the economic relations between two actors.

In this article, the author will try to present a summary of the China-ASEAN economic relationship, identify the most important opportunities and challenges for the economic cooperation between China and ASEAN, summarize all the most important factors that have a positive and negative impact on the economic

cooperation of involved parties, and will try to explore what are the present results of Chinese activity in the areas of the digital economy and technological innovation in the ASEAN’s countries.

CHINA-ASEAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS – A BRIEF SUMMARY

The China-ASEAN Free Trade Area (CAFTA) has been launched on the 1st of January 2010. Due to the simplified rules on trade and investment, CAFTA brought a new chapter of strengthened economic ties between China and ten countries in ASEAN³. The total trade between counterparts increased from US\$292 billion in 2010 to \$731.9 billion in 2020, with an annual growth rate of 16,5 % since 1991⁴. As a result of dynamic growth in the economic relationship, in 2020, ASEAN became China’s largest trading partner, while China was ASEAN’s largest partner for the last 12 years in a row⁵.

Analyzing the origin of the CAFTA development, it is necessary to return to the 1990s. Previously, China’s passive involvement in institutionalized economic relations had changed in the first half of the 1990s, when the Chinese government had decided to shift its position to active participation. The establishment of the ASEAN in 1967, had no ‘big power’ intervention, so since China decided to involve in globalization processes, the Middle Kingdom got engaged in economic relations with ASEAN with relative ease⁶.

¹ Shihong Bi (2021) Cooperation between China and ASEAN under the building of ASEAN Economic Community, *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies*, 10:1, 83-107

² Jenn-Jaw Soong (2016) The Political Economy of Development Between China and the ASEAN States: Opportunity and Challenge, *The Chinese Economy*, 49:6, 395-399, DOI: 10.1080/10971475.2016.1207972

³ Min-Hua Chiang (2019) China-ASEAN economic relations after establishment of free trade area, *The Pacific Review*, 32:3, 267-290

⁴ Ciie.org. 2022. *China-ASEAN bilateral trade annually growth rate hits 16.5% from 1991 to 2020: customs-China International Import Expo.*

⁵ Globaltimes.cn. 2022. *ASEAN becomes China’s largest trading partner in 2020, with 7% growth - Global Times.*

⁶ Chiang, M., 2018. China-ASEAN economic relations after establishment of free trade area. *The Pacific Review*, 32(3), pp.267-290.



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The financial crisis in Asia confirmed deepened Sino-ASEAN economic cooperation through the construction of a more cooperative framework that aimed to pre-empt future financial disruptions. Although, ASEAN +3 (ASEAN plus, Japan, South Korea and China) that has been established amid crises, had not brought any significant advancement in relations, due to the disagreement between China and Japan over the formation of regionalism⁷.

Beijing perceives relation with ASEAN as a crucial way to maintain its economic growth. China's success and its government legitimacy are largely lying in its economic success, so the CAFTA also plays a vital role in China's "go out policy" that promotes Chinese foreign direct investment⁸. ASEAN possesses some characteristics such as geographic proximity, cheap labour force and similar culture that makes it an ideal investment destination for Chinese investors.

ASEAN has a similar vision of economic cooperation. Access to China's huge consumer market, and the possibility of attracting FDI were the main priorities of the strategic partnership between both parties. According to experts such as Laksmana, ASEAN hoped to maintain a balance of power through the creation of a complex web of economic interdependence⁹.

To briefly summarize the evolution of China-ASEAN economic relations, it is necessary to highlight China's enormous economic development and its industrial upgrading. Since both actors have established their economic relations, in the first two decades of China's economic reforms, ASEAN was competing with China in the export of final goods supplying the global market. Although China's extraordinary growth and development of modern technologies made

⁷ Ibidem.

⁸ Sun, X. (2009). Why does China reassure South-East Asia? *Pacific Focus*, 24(3), 298–316.

⁹ Laksmana, E. A. (2017). Pragmatic equidistance: How Indonesia manages its great power relations. In D. B. H. Denoon (Ed.), *China, the United States and the future of Southeast Asia* (pp. 113–135). New York: New York University Press.

China a global leader within the global value chain, ASEAN's capabilities were growing much slower¹⁰.

The introduction of the CAFTA caused a meaningful change in terms of bilateral trade. Significant growth of China's exports to ASEAN has happened after the global financial crisis. China had a trade deficit with ASEAN, which turned the deficit into a trade surplus since 2012. Since then, the trade surplus has been further enlarging¹¹.

CHINA'S POLICY TOWARDS ASEAN

China-ASEAN has reached a notably special status, and ASEAN has been considered by China as a reliable strategic partner. The economic relationship should be considered as the cornerstone of the partnership. The trade between both partners increased 60 times during 1991-2016, and it will be continued. Cooperation should be considered as a win-win model, where only in 2015, 1,154 new ASEAN companies started their business in China, and it's ASEAN that surpassed the European Union in terms of the rate of investments (ASEN US\$7.86 billion vs EU US\$7.11 billion). Currently, ASEAN became China's second-largest FDI source region¹².

That is why the future prospects of further cooperation are envisaged as secure and further strengthened by new initiatives. Some of them might be a new version of the China-ASEAN FTA or the realization of the BRI concept. Despite economic perspective, ASEAN member states must proceed and deepen so-called principles of the "ASEAN Way", where all members must work mutually for common

prosperity and peace. Indeed, China has to play a huge role in maintaining the balance of power in the region. Beijing openly supports ASEAN Communities in their strive to reach multilateral consensus with its partners from all over the world, including the European Union, and most importantly from East Asia and the Asia-Pacific¹³.

China sees ASEAN as a key partner that will play a meaningful role in the peaceful resolution in the area of the South China Sea case. Middle Kingdom tries to avoid outside power intervention, letting ASEAN member states play a strong role in managing the dispute. It's known, that countries such as the Philippines that brought the case against China relating particular issues in the South China Sea, can be reconciliatory and temporary crises can lead to a quick improvement¹⁴.

Since the United States and its allies are involved in the regional issues, China's relationship with its neighbours becomes more complicated. Still, experts predict that nonpolitical agenda will dominate China's take on ASEAN, and its strategic partnership will temporarily highlight the importance of the COVID-19 pandemic, and the region's recovery and growth¹⁵. What's more, unfavourable arbitrations of a world court over the legality of China's maritime claims in the area of the South China Sea, made China increase aid and investment in the region.

Undoubtedly, the Belt and Road initiative will play a key role in the continued development of cooperation. BRI's priorities and strategies of ASEAN are mutually compatible. Both Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity was announced

¹⁰ Cheong, K. C., Wong, C. Y., & Goh, K. L. (2016). Technology catch-up with Chinese characteristics: What can southeast Asia learn from China? *The Round Table*, 105(6), 667–681.

¹¹ Chiang, M., 2018. China–ASEAN economic relations after establishment of free trade area. *The Pacific Review*, 32(3), pp.267–290.

¹² Eria.org. 2022. [online]

¹³ Ibidem.

¹⁴ Hung, J., 2022. *China's Soft Power Grows in the Philippines*. [online]

¹⁵ VOA. 2022. *Is ASEAN Partnership a Major Move for China in Asian Maritime Disputes?*. [online]

in 2010, and the BRI is prioritizing infrastructure building, where ASEAN countries are in a need of more than \$110 billion of investments each year. The China-ASEAN Connectivity Cooperation Committee was created to facilitate the docking of both initiatives. Going further, the China-ASEAN cooperation has also positively formulated “Industry 4.0” strategies intending to promote industrial upgrading while dealing with the challenges and opportunities faced by the fourth industrial revolution¹⁶. This area of partnership has been agreed in the capacity cooperation frameworks, where BRI offers cooperation in various economic sectors, such as information technology, new materials, or mineral resources.

Marking the 30th anniversary of the China-ASEAN cooperation, it's also worth paying attention to the so-called “The Global Development Initiative” put by the current president of China, Xi Jinping. Along with ASEAN Community Vision 2025, China is ready to continuously support ASEAN countries in the economic recovery after the COVID-19 pandemic, intending to reduce poverty and promotion of balanced and inclusive development. Besides that, China will focus on further efforts to liberalize investment and enhance the level of trade between both actors¹⁷.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION

Robust economic cooperation between China and ASEAN brings mutual opportunities for further engagement and strengthening ties. No doubt, China's Belt and Road Initiative will give a chance

to improve development prospects and should create new business opportunities in the region. ASEAN's role in the BRI, despite the global reach of the project, has been enormous. Member states, with their six major emerging markets which are Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam, are considered as the highest regional priority. Xi Jinping announced the Maritime Silk Road at an address to the Indonesian parliament in October 2013. What's more, China-Indochina Economic Corridor which aims to develop overland rail and road links to ASEAN is considered as the essential part of the BRI. Southeast Asia's economic growth is remarkable. From 2010 to 2019, the region's GDP has grown at an average annual rate of 6.9%¹⁸.

China's role in the region varies from country to country. It would be beneficial to analyze its perspectives on economic cooperation on the example of a few ASEAN countries that are highly responsive to China's initiatives, such as BRI.

On the other hand, just recently signed the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) has been also the most promising chance to deepen economic relationships among all ASEAN's economies, with a focus on major such as Singapore, Vietnam, Thailand, Myanmar, Indonesia.

PERSPECTIVE ON INDONESIA

For long years, Indonesia has been one of the largest trading partners with China. In 2020, China was Indonesia's biggest export partner which had a 16% share in the nation's total exports. Overall trade with China reached \$78.5 billion. It is worth

¹⁶ Shihong Bi (2021) Cooperation between China and ASEAN under the building of ASEAN Economic Community, *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies*, 10:1, 83-107

¹⁷ https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/zxxx_662805/202111/t20211122_10451494.html

¹⁸ Iems.ust.hk. 2022. *The Belt and Road Initiative in ASEAN - Overview | Reports | Publications | HKUST Institute for Emerging Market Studies | Reports | Publications | HKUST Institute for Emerging Market Studies*. [online]

mentioning that recently both countries signed a local currency settlement agreement which will enlarge the role of the Chinese yuan in the ASEAN country¹⁹.

As both countries are tightening economic ties, the BRI initiative has opened new alternative ways of continuously increasing economic cooperation. It was Jakarta where Xi Jinping launched the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road. Since then, Chinese companies have increased their presence in the country. Since 2013, Chinese investors have invested around \$13 billion into various projects related to steel and nickel and built three industrial parks in Qingshan, Morowali, Weda Bay²⁰. What is more, during the Belt and Road Forum held on 25-27 April 2019, the Indonesian government have made an offer of 30 projects to China worth \$91 billion that may further deepen the cooperation between both countries²¹.

Going further, the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) signed on the 1st of January 2022, can create an excellent opportunity for enhanced cooperation between both actors. The objective of the agreement is to create a trade area that would integrate 16 countries, allowing them to exchange products and services with more accessibility across the region. The RCEP account for 30% of the world's population, 29% of global GDP, 27% of global trade, and 29% of foreign direct investment (FDI). We may distinguish at least three ways how Indonesia may benefit: starting

with improved access for the companies to better-quality and cheaper materials for making their products, decreased tariff rates for its export, and a more open and more transparent business environment for trade in services, goods, investment, and movement of people²².

