

Introduction

The monographs *European Integration – its Determinants, Essence and Consequences* and its follow-up *The Future of the European Union* were compiled in the course of the project “Quo vadis Unio? a racja stanu Polski” under the DIALOG research programme between 2019 and 2023. They are the result of contributions by Europeanists, political scientists, lawyers, economists, cultural scholars and historians who study the issues of European integration. The content presented in both publications reflects the research outcomes and views of the individual authors.

The first monograph was designed as an attempt to summarise the integration process within the European Union to date and its legal and institutional dimension.

The monograph consists of four parts: “The State of European Integration”, “Selected Problems of European Integration”, “EU and National Concepts of Reforms of the European Union” and “Theoretical Problems of Research on European Integration”.

The state of European integration is presented in Part I from the perspective of the multifaceted structure that is the European Union and the integration that is taking place at different stages of its development (Konstanty Adam Wojtaszczyk). Consequently, the individual sections of this part deal with the European Union as an axiological community (Anna Skolimowska), an economic community (Katarzyna Żukrowska), a political community (Piotr Tosiek), an institutional community (Anna Wierchowaska) and a social community (Spasimir Domaradzki). Legal problems are discussed in all chapters of Part I. Particular attention is given to the relationship between the economic and political dimensions, which constitute an important modernisation problem of European integration (Artur Nowak-Far). Due to the importance of the eastern dimension of European integration, this topic is described in a separate text (Paweł Stawarz). The chapters characterise the various layers of integration and the emerging development barriers. The partial findings formulated by the authors lead to the conclusion that these barriers contribute to the existence of a modernisation barrier, which calls into question the existing prescription for the emerging crisis developments: the adoption of another EU treaty. Indeed, both the form of modernisation and its finalité raise controversy.

Part II ‘Selected Problems of European Integration’ is the result of seminar discussions and contains the most frequently raised issues concerning legal and systemic-institutional aspects (Jan Barcz, Ryszard Piotrowski, Artur Niedźwiecki, Jarosław F. Czub, Katarzyna Sobolewska-Mysłik, Jolanta Itrich-Drabarek and Marta Balcerek-Kosiarz, Jacek Wojnicki, Nataliia Pavlikha, Iryna Tsymbaliuk and Maksym Voichuk). The political aspects of European integration (Marek Górka and Michał Polak, Jarosław Gryz, Sebastian Wojciechowski, Kinga Zdunek, Piotr Chrobak) and its economic aspects (Radosław Kupczyk, Mariusz Ruszel, Zbigniew Krysiak) are also highlighted. The presentations in this part offer reflections and arguments in favour of various specific solutions to European integration processes.

Part III ‘EU and National Concepts of Reforms in the European Union’ provides an overview of selected integration concepts and modernisation strategies for the European Union: those that come from France (Krzysztof Tomaszewski), Germany (Tomasz G. Grosse, Piotr Madajczyk), Hungary (Bogdan J. Góralczyk), as well as the attitudes of Polish political parties towards Poland’s membership in the Eurozone (Tomasz Kubin). One of the authors (Krzysztof Szewior) addressed the discussed issues from the point of view of changes in Polish higher education. This part of the book is a specific substantive link between the monograph in question and the next publication on the future of the European Union.

Part IV “Theoretical Problems of Research on European Integration” consists of a chapter by one author (Janusz Ruszkowski), who analyses various theories of research on European integration. He draws attention to both traditional and new research approaches as well as research proposals and, in particular, highlights their necessity for the analysis of the complex problems of European integration.

We hope that the issues discussed in the monograph will attract the interest of potential readers, especially academics and students involved in European studies, political science, economics, sociology, history, law and cultural studies. Insight into these issues may also be useful to government officials and NGO activists, as well as to a wide audience interested in European issues.

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Konstanty Adam WOJTASZCZYK

PLANES AND BARRIERS OF COOPERATION

Abstract: The chapter explains, why are important the planes and barriers of the European Integration. The past decades saw major changes of European politics. Social, economic political cultural and international change has led to new conditions for national political institutions and EU structures.

I. THE ESSENCE OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND BARRIERS TO ITS DEVELOPMENT

Integration is a multifaceted process that has been occurring throughout history and continues to occur on the European continent. It has always meant that states and societies of integrating entities get closer to each other on various levels of their functioning. The dimensions of this approach had different ranges: spatial (territorial), subjective, objective, and temporal. From the spatial perspective, they usually meant undertaking cooperation in part of the continent, most often between neighboring territorial structures, and within international, governmental, and non-governmental organizations if they set integration strategies alongside their coordination goals. From the subjective point of view, these were various forms of state and state para-structures (personal union, real union, confederation, federation) and international organizations based on both public and private international law (Tendera-Właszczuk, Proszak, 2021).

The material scope of various forms of European integration is realized in the practiced levels of its implementation. These include the following dimensions: axiological, legal, economic, political, and social ones.

Axiology encompassing ethical values and norms is, at least in terms of ideological assumptions, the primary point of reference for the adopted strategic assumptions and for the built and implemented integration programs.

The legal dimension constitutes the institutional foundation for the processes of European integration, and builds its tools, instruments, and mechanisms.

The economic dimension is extremely important because European integration, both historically and especially nowadays, manifests itself on the market in market processes, it is the center of gravity or an important manifestation of European integration.

The political dimension is a characteristic feature of the European model of integration and is closely related to its other planes. It manifests itself both in integration policies and in the way European institutions function, as well as in the activities of integration entities, including the Member States, EU officials, and interest groups, and describes the models of leadership in European integration.

Anna SKOLIMOWSKA

THE EUROPEAN UNION AS AN AXIOLOGICAL COMMUNITY

Abstract: Within the European integration processes a specific political community has developed, referring to and based on a system of common values. Currently, a process of redefining, rejecting or filling them with new content can be observed in the European space. This process is accompanied by a crisis of European values, expressed in the disappearance of the consensus regarding the essence and content of common European values. For this reason, it seems important to ask about the essence of the political community that is the European Union and about the contemporary content and meaning of values in its construction. The point of reference will be the Constructivist paradigm and the answers it provides to questions about the role of values in political systems and international institutions.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

From the very beginning, the European project referred to values. This integration was built on the ashes of World War II and it was aimed at securing two basic values on the European continent – peace and prosperity. The ambitions of the builders of the European Communities were rooted in common values, the core of which was the idea of human dignity. These values then became the pillar of all actions undertaken in the field of protection of human rights, building the rule of law, solidarity or subsidiarity, and democracy, both at the national and supranational level in Europe. Nowadays, it is emphasised that European integration cannot be limited to current politics or economic interests. The success of any integration project must be associated with building unity and community by referring to common values or culture. The genesis of all catastrophes in the history of European civilisation should be seen in the departure from the main ideas and values (Mazurkiewicz, 2001, p. 380).

In the course of the European integration process, a specific political community has been developed – it has been referred to and has been based on a system of common values. Currently, the process of redefining, rejecting or filling them with new content in the European space is noticeable (Gierycz, 2015, p. 186). This process is accompanied by a crisis of European values, expressed in the disappearance of a consensus on the essence and content of common European values (Lewandowski, 2015, p. 53). For this reason, it seems important to ask about the essence of the political community, which is the European Union, and about the contemporary content and significance of values in its establishment.

The legitimacy of taking up the above-mentioned issues is related not only to its significance for understanding the specificity of European integration process, but also has its theoretical justification. Addressing the issue of values, as well as the wider issues of axiology in relation to the analysis of intangible aspects of the functioning of