CONCLUSIONS

Undoubtedly, China plays an impactful role in the economic development of ASEAN. Since the 1990s, economic cooperation between both China and ASEAN had an annual growth rate of 16.5% and reached \$731.9 billion in 2020 which made ASEAN the largest trading China's partner for the last 12 years. Signed on the 1st January 2010, The China-ASEAN Free Trade Area (CAFTA) has opened a new chapter of the economic relationship. This confirms that ASEAN plays a vital role in China's foreign economic policy, making it the top destination for foreign direct investment.

What is most important, the Belt and Road Initiative has been playing a huge role in the further strengthening of economic cooperation, and China has envisaged ASEAN as the major recipient of its investments. On the other hand, just recently signed the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) creates another huge opportunity to deepen the economic partnership. The brief analysis of Indonesia's perspective on the economic cooperation with China shows that both initiatives are treated seriously by the government, and despite setbacks, the cooperation has been strengthening.

Wojciech Adamczyk ■
March 2022

¹⁹ Supchina, [2021] <https://supchina.com/2021/12/02/explaining-chinas-relationship-with-indonesia-its-gateway-to-southeast-asia/> 08.02.2022

²⁰ Ibidem.

²¹ Pratiwi, Fadhila Inas, "China Belt and Road Initiatives (BRI) in Indonesia's Socio-Economic Security Challenges: A Policy Recommendation." *Sorotan Kebijakan Luar Negeri Indonesia Di Mata Akademisi Muda Indonesia*. Centre for Strategic and International Studies, 2020.

²² Eria.org. 2022. [online]

CHINA'S POLICY TOWARDS ASEAN AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR CHINA-ASEAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION

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THE ILLEGAL FLOW OF FIREARMS AT THE U.S.–MEXICO BORDER AND ITS IMPACT ON CRIME IN MEXICO: CAUSES AND SOLUTIONS

JAN HERNIK

American gun culture originates from the Second Amendment to the US Constitution, which guarantees the freedom of keeping and bearing guns. With this amendment, every American citizen has the right to purchase most types of firearms. Strongly advocated by the right wing of the political arena, the regulation has been a subject of controversy over the years.

THE ILLEGAL FLOW OF FIREARMS AT THE U.S.–MEXICO BORDER AND ITS IMPACT ON CRIME IN MEXICO: CAUSES AND SOLUTIONS



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American gun laws differ from state to state. The fewest requirements to own a gun must be met in conservative states bordering Mexico, such as Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. On the other side of the border, the Mexican constitution strongly restricts the possibility of obtaining any kind of firearm for anyone, except the authorities. The severe penalties for possession of a firearm without a permit are outlined in Article 162 of the federal criminal code. The law in Mexico precisely describes the models and calibers of guns that can be owned by ordinary citizens. However, as the Mexican military estimated in 2012, only one-third of 1% of firearms in Mexico are legally registered, and up to 90% are used for criminal

purposes¹. Wars between cartels over the control of lucrative drug routes forced many civilians out of their homes and turned into a kind of devastating civil war. Despite the limitations in gun ownership, Mexico has a supply of illegal firearms that is more than five times that of its supply of legal ones. In 2010, Mexico also had one of the highest rates of gun violence in the world, with 10 out of 100,000 people dying from gun homicides. In the same year, the U.S. gun homicide rate amounted to 3.2 per 100,000 people². Furthermore, it

¹ McDougal, T. L., D. A. Shirk; R. Muggah; J. H. Patterson, *The Way of the Gun* (2014). Estimating Firearms Trafficking across the US–Mexico Border, *Journal of Economic Geography*, June 2014 (5).

² Eby, J. A. (2014). Fast and Furious, or Slow and Steady? The Flow of Guns from the United States to Mexico, *UCLA Law Review* 1082 (2014): 1091.



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is estimated that 253,000 guns purchased annually in the U.S. are trafficked to Mexico³. Due to this, firm and effective actions must be introduced to eliminate Mexican organized crime and its arming possibilities in the United States.

A comprehensive and multifaceted approach to the subject is required to explain this astonishing violence fueled by both countries. Two major issues overlap in this context. The first is the influence of the Mexican government on the aggravation of internally organized crime, which requires a brief look at the rate of homicide in Mexico. It shows a drastic increase after 2006, the main reason for which was the declaration of war against drug trafficking and organized crime cartels by President Felipe Calderon (2006–2012). The response of criminals was immediate, with an increase in the homicide rate from 10,452 in 2006 to

27,213 in 2011⁴. Many researchers believe that the surge is caused by President Calderon's aggressive politics toward drug trafficking organizations such as Sinaloa, Gulf, or Guadalajara. New cartels such as the Zetas and La Familia emerged and took over drug trafficking routes between Mexico and the United States.

Another problem originates on the other side of the border. U.S. border states provide an accessible venue for new criminal organizations as a way to arm them. In 2011, President Calderon, aware of the origin of the firearms used by Mexican cartels, ordered an investigation with U.S. legal counsel to explore the possibility of stricter regulations for U.S. gun manufacturers and sellers because of the deadly effects of their products in Mexico. According to Jessica A. Eby, the American government, with organizations such as ATF (Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives), has been keenly aware of the role of straw purchasers in the

³ McDougal, T. et al. (2013). Igarape Inst. & Univ. Of San Diego Trans-Border Inst., *The Way of The Gun: Estimating Firearms Traffic Across The U.S-Mexico Border*, 5 (2013).

⁴ Molzahn et al., supranote1, at 12–13 (analyzing statistics from Mexico's Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI)).

THE ILLEGAL FLOW OF FIREARMS AT THE U.S.–MEXICO BORDER AND ITS IMPACT ON CRIME IN MEXICO: CAUSES AND SOLUTIONS

United States in providing guns to cartels in Mexico⁵. Therefore, suspicions should in this case be directed at the American gun industry and local firearm regulations. Juliana Ruhfus, a correspondent for *Al Jazeera*, explored the subject of Mexican internal violence and gun flow on the US–Mexico border in a documentary entitled *America's Guns: Arming Mexico's Cartels*. It shows the tremendous impact of American gun regulations on Mexican society and the rise of organized crime in this country. Criminals and drug cartels are using negligent American law to obtain a substantial number of firearms to smuggle them to Mexico. One of the most commonly used methods is to take advantage of a lack of regulations on aftermarket sales and get them 'second hand'. This way of obtaining firearms is called a 'kitchen table sale'. The situation presented in the documentary showed how easy it is for anyone to buy an AK-47. The firearm market seems to be open and free to all. In Texas, for instance, the only conditions for purchasing any kind of firearm are one's ID and a filled form of gun purchase. This opens another way for criminals to obtain weapons by using or forcing local citizens to buy guns on their behalf. Statistics show that more than 80% of guns recovered and traced in Mexico are four years or less after their purchase by U.S. citizens⁶. Therefore, Jessica A. Eby underlines that "guns are manufactured and sold legally in the United States; it is their presence and use within Mexico that is illegal⁷." To emphasize the scale of the illegal gun flow through the border, it is crucial to mention that "based on U.S. prosecutions alone, 4976 firearms were

bought with the intention to traffic them to Mexico in FY 2009⁸."

Illegal flow occurs in border areas with vehicles used for this purpose. It is the easiest way for cartels to bring firearms to the south. Smuggled weapons are usually hidden in storage containers in trucks and passenger vehicles traveling to Mexico. Mexican border authorities are often bribed or threatened by criminals. American border forces are also ineffective in this area, being more focused on drug smuggling than illegal weapon flow. Throughout the years 2006 and 2010, Mexican law enforcement recovered 78,571 total crime guns and submitted them for tracing. The study focuses primarily on 20,828 guns that were successfully traced back to an original point of sale in the United States⁹. The United States policy toward American guns traced by Mexican authorities started with the President George W. Bush administration when ATF issued a warrant 3310.4B that authorized its agents to investigate possible straw buyers, including those suspected of obtaining firearms for purchasers from Mexico. It was more of an informational investigation not directed at on-site arrests, but mostly focused on questioning straw buyers at their residences. Under President Barack Obama's administration, ATF officers continued their investigative work and expanded it to combat cross-border trafficking in a program called Project Gunrunner. It was a successful initiative that revealed the case of George Iknadosian, who, as a licensed gun dealer from Phoenix, Arizona, sold more than 700 popular guns to Mexican gun cartels. The Arizona Attorney General ordered

⁵ Eby, J. A Fast and Furious, or Slow and Steady? The Flow of Guns from the United States to Mexico, *UCLA Law Review* 1082 (2014): 1093.

⁶ Administrative Record at 674, Nat'l Shooting Sports Found, Inc. v. Jones, 840F. Supp.2d310 (D.D.C.2012) (No.1:11-cv-01401).

⁷ Ibid, 1107.

⁸ McDougal, T. L.; D. A. Shirk; R. Muggah; J. H. Patterson (2014). The Way of the Gun: Estimating Firearms Trafficking across the US–Mexico Border, *Journal of Economic Geography*, June 2014 (7).

⁹ Eby, J. A. (2014). Fast and Furious, or Slow and Steady? The Flow of Guns from the United States to Mexico, *UCLA Law Review* 1082 (2014), pp. 1109–1110.



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a one-year investigation that ended with Jury Robert Gottsfield's statement that "there certainly was evidence that Iknadosian was knowingly selling guns to people who were not buying the guns for themselves, and that's a class-one misdemeanor"¹⁰. Again, the negligent and inaccurate American gun regulations prevented Iknadosian from being sentenced. Arizona state law does not define or prohibit gun trafficking, and therefore there is no federal penalty that can be imposed against deceitful gun dealers and straw purchasers. To limit such unfortunate cases, 18 states in the U.S. introduced restrictions for firearms purchasers. Six of them have enacted comprehensive tracking requirements for law enforcement and at least four have

adopted one-gun-a-month laws¹¹. Of the four border states, only California has enacted significant regulations. These are gun control measures: limiting multiple sales, requiring background checks for secondary transfers, prosecuting straw purchasers, and restricting the sale of assault weapons¹². The implementation of these gun control regulations is reflected in a 1,88% reduction¹³ in a state's crime gun export rate to Mexico compared to states with none of these laws, which have a crime export rate 655% higher than states that had all four mentioned

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 1094.

¹¹ Koper, C. S. (2005). Purchase of Multiple Firearms as a Risk Factor for Criminal Gun Use: Implications for Gun Policy and Enforcement, 4 *CRIMINOLOGY&PUB.POLY* pp. 749-750.

¹² Eby, J. A. (2014). Fast and Furious, or Slow and Steady? The Flow of Guns from the United States to Mexico, *UCLA Law Review* 1082 (2014), pp. 1108.

¹³ Ibid, 1122, Table 5.



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regulations¹⁴. Based on these statistics, it is visible that American crime firearms tend to flow into Mexico from states that do not follow extra gun regulations. Therefore, Mexican cartels use states with fewer gun laws to obtain and traffic guns down south. The closer to the border the gun selling state is located, the lower risk of detention, therefore, illegal gun trafficking occurs mostly in the states of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas.

To successfully battle the issue of Mexican internal organized crime, it is crucial to look at the situation of U.S. border states, which did not apply additional gun regulation to federal law. California, which follows four additional rules regarding its sales and requires additional steps from the buyer to prove their right to obtain them, is a prime example of how to curb the illegal flow of guns into Mexico. Border states, particularly at risk of being turned into sources of supply for Mexican cartels, should follow the additional gun rules and ensure that federal law covers not only illegal gun buyers, but also rogue dealers, who sometimes knowingly work with criminals to make more money. The American law should not significantly impede or forbid the

right to purchase and bear firearms for ordinary, law-abiding American citizens, but, at the same time, it has to introduce mandatory corrections in federal law of the border states, concerning the existing regulations, which are mentioned in this paper. The American government has to be responsible for the practical implementation of these regulations, and thus, it has to strengthen its agencies, e.g., the ATF, to successfully investigate and detect any illegal gun trafficking or illicit weapon purchase attempt. The same competence for Mexican public order is in its local government. The policy of war against cartels and criminals, begun with a firm declaration by President Calderon, must continue. However, it must be carried out responsibly so as not to create social conflicts and other situations that could increase the rate of homicide in Mexico. Sound domestic policies in the country, the strengthening of local military authorities, and the tightening of diplomatic relations between Mexico and the United States are essential to effectively reduce organized crime and illegal arms trafficking at the border.

Jan Hernik ■
March 2022

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 1124.

POLISH RAILWAYS IN THE ERA OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

ADRIAN KOLANO'S INTERVIEW WITH RAFAŁ ZGORZELSKI, PhD, MEMBER
OF THE MANAGEMENT BOARD AT PKP S.A.

Years of activity of the Polish State Railways (PKP) show how railways can and should be strategically important for the country's economy. The current international environment presents a number of challenges connected with the geopolitical, technological, or ecological aspects of all branches of transportation. Still, these challenges also provide amazing opportunities for growth – especially for railways. Thanks to the domestic and, in particular, regional cooperation, the potential of Polish economy can be materialised and at the same time empower the economy itself. By promoting national engagement in both economic and cultural fields, the railways prove to not only be a medium of Polish history and tradition, but they have a chance to become the main branch of transportation in terms of the aims and policies of sustainable development. On the topic of Polish railways and its future: Adrian Kolano and Rafał Zgorzelski, PhD, Member of the Management Board at PKP S.A.



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THE YEAR 2021 WAS THE EUROPEAN YEAR OF RAIL AND WE CELEBRATED THE 20TH BIRTHDAY OF THE BIGGEST NATIONAL PASSENGER RAIL SERVICE – PKP INTERCITY. EACH YEAR, MORE AND MORE POLES DECIDE TO TRAVEL BY TRAIN. PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT IS ONE OF THE REASONS THEY MENTION. COULD YOU TELL US MORE ABOUT PKP’S STRATEGY IN TERMS OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT?

The year 2021 marked two major anniversaries for PKP – the 95th anniversary of the incorporation of PKP as a legal entity and the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the PKP Group, including PKP S.A. and PKP Intercity S.A. PKP is a company with long-established historical tradition, it is an important

element of the cultural heritage, and at the same time a crucial part of the economic life of Poland. Looking at the bigger picture, we are aware that the railways are a key element of the state’s economic security, but we also appreciate their strategic importance to the safety of the country or, more broadly, the region. This geopolitical aspect of the operations of PKP always needs to be taken into account.

Various events have taken place in Poland as part of the celebration of the European Year of Rail, some of these on a truly global scale. One example is the 14th International Railway Fair TRAKO2021, held in September in Gdańsk. It was the biggest event of this kind in 2021 in Europe, and it was organised with major engagement of PKP. As many as 23



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thousand people from 39 countries, over 500 exhibitors from all over the world and 130 journalists from Poland, Czech Republic, Denmark, Germany, the UK, Ukraine, and Romania attended the fair. The fair turned out to be a great success and was well received both by guests who participated in professional debates and those who visited the booths and went to see the exhibitions on the tracks. During the European Year of Rail, we also made efforts to highlight the role of the Polish railways in the development of the European and international cultural heritage. It was, after all, a Polish man, Jan Józef Baranowski, that was the author of some significant inventions related to railways, including the semaphore signal and the ticket validator. It was an employee of Polish railways, Władysław Stanisław Reymont, one of the finest writers, who was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1924. During World War II, many

railway workers, such as Jan Maletka – who was killed by the Germans for helping Jewish people – participated in armed conspiracy against the German occupiers and, once the conflict was over, against the Soviets. At the same time, they were also engaged in helping ordinary people.

Today, PKP is an efficient, modern organisation which enjoys high social prestige and strives to provide a transportation service that will be functionally integrated with the domestic and European economic system, safe, accessible, punctual, innovative, and ecological in comparison to other branches of transportation in the supply chain. We undertake a number of development activities, including research and development work, related to environmental protection and reducing various types of pollution by, for example, using renewable energy sources, which

is just one of many ways of applying new technologies and environmental measures. We have the ability to test and implement new technological solutions and the new approach to the management of the energy assets we hold and to the reduction of emissions from the remaining assets. One of such activities that is planned for years ahead is, among other things, preparation of assumptions for the research and development projects aimed at lowering the emissions generated by train stations and other railway buildings. Management and administration of these buildings is PKP's major field of operation. Considering the scale of company's investment projects aimed at the modernisation and reconstruction of train stations as well as the great number of properties it controls, the issues regarding environmental protection and meeting the requirements of pollution reduction are becoming even more important. Thanks to proper management of the relations between various modes of transportation and to promoting very low-emission vehicles, the creation of solutions supporting the objectives of sustainable development in terms of environmental protection can be further bolstered. For example, PKP Intercity is working on the modernisation of their rolling stock to encourage the passengers to use the most eco-friendly means of transportation, i.e. railway.

PKP Intercity is set to become the first Polish long-distance railway operator whose activity will be neutral for the climate. Currently, about 85% of the company's rolling stock is emission-free, and this percentage will keep on rising thanks to the investment in modern electric and hybrid (diesel-electric transmission) trains. The company also plans on using railcars with alternative drive systems, which should eventually replace diesel trains on non-electrified track sections. This will allow to further

minimise the exhaust emissions. Moreover, PKP Intercity has an ambitious and long-term investment plan. As part of these investments, up to 2030 the company will spend PLN 24.5 billion on the modernization of trains and PLN 2.6 billion on eco-friendly train stations. By the end of this decade, all the railcars of this operator will be brand-new or modernised, and train stations will be upgraded with new technological solutions that lower the power consumption, such as solar panels and heat pumps. Another project held by PKP Intercity is *Eco-Driving* – it is set to optimise the electric power consumption by installing energy meters in the trains.

LAST YEAR, PKP SIGNED AN AGREEMENT WITH PKN ORLEN AND PESA BYDGOSZCZ TO COOPERATE IN TERMS OF IMPLEMENTATION OF HYDROGEN TECHNOLOGIES. WE KNOW FROM MANY PAST CASES THAT SUCH PUBLIC INVESTMENT IN NEW TECHNOLOGICAL SOLUTIONS LED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF OTHER BRANCHES OF COUNTRY'S ECONOMY. WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THOSE ACTIONS AND IN WHAT OTHER WAYS, WITH THE INVOLVEMENT OF PKP AS A STATE-OWNED COMPANY, CAN NEW TECHNOLOGICAL SOLUTIONS BE INTRODUCED IN THE POLISH MARKET?

Using hydrogen as fuel for various types of vehicles is a way to lower the emission of pollution and is one of the eco-friendly solutions that highlight the issue of protecting the natural environment. By cooperating with PKN Orlen and PESA, PKP has begun working on various steps to open way to a wider use of hydrogen-powered engines in railway transportation. Many manufacturers of rolling stock already make, or are working on making, hydrogen-powered railway cars. However, such trains can only be used on a large

scale in Poland after the development of a proper infrastructure that will make it possible to refuel the train safely and quickly. The application of the hydrogen technology and development of the target solutions that will allow to fully use this type of fuel on non-electrified routes still requires more work connected with testing the available options and choosing the best one. For this purpose, PKP and PKN Orlen started a research and development project which will be carried out in a public-private rail partnership, Europe's Rail Joint Undertaking, established under the Horizon Europe financial framework. As one of 25 founding members of this partnership, PKP can involve Polish entities, one of which might be PKN Orlen, in international research and development projects. The main aim of the research and development project that is set out to be implemented is to invent technical solutions that could be used for fuelling hydrogen-powered railcars.

THE INVESTMENT OF THE SOLIDARITY TRANSPORT HUB POLAND ASSUMES, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE LAUNCHING OF 1800 KM OF NEW RAILROADS. MOREOVER, EFFORTS ARE MADE TO IMPLEMENT FAR-REACHING PROJECTS OF THE THREE SEAS INITIATIVE AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL CONNECTIONS, SUCH AS RAIL BALTICA. WITH REGARD TO THESE ACTIONS, WHAT IS PKP'S STRATEGY FOR THE YEARS TO COME? WHAT NEW OPPORTUNITIES MIGHT ARISE FOR POLISH RAILWAYS AS A RESULT OF FURTHER DEVELOPMENT AND INVESTMENTS CONNECTED WITH THE THREE SEAS INITIATIVE?

The Three Seas Initiative is especially important from the perspective of the strategic interest of Poland and other countries in the region. One of the key challenges is to create energy, digital, and transport connections in the currently

undeveloped North-South axis, which is extremely important for the movement of goods and people. Releasing this potential for the improvement and the significant strengthening of the integrity of the region will bring results that would be difficult to overestimate in terms of economic growth of the countries of the Three Seas Initiative and for raising the awareness of their common goals and interests in the area that constitutes 1/3 of the European Union.

Undeniably, the development of the railway connections is one of the most promising areas of partnership within the Three Seas Initiative. The aforementioned Rail Baltica opens the door for entirely new possibilities for Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Here, we should also mention all the great benefits that the next project could have – Rail Carpatia, where the list of beneficiaries will be even longer. It's high time to overcome the constraints imposed during the communist period and integrate the infrastructure of this dynamically growing region of the European Union to prompt further development.

RECENTLY MUCH IS HEARD ABOUT ECONOMIC PATRIOTISM. WHAT ARE YOUR VIEWS ON THIS IDEA AND IS IT PRESENT IN THE ACTIONS OF PKP?

Economic patriotism has been the subject of my interests and activity for a long time, because it's a sign of a conscious creation of the foundations of the economic position of important countries. It is worth noting that everyone has an important role to play here – consumers, businesses, and even the state itself. Economic patriotism is crucial in establishing the position of our domestic businesses and the prosperity of the whole society. Consumer patriotism, which can be seen in the purchasing attitudes, translates directly into the increased importance of Polish companies, their ability to invest and



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improve, and, as a result, it influences the economic situation of our regions, cities or even families. What businesses do is equally significant, as by cooperating with their Polish partners and paying taxes here, they also demonstrate economic patriotism in practice. Of course, the state, in a broad sense, plays a huge role in implementing economic patriotism, as it depends on the state in what conditions the domestic businesses will develop. The quality of law and institutions or the tax system – all of this has a significant impact on how efficient Polish companies will be while competing in an increasingly globalised world. This directly influences the economic situation of the entire society.

Due to its strategic role for the Polish economy, PKP actively engages in

the practical implementation of the principles of economic patriotism. We should not overlook the partnership with the agricultural and food market, as demonstrated e.g. by the extensive promotion of the PRODUKT POLSKI (*POLISH PRODUCT*) trademark, in which companies from the PKP Group engaged, namely PKP Intercity and Fundacja Grupy PKP. Image-building activities, such as giving apples with the PRODUKT POLSKI mark to the passengers of Express InterCity Premium trains or promoting this trademark on one of our locomotives, were just a start. Additionally, PKP has taken specific actions to further develop the export of Polish agricultural and food produce, including in the Three Seas area. The best example would be the *Railway for food* conference, which was attended by almost 100 representatives



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of key entities and organisations of the Polish agricultural and food market and the major railway partners, who can provide optimal transport abroad for their products. This is how we can practically strengthen the position of Polish exporters, and the railways have the means to make it real.