Katarzyna ŻUKROWSKA

THE EUROPEAN UNION AS AN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

Abstract: The chapter concentrates on strengths and weaknesses of the European Union and countries which are creating the internal market being members of the EU. Its goal is to show what could be the attempts to deepen integration and how to define the future goals in this area? It also tries to point at possibilities for the EU in the future stressing either further integrity of the undertaken measure or deepening divisions among states in comparison to the ones which can be found in the EU today (like EMU and non-EMU members). The chapter seeks to answer several important questions in general concerning the future of the EU integration which take into account the priorities of this process. The chapter presents already achieved stages of integration, dividing them into twelve moves. Further it indicates the weaknesses of integration using the 2008 crisis as a specific platform of reference, which helps to show differences among the national markets of specific countries. The 2008 crisis has pointed that member states of the EU apply different policies resulting in turn in different solutions concerning their finances, competitiveness, real estate markets, labour markets and banking systems. The options for the future show five scenarios which showing what can be done, how it can be done and who (which countries) can do it? Presented solutions are referring to concepts which are not invented today but were prepared by the experts working for the European Commission. Nevertheless, European countries participating in European Union never reacted to such proposals, leaving them aside.

INTRODUCTION

The title may suggest that European integration is limited to the economic sphere, it may also mean an attempt to balance and define how economic integration can be deepened. How to define future goals in this area? And what actions can be taken to implement them? What can inhibit such a process and what can stimulate it? By analysing the economic community, one can show the importance it has for the states that make it up and for the states remaining outside the community, although institutionally related to it in various ways. One can also see the economic community as a stage that leads further and also includes other areas in the processes of integration, not limited to the economic sphere. In such a case, a question should be asked: how deep should the process of economic integration be in order to move, for example, towards political or security integration?

This article seeks to answer the questions: What should be the direction of further EU integration? How should priorities in this regard be defined? Do they run counter to the goals formulated and implemented so far? How to increase the efficiency of integration processes and how to define and measure such efficiency? Are the measures used so far still effective or have they lost their power? Should European integration within the economic sphere be guided solely by the internal goals of the community, or should it also be directed outside it? If the latter solution is taken as one of the goals, to what extent should these external goals be realised?

Piotr TOSIEK

THE EUROPEAN UNION AS A POLITICAL COMMUNITY

Abstract: The argumentation of this chapter is based on the premise of the non-federal character of the European Union and the hypothesis that the Union cannot be a developed political community of a democratic nature, although it may evolve towards an internally differentiated system. The Union lacks an adequate level of politicization and a common identity of citizens, and therefore – as an international organization – it should refer to indirect democratic legitimacy originating from states' political communities (*demoi*), where the risks associated with non-democratic trends in some member states are quite significant. Having this in mind, the most likely effect of development processes in the European Union will be the differentiation of integration, which may lead to *de facto* or *de jure* exclusion of some states from decision-making processes.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The current state of integration processes in Europe is an important subject of research explored by political scientists, lawyers, economists, sociologists and historians. The political science analysis of the structure and functioning of the European Union must therefore take into account the achievements of other scientific disciplines but based on the assumption that the Union can be treated as a *sui generis* political system (cf. Hix, Høyland, 2011). The aim of this article is to assess whether this political system meets the basic requirements of the broadly understood political culture of the 21st century Europe (cf. Majone, 2015, pp. 2–4). In the case of an international organisation gathering the majority of the most economically developed democratic European countries, these requirements are community, democratic character and internal cohesion.

The theoretical background of the analysis presented below is, despite using the views of the authors representing various paradigms, moderate intergovernmentalism – accepting the premise of a non-federal shape of the European Union, I present a hypothesis that the Union cannot, for formal and practical reasons, be a developed political community of a democratic nature, although it may evolve towards an internally differentiated system. For these reasons, this article is divided into three substantive parts. The first will discuss issues related to the politics of the European Union, enabling its possible treatment as a political community, in the second – the problem of not so much the democratic nature of the Union will be presented more broadly, and the third – the views related to the previous arguments on the likely deep differentiation of integration as a way of solving problems in the functioning of the EU political system.