IN 2021, PKP PURSUED VARIOUS PROJECTS TO COMMEMORATE OUTSTANDING POLES (SUCH AS: NAMING TRAIN STATIONS AFTER THEM, PUTTING AN IMAGE OF CAVALRY CAPTAIN WITOLD PILECKI ON ONE OF THE PKP INTERCITY LOCOMOTIVES). ARE SIMILAR PROJECTS A PART OF A BIGGER PROGRAMME FOR PROMOTING THE NATIONAL HERITAGE? IN WHAT OTHER WAYS DOES PKP SUPPORT PATRIOTISM?

The PKP Group is one of the largest employers in Poland. Even in the past it had an important role in the society, both in nationwide and local terms, and for this reason we feel compelled to promote

Polish national heritage and patriotic behaviours. Naming train stations after famous Poles is a way for us to pay respect to the important national heroes on the key train stations around the country, but it also helps us to remind people of the figures that were important to the local communities in the case of smaller towns.

Commemorating Witold Pilecki on the wonderful artwork that covers the PKP Intercity locomotive is one of the projects that give me the most satisfaction. The achievements of Cavalry Captain Pilecki make him one of the greatest heroes of World War II, not only in Poland, but on a European scale, too. This is why it's so important that this locomotive pulls a train on the Warsaw-Berlin route. This way, our English-language message about the Cavalry Captain can reach people who have never had a chance to hear about him. It is especially important that this message reaches the Germans.

Thank you for the conversation.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: RZESZÓW MAKES AN EXAMPLE FOR POLISH CITIES

ADRIAN KOLANO'S INTERVIEW WITH KONRAD FIJOŁEK,
THE MAYOR OF RZESZÓW

The past thirty years have brought profound changes in many places in Poland. A city that did great in improving living standards, achieving sustainable development goals, and managing its lands is Rzeszów. In this interview, Adrian Kolano asks Konrad Fijołek, the mayor of Rzeszów, about his accomplishments and plans.



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SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: RZESZÓW MAKES AN EXAMPLE FOR POLISH CITIES

BACK IN 2020, RZESZÓW CAME SECOND ON THE LIST OF POLAND'S TOP SUSTAINABLE LOCAL GOVERNMENTS. COULD YOU PLEASE TELL US MORE ABOUT THE MUNICIPAL AGENDA FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT? WHAT ARE YOU PARTICULARLY PROUD OF AND WHAT ARE AREAS FOR IMPROVEMENT?

Rzeszów is now seeing dynamic growth, which makes me personally satisfied. But what pushes the city forward is its economy. If the city offers jobs, people want to stay in Rzeszów for longer. Rzeszów is a city of innovation, where the aerospace and IT industries are developing rapidly. It is home to Poland's aviation industry as it hosts manufacturers such as MTU, Borg Warner, Pratt & Whitney, EME Aero, Collins Aerospace, and Phoenix Contact, among others. In

consequence, thousands of new jobs were created, attracting people from all over the country who settle in Rzeszów. When mentioning the strategy for development and the economic potential, we cannot neglect efforts to invest in human capital. And we keep spending more on this. More nurseries, kindergartens, and schools have been built in the past years. Later this year, we are planning to commission a primary school and nursery unit along with a sports arena in Drabinianka, a district of Rzeszów. We will soon begin to extend school buildings in Staromieście and Matysówka and build a sports center featuring sanitary facilities and pitches in School Complex No. 1. A new swimming pool will be opened at Matuszczaka Street later this year. The venue is also designed as an Olympic training center, also for Stal Rzeszów divers. The municipal budget, whose proposal I had submitted and that got unanimous approval, includes



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some investment projects in all districts of Rzeszów. What is important for city residents is an overpass that links Wyspiańskiego Street and Hoffmanowej Street. We will soon commission the Podkarpacie Athletics Center, the Rzeszów Communication Center, and an aquapark.

But investing in human capital means spending money on education. Smart solutions at schools involve teaching materials, broadband Internet, digital whiteboards, 3D printers, and new sports facilities. In addition, the schools in Rzeszów use a unified modern electronic gradebook, an element of a complex education management system. With their equipment, schools are also ready for online learning—a crucial feature as the pandemic swept the country—because

educational facilities in Rzeszów were one of the few in Poland to be prepared for online instruction when lockdown policies were imposed. We inked a deal with Microsoft that allowed teachers and students in all state schools in the city to use Office 365 in the educational process. They all have free access to the software that can be installed on five computers, five tablets, and five smartphones. The young and teachers alike are thus able to use Microsoft cloud solutions at school and home or elsewhere.

The academic center in Rzeszów is also seeing constant and dynamic growth. Each year brings new, much-awaited faculties. It is crucial to adapt the university offer to what the job market needs. New faculties and curricula address its demands while

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: RZESZÓW MAKES AN EXAMPLE FOR POLISH CITIES



fitting into innovation efforts in the Podkarpace region. Rzeszów is home to the biggest number of university students per 1,000 residents than anywhere else in the European Union.

But what occupies a crucial role for any city is its social initiatives. Rzeszów residents take part in some area management projects, implement innovation, and advise on how to make their daily life more comfortable.

What I am particularly fond of is what people engage actively in city life. Our information policy is designed to make anyone aware of what is going--on both traditional or social media--on and let them participate and decide. We hold public consultations to decide where to

locate new parks and pedestrian streets or how to revamp the city to make it more comfortable for residents. We want all social groups to decide about the city. We have established the Social Council for Sport, the Council on Older Persons, the Economic Council, and the Council for Culture, or the Council on Women. The city has appointed the Ombudsman for Persons with Disabilities. We throw support for local NGOs, too. We are constantly in talks with residents because they live here and they should make relevant decisions about their neighborhood. The Urban Lab Rzeszów is where representatives of social groups meet to discuss further actions. People choose where they want new pocket parks, usually a few hundred meters away from where they live. There were four new ones last year while others will join this spring. Residents tell us where to build new playgrounds and what to amend to make the city a better place to live. We are now constructing a playground dedicated to children with disabilities by the Wisłok river. Both beautiful and functional, the facility is what the people asked for. We spare no efforts to make Rzeszów more resident-friendly.

A thing that yet gives us sleepless nights is the care of the environment. We do not remain idle in this respect, though. We seek to oust all black-smoke-belching stoves by replacing them with gas-fired heaters. We are involved in a flurry of educational campaigns and we are in cooperation with such environmental associations as Ekoskop or Strażnicy Drzew.

THIS JANUARY 19 MARKED 668 YEARS SINCE RZESZÓW WAS FOUNDED. IS RZESZÓW--A CITY PRIDING ITSELF ON A LONG AND OUTSTANDING HISTORY AND THE CAPITAL OF INNOVATION--PROUD OF ANYTHING MORE THAN OTHER



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CITIES OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE?

Poland's capital of innovation, Rzeszów keeps introducing some novelties in the economy, culture, education, and elsewhere to make life easier. We pride ourselves on a digital urban greenness and an air quality monitoring system alike.

Our newest innovation is a vacant parking spot detection system, which is the most modern facility of that kind in Poland. The system involves cameras installed around the parking lot. It encompasses a neural network equipped with image-processing devices to collect information on parking lot usage. Drivers learn about vacant parking spots either from boards or their smartphones. In addition to being a safe and fully-monitored parking lot, it is a facility for drivers who no longer waste their time looking for vacant spots as their smartphones guide them towards a nearby one. It is an eco-friendly solution as it reduces pollution downtown.

Another smart solution is Rzeszowskie Piwnice, or a cultural venue we commissioned at the end of last year. It is

a tech-studded underground route that invites tourists to take part in a marvelous adventure.

We have a years-long track record in adopting modern solutions, also for public transportation. We have built high-standard roads equipped with bike planes. Through tech-studded solutions, we avoid traffic congestion. As in many modern cities, we seek to put in practice what is known as the reverse traffic pyramid, or an approach that gives the priority to bikes, scooters, carsharing schemes, then public transport, followed by cars. We pride ourselves on a fleet of modern, environmental, and sustainable buses. They feature an array of smart solutions, too. We were the first Polish city to offer a new smart contactless ticket system, or Mass Transit Transaction (MTT). Passengers use contactless payment (credit card, smartphone, or smartwatch) and the system enables them to know the exact amount being charged at the moment and find the best tariff. Bus stops all over the city are air-conditioned in the summer while solar-powered and heated in the winter.

The train station in Rzeszów is the first-ever carbon-neutral station in Poland. Electrical energy from solar power is later returned to the grid when demand is high. Traffic management is fully automatic, while AI-based algorithms are used to issue parking ticket invoices for buses at the station and bus bays.

IN 2020, THE CITY HAD THE HIGHEST BIRTH RATE IN POLAND. RZESZÓW, WHICH THE FINANCIAL TIMES PUT ON ITS LIST OF THE CITIES OF THE FUTURE, NOW HAS ACCESS TO OUTSTANDING HUMAN CAPITAL AND SUPERB BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES. WHAT ARE YOUR VIEWS ON RZESZÓW BEING A RESIDENT-FRIENDLY CITY? WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER ESSENTIAL FOR ITS FUTURE?

A people-friendly city is what I have dreamt of and what I have been working for years on. But what is most important for residents and what makes them want to live here is a proper quality of life that focuses on their health, comfort, and leisure. Any city should be green and friendly and offer leisure areas to its residents just around the corner. I mean pocket parks within a 10-minute walk or benches where the elderly could sit down and have some rest while on their way to the park. I mean playgrounds, also those dedicated to children with disabilities. I mean venues where local artists could display their works or where people could dance or attend concerts in their neighborhood. These places create local communities. So that we know and befriend our neighbors and we feel at home where we live—both safely and comfortably. So that all residents—whether they be young or elderly—find a way to spend free time and never feel alone. Because spending money on culture is actually preparing the basics for the city's further development. The „Atrakcje na Wakacje“ program we ran last year

offered nearly 300 pastimes to flatter all tastes. And we keep doing this all year round. Despite the sweeping pandemic, we suggest a number of leisure activities.

GREEN AREAS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN PART OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT SOLUTIONS AND RZESZÓW WAS KNOWN AS ONE OF POLAND'S GREENEST CITIES. WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THE FUTURE OF GREEN AREAS BY THE WISŁOK RIVER THAT HAVE SEEN DYNAMIC SHIFTS IN THESE PAST YEARS?

We are sparing no efforts to build leisure areas by the Wisłok river. We have thus drafted a land development plan for these areas that provides for some extra street furniture and urban green spaces. We are now in talks with real estate developers to acquire some of these lands. In addition, we are now drafting a land use plan for Rzeszów, including the areas adjacent to the Wisłok river.

Those will include bike paths and running routes along with some crossings to reach leisure facilities by the Wisłok river, commissioned by the city hall and leased to businesses seeking to offer sports and leisure amenities or provide food services. We also need areas untouched by humans. In Rzeszów, there is a nature reserve known as Lisia Góra that we need to take care of soon. As spring is coming, we are getting back to work. We will be sowing more and more wildflower meadows—as we did last year. This year's budget includes money to build new running routes. We will soon commission the playground dedicated to children with disabilities. We have made plans to use the area by Konfederatów Mound. With its total area of 58 ha, it will host leisure and green areas. Works will take place between March 4 and 24. The public debate is scheduled for March 23.

Thank you for the conversation.

AGENDA 2030: GLOBAL CAN MEAN LOCAL. WHY ARE CITIES KEY TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS OF THE UNITED NATIONS?

ADAM DZIEDZIC

The success of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development depends on the effective collaboration of all relevant actors. As the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) notes in its report on the territorial approach to the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the United Nations, cities and regions play a critical role in their implementation and, as such, they should embrace their full potential. Therefore, it is of crucial importance for cities and their officials to make a swift move from theory to practice as part of city development policies and strategies.



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WHAT ARE THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS?

The Sustainable Development Goals constitute the core of the Agenda 2030, which was unanimously adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2015. They are a major step forward from the previous Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and are founded on five key pillars: people, planet, prosperity, peace, and, perhaps most importantly, partnership, without which global advancement and development would be impossible due to the high levels of globalization and interdependence today. The SDGs differ greatly from their predecessors, as, first and foremost, they put society and people on the front page. The idea of these goals is to adopt a bottom-up approach to development. From healthcare and education, through green energy, consumption, production, and strong institutions, ending with life on water, climate action, and equality, the 17 goals, each with specific targets and indicators measuring progress,

clearly show how and why development must comprehensively address societal, environmental, and economic needs. Simply put, contrary to the MDGs, the UN's Sustainable Development Goals do not focus on governments and leaders, but on people.

According to the yearly report "Sustainable Development Index", Poland ranks 15th worldwide (out of 193 UN member states) today in terms of progress in achieving the targets set out in Agenda 2030, leaving behind economic superpowers such as Japan (#18), Canada (#21), or the United States (#32). Poland has already achieved SDG 1 (no poverty) and SDG 15 (life on land) and is "on track" or "moderately improving" to achieve SDGs 3, 4, 6, 8, and 16, which, broadly speaking, refer to healthcare, education, clean water, economic growth, and strong institutions. However, our country is lagging in terms of SDGs 7 (affordable and clean energy), 13 (climate action), 14 (life on water), and 17 (partnerships for the goals). In short, much

progress has been achieved, but there is still much to be done, and the clock to 2030 is ticking.

SDG 11: WHAT IS IT AND WHY IS IT IMPORTANT?

Sustainable development, widely defined as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development / Brundtland Commission 1987) may be seen as one way of adapting and alleviating negative consequences; ensuring better future provisions in cities. Sustainable cities can therefore be defined as those that are governed in a way that ensures a high quality of life and access to all the needs of its inhabitants without negatively impacting the needs of future generations and posing a threat to the natural environment.

Several key areas of sustainable city development can be identified as part of SDG 11, for example, improving air quality to “reduce the adverse per capita environmental impact of cities” (UN 2015) and “providing access to safe, affordable, accessible, and sustainable transport systems for all, improving road safety, notably by expanding public transport” (UN 2015). Cities that strive to be sustainable must guarantee the equal interplay of environmental, social, and economic spheres and realize that “balancing these three basic factors needs an integrated decision-making process in which citizens’ participation has a fundamental role in sustainability objectives achievement” (Soltani & Sharifi 2012: 123).

CITIES – WHAT IS THE FUSS ABOUT?

Today, around 55% of the world’s population living in cities and urban settlements is “responsible for 60–80% of global energy consumption and they

account for 75% of global CO₂ emissions” (Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development 2016: 6). This creates a significant burden for urban centers, which must create policies combining economic growth and progressive urbanization with environmental protection. As Höjer & Wangen argue, “sustainable urban development has become a prerequisite for sustainable development” (2015: 335). Cities and urban settlements are undoubtedly the main enactors of sustainable development policies, particularly those in the sphere of education (SG 4), healthcare (SDG 3), industry & infrastructure (SDG 9), or climate action (SDG 13). Perhaps one sustainable development goal that brings all of this together is SDG 11, which focuses on “making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable” (UN 2015). To be more specific, there are three most prevalent areas of activity and concern in public discourse in regard to making cities sustainable. They include the reduction of air pollution, the guarantee of access to safe and affordable public transportation, and the so-called green infrastructure. According to Girardet & Deelstra, “cities of the 21st century are where human destiny will be played out, and where the future of the biosphere will be determined” (2000: 43), which highlights the importance of healthy sustainable urban development and the role of cities in today’s world.

PRACTICAL EXAMPLES AND SUCCESS STORIES FROM POLAND

As mentioned in the introduction, it is important to move from theory to practice and learn from previous projects. While, naturally, there is no one-size-fits-all solution, meaning that one project can be taken from city A and implemented without changes or difficulties in city B, the previous experiences can be a



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source of inspiration for policymakers. On this note, it is important that even if one was to transport an idea from one place to another, such a scenario would not be effective. If an initiative is to be successful, it has to consider the external environment (political, social, economic, and environmental factors are just a few to be named) which, as we know, is very different in, for instance, Warsaw, in comparison with Vienna, Melbourne, or Bogota.

**The examples below are based on the written responses provided by 18 municipalities in Poland as part of the report by the United Nations Association Poland "Sustainable development of cities in Poland: from theory to practice" published in early 2021.*

WROCLAW AND ŁÓDŹ – BLUE AND GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE AT THE FOREFRONT OF SUSTAINABILITY

As we know, there is no life without water. Cities are no different, which is why Wrocław is very much focused on blue infrastructure, from local educational activities and initiatives to large-scale investments. Naturally, the city is constantly investing in making tap water increasingly available and safe for citizens, but that is not all. In 2019, the project "I like rain" was implemented in selected schools in the city in cooperation with a non-governmental organization. This was an opportunity for educational meetings with young Warsaw residents to familiarize them with rainwater management and its methods. As part of the workshops, the children built rain

gardens in 10 schools. The aim was to encourage other city residents to create ecosystems in their gardens and to show that building one is not that complicated. These activities demonstrate a hands-on approach to education.

Greenery in cities is as important as modernized buildings, accessible and eco-friendly public transport, or safe and affordable housing. Wrocław's "Gray to green" (PL: *Szare na Zielone*) aims to transform old, gray, and concrete areas surrounding schools or nurseries into attractive green areas that students can use. This project is part of a wide program aimed to adapt the city to the changing climate and environment, highlighting that the authorities are aware of the need for a comprehensive approach to the issue, given its high level of interdependence and complexity. The initiative also promotes biodiversity and efficient rainwater management. Schools are encouraged not only to 'unseal' concrete courtyards but also to enrich development projects with elements of blue and green infrastructure, such as rain gardens, flower meadows, creepers on fences creating natural green walls, or rainwater barrels that, with the help of children, can then be used to water the garden. Small vegetable gardens are becoming increasingly popular, as they play an educational role in the field of healthy eating. To be more specific, in one kindergarten in the city, humus was used to fertilize the area and create a biologically active layer. The establishment is located in an area elevated one meter above, with some remains of the building underneath. The redesigned green area is innovatively irrigated, applying an underground system that uses rainwater from the roof of the building.

Of course, when talking about green infrastructure, one must not forget the immense role of public parks and forests. The *Od:Nowa Park Helenów*

project in Łódź, the third biggest city in Poland in terms of population size, aims to restore the grandeur of this historic park. The main goal, in addition to creating an attractive recreational location for citizens and tourists alike, is to design a comprehensive landscape with hiking and cycling trails. It is to include the revalorization of the area in the Sokołówka valley, including the restoration of the historic Mickiewicz Park, thus emphasizing the natural values of the river valley, creating leisure friendly infrastructure, as well as improving the quality and wide availability of public spaces and green areas in the city. An essential aspect of the initiative is also the recovery of Sokołówka, creating a friendly space for residents and tourists by this river, which at present flows along an unattractive riverbed.

OPOLE – LOOKING AT SUSTAINABILITY THROUGH THE SOCIAL LENS

Creating a just, solidary, and mutually respectful society is as important as infrastructural projects. Therefore, the City of Opole looks at sustainable development very much through the lens of society. The *Re-start* center in the city center implements a comprehensive program of social and professional reintegration. As part of the project, new places for professional reintegration and social activation were created in the Social Integration Club, which operates at the Municipal Family Support Center. Support is provided to the unemployed, in particular those with a long history of unemployment, who are covered, inter alia, by an internship program, psychosocial, vocational, and legal counseling. With the substantive support of vocational instructors, participants get to know how to perform specific jobs, and social workers strengthen their activity and independence in life. They learn to perform minor carpentry, upholstery,

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WHY ARE CITIES KEY TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SUSTAINABLE...



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and locksmith repairs, as well as to tailor modifications for Opole residents at risk of social exclusion. Instructors indicate that the classes help participants integrate and change their behavior, attitudes, or habits. “At the beginning of the project there were helplessness, confusion, and uncertainty about their future, then after several months of work they changed a lot.”

As indicated by one of the instructors, active participation in vocational reintegration classes increased their willingness to continue working also after the program and contributed to their better well-being. They also helped make their professional dreams come true and, as was noticed, gave participants self-confidence, improved their skills, and increased self-esteem. Workshops as part of the program take place in renovated and redesigned buildings adapted by the city, which had been unused for a long time before the project started.

OLSZTYN: LEADING THE WAY TO SUSTAINABLE TRANSPORT

As some say, transport is the heart and soul of a city, or at least one of the key areas, which cities should prioritize as they develop. As the first city in Poland, Olsztyn took up the challenge to restore an effective, modern, low-emission means of public transport – the tram. In recent years, eleven kilometers of tracks and a depot were built, and 15 modern Solaris trams were purchased and delivered to the city. Three new tramlines were also constructed connecting large housing complexes in the south of the city and the university area with the city center and the train station. The project also included solutions to facilitate transport management, an electronic ticket sales system with the Olsztyn City Card, a network of ticket machines, electronic passenger information at bus stops and buses, as well as bus lanes. The layout of this means of transport has also been

completely reformulated and redirected, with the lines reorganized so that they complement the trams.

The success of the project is clear, as a significant increase in the number of passengers in public transport was observed in Olsztyn. The city is not stopping there, and work is currently underway to construct more kilometers of tram lines for two new lines that supplement the existing network, in addition to the expansion and construction of new bus lanes, bicycle paths, and a comprehensive interchange junction on the High Gate (PL: *Wysoka Brama*) leading to the Old Town.

LEGNICA – HISTORY, AND CULTURE AS ELEMENTS OF SUSTAINABILITY

Legnica, a city of roughly one hundred thousand inhabitants in southwest Poland, also implements projects in the fields of sustainable transport, reducing air pollution, or investing in green areas. However, as one of few cities in the country, it has also highlighted culture and history as one of its priorities, under SDG 11 target 11.4, which reads “strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world’s cultural and natural heritage.”

One of the key projects in this area is the highly invested revitalization of the palm house (PL: *palmiarnia*), which began in August 2021. It is part of a larger initiative to revitalize Legnica’s public park and create an area that combines education, science, leisure, and recreation. In line with this, in 2018 the city also began the renovation of the former summer theater, also located in the park, where the municipal Center for Culture, Science, and Education will be established. The Witelon Center is another interesting initiative – it promotes, among young people, the fields of study important to the development of the city and the region and educates visitors in the latest achievements of

science and technology. The facility will also be a place combining culture, science, and education; it will serve as a meeting place for people with an innovative and creative view of the world, including people from science and business.