Anna WIERZCHOWSKA

THE EUROPEAN UNION AS AN INSTITUTIONAL COMMUNITY

Abstract: The institutions of the European Union are a complex system of structures, rules and practices that have developed and consolidated during the decades-long history of the integration process. They constitute a kind of causative backbone of the entire integration process, because without bodies and institutional solutions, the functioning and fulfillment of integration goals would be impossible. Institutions create the law and control its implementation. Undermining the importance of bodies in the institutional process would be a kind of ignorance and lack of fundamental knowledge about analyzing the system, one of the levels of which is the institutional subsystem. However, in order to understand the nature of the institutional system of the European Union, more needs to be done than just examining it using classic instruments such as the origin of the body, the set of competences or the composition of the staff. It is necessary to look deeper and reach inter-institutional relations invisible at first glance, practices not covered by statutes or discussions taking place outside publicly available information exchange platforms.

It is also necessary to link the processes of change taking place within the institutional system with political changes in the Member States in wise and reasonable way. The latter, in fact, determine the directions of integration development and cause that cooperation between various structures is arranged in accordance with the consensual rule established for the entire process or takes on a competitive character.

The community character of the institutional system discussed in the article is a desirable model for the way institutions cooperate in the European Union. However, the fact that the integration process set such a task for its participants, the development towards ever closer union, does not mean that such a reality is created automatically. This requires effort and political will among the participants in the process, and there is not always enough of it.

Therefore, we can talk about continuous redefinition and the need to redefine the rules of inter-institutional cooperation, which results from external conditions as well as the aspirations of the institutions themselves. This is accompanied by periods of disharmony and tensions that destroy the communal nature of the functioning of institutional structures.

All this, however, does not mean that we can deny the EU system the name of a community system. Internal friction and the search for balance are natural elements of the process of creating a sense of community. It is only important not to cross the delicate line beyond which there may be a permanent or very long-term imbalance, which is an essential factor in building the communal nature of cooperation.

For the integration process, the competent reconciliation of supranational and inter-governmental elements of cooperation is essential for maintaining this balance. While maintaining mutual respect and restraint, this gives an opportunity to build a commu-

Spasimir DOMARADZKI

POLAND AND THE EUROPEAN UNION AS A SOCIAL COMMUNITY: SELECTED ASPECTS

Abstract: The aim of this chapter is twofold. Whereas the EU activities in the social dimension are subject to constant evolution, this chapter aims to sketch the main trends within the process of European integration. Simultaneously, Poland has joined the integration process only in 2004 bringing in its own social experience and challenges. Based on the two practical examples on the attitude of the Polish authorities to the European Pillar of Social Rights and the issue of posted workers, the chapter tries to identify the political drivers for action in Poland's approach towards the EU social policies. Based on the findings, it seems that the pro-social activities of the Polish governments since 2015 result from the domestic political priorities and not from EU initiatives to coordinate and unify social systems. The competitiveness of the Polish economy is still based on low labour costs, and the vision of the national authorities differs significantly from the federalist vision on the future Union. Hence, there is no genuine political enthusiasm for building a social union in Poland as is contrary to the government's current vision of the EU as a union of nations. Hence, the increase in social spending in Poland is incidental and is not part of the conscious implementation of deeper integration in the social dimension.

Such a broadly defined research topic puts me, the author, in a difficult situation to choose the dimension and issue to be examined. This, as trivial as it sounds, is a complex matter because in the case of the European Union's social dimension, at least several dimensions can be discerned, each of which has the potential to develop a large monograph.

Moreover, the title itself may be the subject of deeper semantic discussion among sociologists. I am faced with a terminological contradiction, because it seems to me that the community is narrower than the society, and therefore I have to define something bigger and something smaller. Hence, it is necessary to clarify the two basic concepts contained in the title.

Well, the word "community" itself, only in Witold Doroszewski's dictionary of the Polish language, has four different meanings, of which at least there can be a direct point of reference when talking about the European Union. The community can boil down to being characterised by common features, common possession, utilising something. It can also be a bond, that is, something that connects and unites. The third option is to treat it as an organisation, a community bound by common descent, common interests and common property (Doroszewski, 1966, pp. 1318–1319).