To highlight the historical significance of its buildings and residences, Legnica undertook the renovation of the historic 18th-century building of the Knight’s Academy (PL: *Akademia Rycerska*), which was occupied by the Soviet army after World War II. The renovation lasted 38 years, was completed in 2016, and consumed 60 million PLN from the city’s funds. Today, it serves as a center of culture and science, it also houses the civil registry office (PL: *Urząd Stanu Cywilnego*). This greatly shows how history can be used to build the future.

CONCLUSIONS

Cities around the world differ in size, population, budget, environment, politics, and practically every other aspect. What does or, rather, what should bring them all together is the quest for sustainable development to benefit their citizens today and tomorrow. The world we live in is constantly faced with challenges and problems that will not change soon, as the world’s population is expected to exceed 9.6 billion in 2050. Therefore, it is evident that we must establish better relations both with ourselves and our planet. Cities can do exactly that, and that is why there is an ever-growing need for cities to be more sustainable in terms of production, consumption, environmental protection, and ensuring adequate quality of life for its citizens. We should learn from best practices, exchange views, resources, and engage in debate and dialogue. Only then will we achieve our ambitious goals and objectives.

Adam Dziedzic ■
March 2022

STATE OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER IN PRUSSIA AS A HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL PHENOMENON

ADAM HALEMBA, PhD

PHENOMENON OF THE STATE OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER IN PRUSSIA

The phenomenon of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia is discussed in the literature most frequently in the context of what the Order left behind in the cultural landscape, in particular with regard to many spectacular castle architecture and one of the biggest castle systems in Europe. *The State of the Teutonic Order, which was established in Prussia seven centuries ago, is a phenomenon which puzzles and amazes every person who knows its history if only a little, and it is a source of constant fascination for its experts and enthusiasts. It had a huge impact on the further course of history and culture in the land it ruled. By creating one of the greatest castle systems in Europe, of which many have survived until this day, it has also left its indelible mark on the landscape of those areas.*¹

¹ M. Jackiewicz-Garniec, M. Garniec, *Zamki państwa krzyżackiego w dawnych Prusach*, Olsztyn 2006, p. 6.

In the period from the 13th to 14th century, a new state was established, its nature unique on the European scale. It is, certainly, one of the most intriguing states of medieval Europe. The thesis about its historical and cultural phenomenon has not been advanced so far, and no arguments have been presented to prove that thesis either.

I believe that this unique phenomenon comprises several historical aspects and processes.

1. The State of the Teutonic Order was established completely from scratch, in one of the last parts of Europe which was not politically developed at that time. Prussian tribes had not created a state system in this land before, nor had they established any equivalent of state or state-forming structures, similar or even close to the territorial powers existing at the time in late medieval Europe. The State of



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- the Teutonic Order in Prussia is the only example in medieval Europe of defence and settlement structures which have been built from scratch, in the almost complete wilderness, one of the last areas which at the time lacked permanent settlement structures.
2. In the territory of the conquered Prussian tribes, the Order created, completely from scratch, a new state and administrative structure, operating in a consistent, ordered, and systemic manner. In addition, it did so based on the best and already proven patterns, experiences, and models of operation, very modern ones as for the 13th and 14th centuries, using, in particular, the Silesian experience. At the same time, the territories of other already existing territorial powers were redeveloped, while spatial structures were reconstructed, modernised, and adapted to new economic and settlement needs.
 3. The castle system, which was the fundamental defensive and administrative structure of the new state, was completely new and was also the greatest and best-organised castle network in Europe. The density of fortified structures in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia was among the highest in Europe at the time.
 4. As compared to other states and regions of late medieval Europe, the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia reached one of the highest urbanization and urban network density levels in newly-incorporated

locations. As a fundamental aspect of the new state, the town network, together with the surrounding rural settlements, was also developed as a completely new settlement structure.

5. In the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, the granting of municipal charters as well as new towns were built and developed *in cruda radice*, i.e. in an empty territory which has not been occupied up to that moment. That means that in all newly-founded cities the urban planning model that was perfect for the late Middle Ages was used, with the grid street plan.
6. All of the abovementioned state-forming and settlement processes were completed in a very short time, within ca. 100 years, from 1280 to 1390, which was incredibly quickly for such long historical and cultural state-forming processes. In the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, those processes resulted in the instantaneous establishment of a completely new political reality of the region, as a new state with administrative and settlement structures as well as the castle system and urban network was created in non-developed Prussian lands.
7. Stable borders were a positive factor in the development of the ideal new state structures. Such stability was guaranteed by, among other things, papal bulls concerning the territorial power over the land that was previously occupied by the conquered pagan Prussian tribes. The favourable political and social conditions in Prussia, resulting from, among other things, the stable borders of the State of the Teutonic Order after the final conquest of the Prussian tribes in 1283 (or already after the failure of the second Prussian uprising in 1274),

had a positive effect on consistent settlement processes and on the gradual and steady development of the city network. The reliable borders and the stable political situation were a lot different from those existing at that time in the Polish land or in other parts of Europe, in particular in Central-Eastern Europe. The territory where the infrastructure of the State of the Teutonic Order was established in Prussia actually experienced a stable period of peace until 1410.

The points presented above are based on the analysis of several settlement and urban planning aspects of the structure of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, such as castles and the castle system, towns and the urban network, and the spatial arrangement of towns. Those aspects are still present in the cultural landscape of the region as the material heritage of the Teutonic Order and are an important part of my arguments supporting the thesis about the phenomenon of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia.

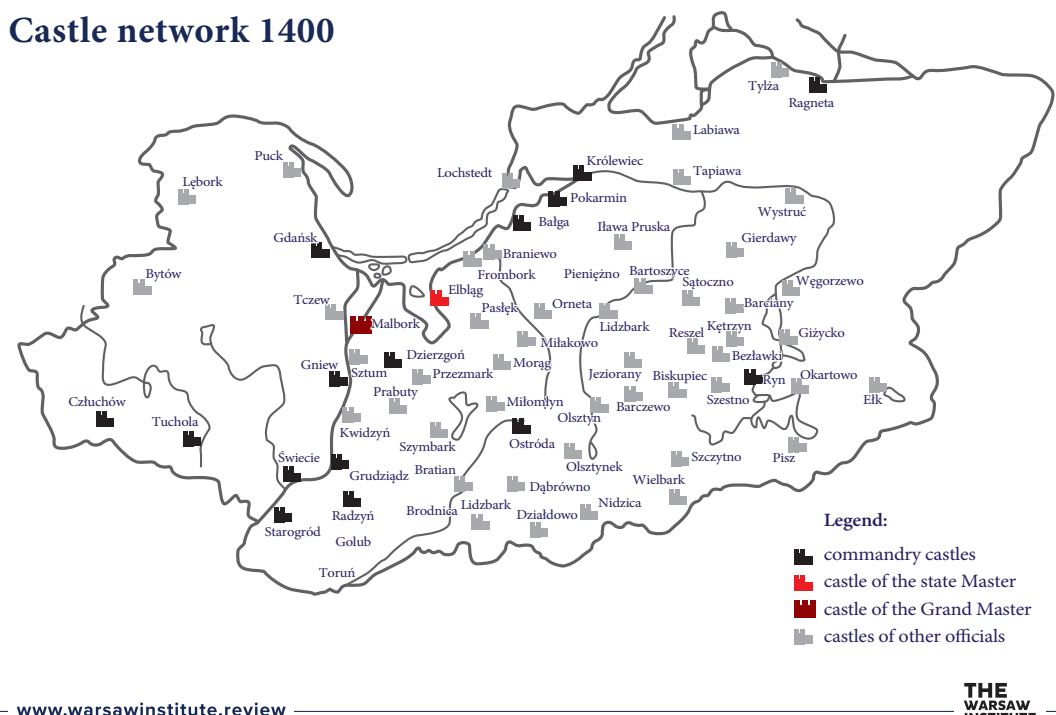
Therefore, let us look closer at the selected aspects of the material heritage of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, i.e. what that state left behind that is a testimony to its material historical and cultural heritage, which can be observed in the cultural landscape until today. In the 13th and 14th centuries, the structures of a new state were developed from scratch; the most important of their material aspects include: 1. castles and the castle system; 2. towns and the urban network; and 3. the spatial arrangement of towns.

1. CASTLES AND THE CASTLE SYSTEM

Owing to their importance and spectacular presence in the landscape, the castles of Teutonic Knights in Prussia are a great object of interest of researchers and, therefore, are described very often

STATE OF TEUTONIC ORDER IN PRUSSIA

Castle network 1400



MAP 1. CASTLE NETWORK OF THE STATE OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER IN PRUSSIA IN 1400. 69 OUT OF APP. 150 CASTLE CONSTRUCTIONS ARE MARKED.

in the literature.² The castles performed the function of authority, administration, military, and economic centres; and the biggest and most important of them, i.e. commandry castles, were also monasteries. That system, together with a professional administrative apparatus, enabled exceptionally efficient development and management of the conquered territory. The castle constructions, which are the material heritage of the late medieval

State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, are present in the today's historical and cultural landscape of the region; they have survived as a whole or in part, as foundation outlines or parts of walls.

In its State in Prussia, the Teutonic Order, together with bishops connected to it, created the greatest castle system in Europe. Over the period of one and a half century, an impressive network of about 150 castles was developed, which constitutes a unique civilization and cultural phenomenon both owing to the scale and the extent of the investment (the only late medieval fortified complex of that type in Europe) and to the construction material (bricks were used due to there being no sufficient amounts of stone in Prussia).

What is worth a separate analysis is the manner of creating the system of brick castles and its logistic consistency

² M. Arszyński, *Budownictwo warowne zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach (1230–1454)*, Toruń 1995; idem, *Zamki i umocnienia krzyżackie*, w: *Państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach*, ed. Z.H. Nowak and R. Czaja, Toruń 2000, pp. 29–43; J. Gancewski, *Rola militarna zamków krzyżackich w Prusach w XIV–XV w. Uwagi do powstania i funkcjonowania systemów obronnych*, w: *Wielkie wojny w Prusach*, ed. W. Gieszczyński, N. Kasperek, Olsztyn 2010; M. Jackiewicz-Garniec, M. Garniec, *Zamki państwa krzyżackiego w dawnych Prusach. Powiśle, Warmia, Mazury*, Olsztyn 2006; M. Stokowski, *Krzyżacy – ich państwo i zamki*, Wrocław 2002; T. Torbus, *Zamki konwentualne w państwie krzyżackim w Prusach*, Gdańsk 2014; R. Sypek, *Zamki i obiekty warowne państwa krzyżackiego*, Warszawa 2000.



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progressing in time and space.³ The development of the network and the spreading of more and more brick castle buildings accompanied the development of the state in the ordered and consistent manner, step by step, from west to east.

About 1400, the castle system of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia reached the peak of its development. As a result, the entire state territory was covered with a dense and even network of castles. The distances between individual castles did not exceed 20 or 30 kilometres, which was a consequence of practical issues related to communication, transport and settlement solutions. The even distribution

of castles may be observed in particular in the territory occupied before by the conquered Prussian tribes, which had not been developed politically before; however, that model system was not implemented in Gdańsk Pomerania, the region incorporated into the State of the Teutonic Order but developed politically before by Pomeranian dukes, which can be easily seen on the map presented above.

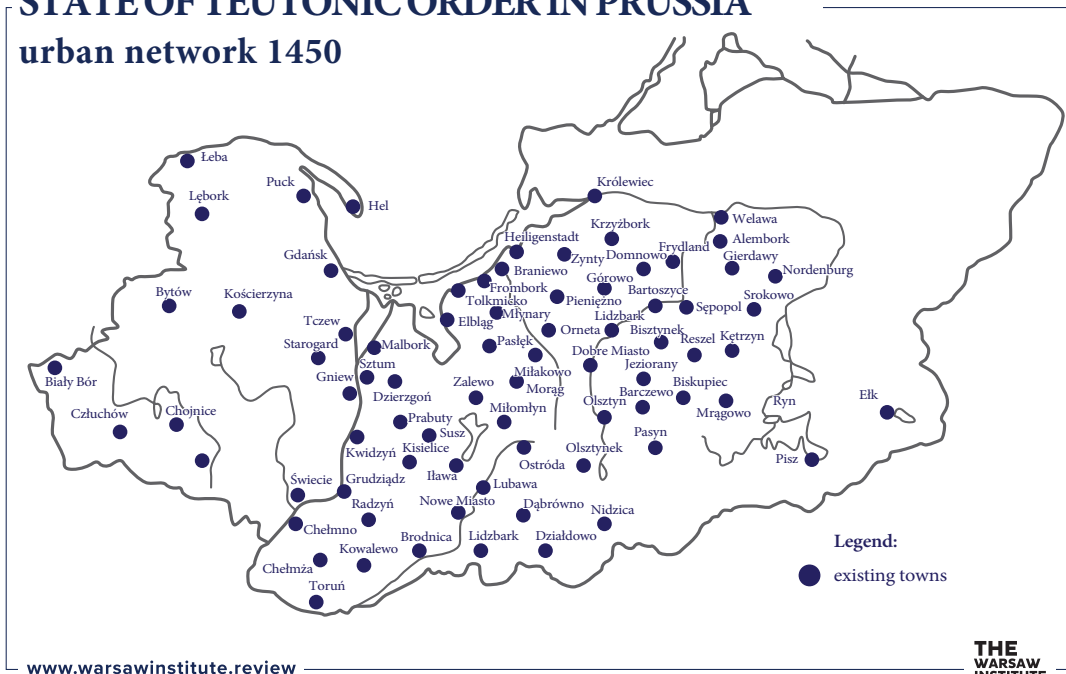
2. CITIES AND THE URBAN NETWORK

The urban network of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia is the material aspect of its historical and cultural heritage to which I would like to dedicate the most space in this paper. The development of settlements in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia progressed step by step, following the expanding castle network. They provided military defence and administrative support in the process of town incorporations. Within the period of ca. 100–120 years, an impressive system of almost 100 new cities was developed, one of the densest city networks of the late

³ A. Halemba, *Wybrane aspekty dziedzictwa państwa zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach jako przyczynek do badań świadomości historycznej społeczności regionu warmińsko-mazurskiego*, in: *Życie społeczno- kulturalne w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego (XIII–XVI w.)*, Olsztyn 2016, pp. 183–199. In the original maps drawn up by me and presented in this work, I show the territorial development of the castle system in 1230–1400 and of the city network in 1230–1450, divided into twenty-years' stages.

STATE OF TEUTONIC ORDER IN PRUSSIA

urban network 1450



MAP 2. NETWORK OF TOWNS IN THE STATE OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER IN PRUSSIA IN 1450. 77 OUT OF 93 NEW TOWNS IN PRUSSIA AND 15 RECONSTRUCTED TOWNS IN GDAŃSK POMERANIA ARE MARKED.

Middle Ages, the civilisation and cultural phenomenon which was unique in Europe.

The genius of the network of towns, developed based on previous experience, in particular the Silesian experience, as well as the even covering of Prussia with a regular town network, one which is like a model layout for late Middle Ages, are reflected by the modern city system in Warmia and Masuria. Over 90 per cent of towns in that region have its roots in the late Middle Ages, as they were established during the period of the State of the Teutonic Order.

At present, in the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship, there are 49 cities, and 38 out of them were established in the 13th and 14th centuries.⁴ In addition, four

towns (Giżycko, Ryn, Szczytno, and Węgorzewo) were established as a result of a transformation of a castle settlement, while the origins of three more towns (Biała Piska, Mikołajki, and Orzysz) date back to villages which existed already in the late Middle Ages, and were granted municipal charters in the modern era. Only two towns established in the 14th century (Dąbrówno and Srokowo) lost their charters, but it did not happen until after the World War II and was a result of significant destruction of large parts of the cities. However, clear fragments of medieval urban structures have survived. Only four towns existing today (Gołdap, Korsze, Olecko, and Ruciane-Nida), which

⁴ List of the towns of the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship, Na mapie website, <http://na-mapie.info/wojewodztwo/warminsko-mazurskie/>, [accessed on 17.03.2017]; Entry: Województwo

warmińsko-mazurskie – miasta (Warmian-Masovian Voivodeship – cities), wikipedia.org, https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wojew%C3%B3dztwo_warmi%C5%84sko-mazurskie#Miasta, [accessed on 17.03.2017] – 49 locations with town/city charters are listed.

is only 8 per cent, have no medieval roots whatsoever.

In total, as many as 47 out of 51 cities or villages, i.e. 92 per cent, have their urban or settlement roots in the Middle Ages. It can be said with a great certainty that the current city network of the Warmian-Masurian region reflects the late medieval city network of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia.

Now, let us move on to present the origins of the development of the town network in Prussia as compared to other Central European regions of the late Middle Ages. The State of the Teutonic Order is the only example of a medieval European state where defensive and settlement structures were developed from scratch, in a nearly complete wilderness. In the 13th century, Prussia was one of the last areas in which there were no pre-urban settlement structures typical for other states and regions from that historic period.

According to one of the hypotheses advanced by certain researchers, state authority is one of necessary conditions for the development of early towns.⁵ That theory explains why there were no developed pre-urban centres in the land occupied by Prussian tribes. Before the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, where the population is estimated to have reached ca. 170,000 at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries, it is difficult to talk about towns at all. However, two forms of settlement centres existed there, i.e. small rural settlements called "*lauks*", which were usually family settlements, and market settlements called "*liszki*" (their

name came from "*licis*" meaning "camp, fortified place").⁶

In the meantime, well-developed systems of pre-urban settlement centres or early-urban settlements already existed in other territories in the 12th century. These were pre-urban complexes which were fortified gords with suburbium embankments, surrounded with open settlements and craftsmen hamlets and well-developed market settlements with their own separate charters, which were the basis for a new town network created since the 13th century.⁷ Such early urban complexes had not been known in the tribal territories in Prussia, and thus it may be concluded that the town network arrangement in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia was developed from scratch.

Here, it is worth quoting several more comments taken from the works written by Tadeusz Laik, well appreciated in the circles of academics researching the issues of medieval cities, namely the comments concerning the network of small towns as a very characteristic phenomenon of the Central-Eastern Europe urbanisation in the late Middle Ages. Laik maintains that, in general, the network of small towns developed based on the 12th century

network of markets (*villa fori* or *villa forensis*)⁸, and it was those markets that

⁵ L. Leciejewicz, *Początki miast w nadbałtyckiej Europie*, w: *Czas, przestrzeń, praca w dawnych miastach. Studia ofiarowane Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. A. Wyrobisz, M. Tymowski, Warszawa 1991, pp. 106–109; H. Łowmiański, *Podstawy gospodarcze formowania się państw słowiańskich*, Warszawa 1953, p. 179 et seq.

⁶ G. Labuda, *Prusy i Jaćwież w przededniu inwazji krzyżackiej*, in: *Dzieje Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach. Gospodarka, Społeczeństwo, Państwo, Ideologia*, ed. M. Biskup, G. Labuda, Gdańsk 1986, p. 73.

⁷ K. Modzelewski, *Organizacja grodowa u progu epoki lokacji*, "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej XXVIII" 1980, No. 3, pp. 329–340; M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, *Rozwój sieci miejskiej na Śląsku na przełomie XII/XIII i w XIII w.*, "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej XXVIII" 1980, No. 3, pp. 349–361.

⁸ Market settlements – *villa fori* – charter type popular in the 12th century all over Europe, commonly used in the colonised territories east of Elbe; such settlements were transformed into towns after some time, but not always; S. Gawlas, *Funkcje*

were the most important element in that part of Europe in the process of establishment and development of the town network, which, in general, consisted in the transformation of a market settlement into a town by granting it with a charter under the Magdeburg Law.⁹ Such transformations were only changes in the social and legal situation of the inhabitants of such settlements, most frequently related to the development of internal colonisation.

At the same time, in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, we can observe the incorporation of new towns rather than long-term processes of spatial and legal transformations of pre-existing pre-urban settlements. In Prussia, urban colonisation mostly involved incoming people, who were encouraged to migrate with, among other things, beneficial forms of the Chełm Law. Towns were incorporated as a result of decisions made to accomplish some predetermined goals of economic policies rather than as a consequence of consistent development processes and social and economic transformations of the region.¹⁰

Laik stipulates a typology of the late medieval urban settlements in various Polish regions; he distinguishes four basic types of towns: 1. transformed fortified gords, 2. transformed market settlements, 3. transformed villages, and 4. new incorporations. Only the latter type required clearing new lands in non-

developed forests or other wastelands and establishing new settlements.

Therefore, it was mainly due to the transformation of already existing settlements and granting them with charters that in the late Middle Ages there were a large number of chartered towns in Central Europe. Laik maintains that in the 15th century, in the Polish land, there were almost 500 communes with town charters.¹¹ At the same time, in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, there were as many as 97 new incorporations, i.e. a large number of new towns may be observed in a relatively small territory, with a relatively high density of that town network. Moreover, let us repeat that towns in Prussia were established through the incorporation process *in cruda radice* rather than as a transformation in the legal situation of already existing pre-urban settlements.

At this moment, we should move on to the issue of the spatial structure of towns in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. However, let us stop for a moment longer and look at the model solutions of the urban-rural settlement systems in the late Middle Ages.

We already know that the structure of the town network in the State of the Teutonic Order was developed based on the best experience with settlement solutions, already proven in practice, most frequently in Silesia. Towns were linked to their surrounding rural settlements and together formed the so-called “Stadt–Land Colonisation”¹² complexes. That spatial arrangement consisted in the establishment of a system of villages located around a centrally situated town. This meant

modernizacyjne modelu gospodarczego kolonizacji niemieckiej, in: R. Czaja, M. Dygo, S. Gawlas, G. Myśliwski, K. Ożóg, *Ziemie polskie wobec Zachodu, Studia nad rozwojem średniowiecznej Europy*, ed. S. Gawlas, Warszawa 2006, pp. 94–116.

⁹ T. Laik, *Geneza sieci miasteczek w Polsce średniowiecznej*, w: *Studia średniowieczne*, PAN, Warszawa 2006, pp. 350–365.

¹⁰ However, the desire to attract settlers resulted in the Teutonic Order regulating certain issues for them more favourably; S. Gawlas, op. cit., pp. 100–101.

¹¹ T. Laik, op. cit., p. 353.

¹² S. Gawlas, op. cit., pp. 98–100.

that village residents could, practically within a day, travel to the town to sell their produce, buy goods, or attend to any necessary business, and then return to their settlements before dusk. Therefore, the distances between newly incorporated towns usually did not exceed 20-30 km. That system was usually characterised by an even arrangement and was adapted to the economic needs of the simultaneously developing and colonised rural lands rather than to the administrative and economic functions, as was the case in the period before incorporation through town charters.

In Prussia, a new and, as such, the then most modern "Stadt-Land Kolonisation" settlement model was commonly used. There, a town and the surrounding villages were established at the same time, and in this way a pre-planned model urban-rural settlement circle was created. That model was modified in various ways during the development of colonisation in Central Eastern Europe. It was quite commonly used in Silesia in many areas which had not been developed before. Using the experience from Silesia and other colonised lands to a great extent, the State of the Teutonic Order applied the model and improved it in the incorporation processes in Prussia, developing, as a result, a perfect territorial settlement system, characteristic of the late Middle Ages.¹³

At the beginning of the incorporation period, the town establishment processes were sometimes experimental and not always successful; such was the situation with e.g. Braniew. However, already by the end of the 13th century and at

the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, when the settlement processes in Prussia suddenly intensified, some more and more stable forms of procedure were developed based on the earlier town incorporation experience. They were, obviously, used by the Order when creating the town network in Prussia, both in the context of the city network under development and the model spatial arrangements of newly-established towns. Therefore, it may be said that in Prussia we are dealing with the process of town incorporation which had already been well developed and, as a result, was a model process.

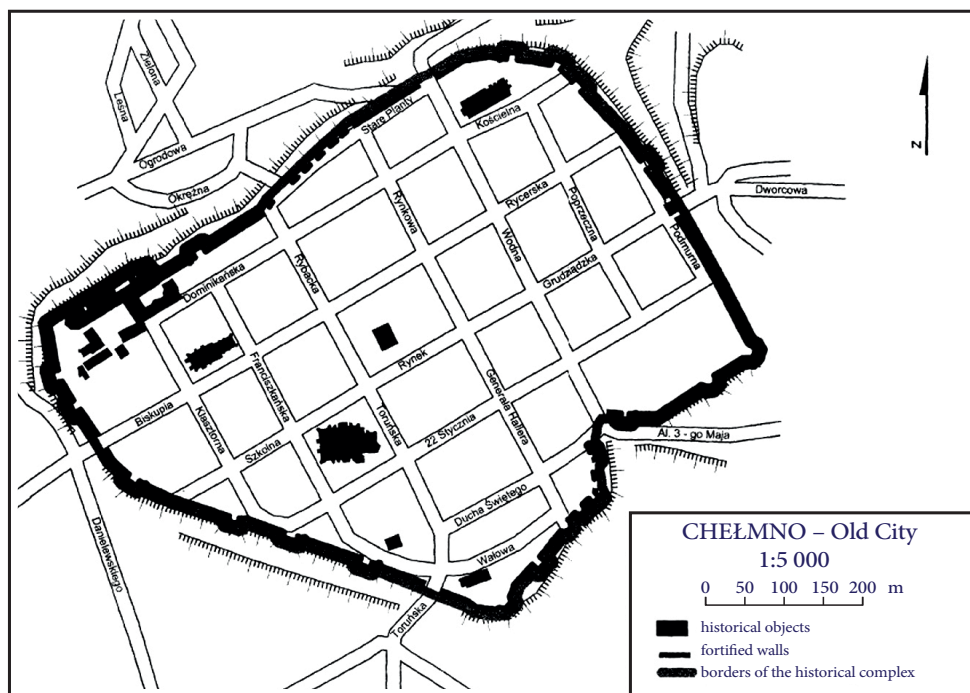
In Prussia itself, we can observe a great regularity of the town network, which results from the fact that all town incorporations were actually new settlement processes rather than legal acts of granting charters. That can be seen clearly in the map, when we compare the regularity of the town network in Prussia with that in Gdańsk Pomerania, the territory incorporated in the State of the Teutonic Order in 1309. In Pomerania, the Order only granted new charters to the network consisting of already existing towns established by Pomeranian dukes. That region already had an existing town network with an appropriate density, which had been tested and proven in practice. Therefore, since a sufficiently dense network had already operated in Gdańsk Pomerania, further incorporations in that area were simply unnecessary.¹⁴

After the final conquest of Prussia in 1283 or already after the failure of the second uprising in 1274, very good

¹³ T. Jasiński, *Stosunki śląsko-pruskie i śląsko-krzyżackie w pierwszej połowie XIII wieku*, in: *Ars historica. Prace z dziejów powszechnych i Polski*, red. M. Biskup i inni, Poznań 1976, s. 393–403; S. Gawlas, op. cit., p. 99.

¹⁴ H. Samsonowicz, *Tendencje rozwoju sieci miejskiej w Polsce późnośredniowiecznej*, "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej XXVIII" 1980, No. 3, p. 345; M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, p. 81.

CHEŁMNO – Old City



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MAP 3. CHEŁMNO AS AN EXAMPLE OF A GRID STREET LAYOUT

Source: Regulation of the President of the Republic of Poland of 13 April 2005 on recognition as a historical monument, *Dziennik Ustaw [the Polish Journal of Laws]* No. 64, item 568, p. 4340

political conditions in the Teutonic Order in Prussia enabled the gradual and consistent development of the urban network. The territory of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia enjoyed peace until 1410. That stable political situation differed much from the one existing e.g. in the neighbouring Polish territory or in other Central European states and regions. Around 1405, the city network of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia reached its peak. That date coincides almost completely with the peak of the development of a brick castle network around 1400. That was, obviously, the culminating point in the development of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, followed by the period

of crisis at the beginning of the 15th century and the related breakdown of development processes of state settlement structures, which had been stable up to that point.

3. SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF TOWNS

The spatial structure of towns is another, third, material aspect of the heritage of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia that is visible in the cultural landscape today.

The town incorporation processes in the late Middle Ages in various Central European regions usually run simultaneously, in two manners, i.e. as an evolution of fortified gord or

market settlements, where the effect of the arrangements of earlier suburbium, pre-urban, or market settlements on the urban layout of cities was visible, or as the establishment of towns *in cruda radice*. That latter process involved an exceptionally regular arrangement of a town, as there was no need to adjust the designs to the elements of the earlier spatial arrangement or already existing constructions, e.g. the grid street layout. That model, which was commonly used in Prussia, influenced the designs and spatial arrangements of newly-established towns. As a result, model examples of gothic urban planning were created.

In other Central European regions, including the Polish land, towns were incorporated mainly through town translocation due to the pre-existing arrangements of earlier constructions or a complex ownership structure. Town translocations made expropriations easier, and that was more important than any topographic reasons.¹⁵

Spatial arrangements of towns resulted from many factors and, as a consequence, depended on the spatial arrangements of pre-existing gords, suburbia around those gords, pre-urban settlements, and market settlements. The 12th-century market settlements called *villa forensis*, which were characteristic

of colonised lands east of Elbe, were established based on a broad street. That arrangement was still used until the middle of the 13th century. For example, Środa Śląska was established based on the arrangement involving a great market street, which was a basic spatial element of all early town incorporated under German Law.¹⁶ The spatial arrangement of towns developed, obviously, in an evolutionary process. In Silesia, it reached its height in the second half of the 13th century in the form of a grid street layout with a rectangular market.

That well-developed grid street layout was commonly used since the very beginning in the towns incorporated in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, where almost all towns were founded *in cruda radice*. The regular urban structure described as the grid street layout has several characteristics: a city is developed according to a pre-adopted design in the shape of a square or a rectangle, with a regular arrangement and functional and proportional layout, taking into account local topographic conditions. A market or a broad main street is a central element of the urban space, with a city hall, commercial buildings, and workshops; from there, a network of streets spreads, the so-called grid, with a peripheral location of a parish church.

¹⁵ S. Gawlas, *Przełom lokacyjny w dziejach miast środkowoeuropejskich*, in: *Civitas Posnaniensis, Studia z dziejów średniowiecznego Poznania*, ed. Z. Kurnatowska, Poznań 2005, pp. 133–162; M. Rębkowski, *Pierwsze lokacje miast w księstwie Zachodniopomorskim. Przemiany społeczne i kulturowe*, Kołobrzeg 2001; J. Wyrozumski, *Rozwój sieci miejskiej w Małopolsce w średniowieczu i u progu czasów nowożytnych*, "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej XXVIII" 1980, No. 3; Z. Górczak, *Najstarsze lokacje miejskie w Wielkopolsce (do 1313 r.)*, Poznań 2002, p. 86 et seq.; T. Laik, *Stare Miasto w Łęczycy. Przemiany w okresie poprzedzającym lokację – schyłek XII i początek XIII w.*, "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej IV" 1956, No. 4, pp. 631–678.

In the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, that spatial arrangement of cities was almost the only one used, which was perfect for the late Middle Ages; that feature of urban planning is one of the elements of the phenomenon of the State of the Teutonic Order. The

¹⁶ S. Gawlas, op. cit., pp. 100–102; Z. Zdrójkowski, *Lokacje osad targowych klasztornych i miast na prawie średzkim (1223–1477)*, in: *Studia z dziejów Środy Śląskiej, regionu i prawa średzkiego*, red. R. Gładkiewicz, Wrocław 1990, pp. 215–242.

spatial arrangement of a medieval town has survived with no greater changes until today. It is visible in the urban cultural landscape and constitutes one of the material aspects of the heritage of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia.

SUMMARY

At the end of this synthetic presentation, I would like to point to several properties of the town network of the State of the Teutonic Order. Its development followed the expansion of the castle network and progressed together with the territorial development of the state in an ordered and consistent manner, step by step, from west to east. As a result, almost the whole state territory between the lower Vistula and the Pregolya was covered with a dense an even network of 97 newly-established towns.

In the non-developed land that was earlier occupied by conquered Prussian tribes, there had been no pre-urban settlements typical for other Central European regions. Therefore, one can observe almost exclusively new incorporations there, and the town network of the State of the Teutonic Order was developed completely from scratch. As a result, the locations of new towns are distributed evenly, in particular in Prussia, using the best model settlement solutions of the “Stadt-Land Kolonisation” type, well-known in the late Middle Ages, and the best-developed grid street layout of the towns incorporated *in cruda radice*. Those settlement processes are among the fundamental arguments supporting the hypothesis concerning the phenomenon of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia.

Therefore, the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia is the example of the

urban settlement structure which is a model structure for the late Middle Ages. It should be emphasised again that the town network has survived until today in an almost unchanged form; it is visible in today's historical and cultural landscape of the region and is a very important, though underappreciated, element of the material heritage of that state.

To sum up, a conclusion may be formed that as a result of the abovementioned facts related to the settlement and urban-planning processes, a unique model of a late medieval European state was established in Prussia, with the most modern, as for the 13th and 14th centuries, structural solutions, a spatial settlement layout, and a commonly used late medieval grid street layout. Within only ca. 100 years, the largest and best-organised castle system and town network were developed. That was a state structure created based on the state-of-the-art solutions of the late Middle Ages. In that manner, we are able to learn about the perfect model of a late medieval state and its settlement structure. Therefore, we have sufficient grounds to put forward and defend a thesis that the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia is, as has been mentioned before, the perfect model of a late medieval European state and a multidimensional historical phenomenon on a European scale.

Adam Halemba ■
March 2022

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p. 26

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p. 10

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p. 54

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p. 47

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p. 61

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p. 34

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p. 6

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p. 18

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p. 40



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