The second key word – "social", is also ambiguous. It can refer to society in the sense that it is created in society or is related to society. It can also be understood as belonging to all citizens and produced by joint efforts. Another possibility is to define it through the prism of functionality as working for the common good, or as something

Paweł STAWARZ

THE EASTERN DIMENSION OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Abstract: In the article, the author defines what the eastern dimension of European integration is. Presents and characterizes the individual stages of the indicated phenomenon. Defines the states that have been and are currently addressees of the Union's activities within the eastern dimension of European integration. Characterizes the discussed process, pointing to factors positively and negatively affecting the eastern dimension of European integration. Assesses which of the states targeted by the EU's activities within the framework of the discussed process make the greatest progress in terms of integration with the Union, trying to explain the reasons for the different advancement of integration processes in the case of states covered by the eastern dimension of European integration. The last part of the article deals with predictive +issues.

INTRODUCTION

The article deals with the process of European integration that includes the EU's eastern neighbourhood. Most scholarly works focus on the strengthening of the EU and cooperation within the bloc in relation to the vertical dimension of this process. It is less common for researchers in the Old Continent to discuss European integration in its horizontal dimension. Most of the academic articles and monographs devoted to this issue deal with EU enlargements that have already taken place. In particular, they explore the processes related to the membership of the former Eastern Bloc countries, which were admitted to the EU in 2004 and later. In contrast, the current eastern dimension of European integration is relatively under-researched. It is all the more important to bridge this gap, as the countries to the east and south-east of the EU are, apart from the likes of Switzerland and Norway (which could become EU members even now if they took a political decision to do so), the most receptive of all third parties to the integration processes and eventual EU membership. Of course, the potential for closer cooperation and the desire for membership varies from country to country. Given the above, it should be pointed out that the eastern dimension of European integration is currently crucial for the EU. This makes the low level of academic interest in this issue all the more difficult to understand. A certain explanation may be found in the EU's low level of commitment to strengthening relations with the countries to the east and south-east of the EU and in the lack of interest in expanding the EU in this direction on the part of the EU institutions and most of the organisation's major countries.¹

The article poses the following research questions: What are the reasons for the EU's scant interest in the eastern dimension of European integration, given its potential

¹ The EU is defined in treaty law as an international organisation, but due to its specificity, it should *de facto* be treated as a *sui generis* entity.

Artur NOWAK-FAR

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: AN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

Abstract: The chapter investigates the fundamental economic rationale for European integration and points out its political aspects. The investigation points out that this integration is motivated primarily by political considerations as it represents a complex set of mostly economic policy instruments to the globally emerging differences in the access to resources. As such, it is meant to re-enforce the sources of competitive advantage of EU member states.

Originally, European integration reflected the inward-oriented idea of liberal pacifism. Nowadays, it is also conceived to guarantee viability and continuity of the European socio-economic model apt to compete with other globally recognized models of social and economic development. Thus, it has become more outward-oriented.

EU member states of significant economic global position are the main protagonists of European integration. Their position within this process is necessitated by the fact that their natural policy outlook should be global and that they pursue leverages resulting from their rule-based cooperation with other, smaller, European countries (*arie-guarde* of European integration process) which – in any case – can benefit from it. The resulting processes have a strong ability to contribute to undermining the historically-determined economic and social divisions among the EU member States.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to present European integration as an economic and political project. This assumes that the article will identify those elements of the integration project implemented within the EU which reveal its economic and political nature. It also requires an indication of which economic and political motives prevail in European integration and how they interact.

The following hypotheses will be verified in the study:

- H1: European integration is primarily a politically motivated process – as it is the response of countries participating in this process to the challenges related to the international distribution of resources and the global competitive position.
- H2: As a political response to global challenges, European integration originally corresponded to a model based on the idea of liberal pacifism, but over time, its spectrum has expanded to include elements beyond what liberal pacifism suggested as a mode of cooperation among states.
- H3: European integration is still a project essentially based on economic cooperation, but in its current shape it extends beyond the framework of this type of cooperation and implements a multi-faceted model that can be referred to as “the Arcadian Model of Prosperity”.
- H4: The protagonists of the process are those EU Member States which have a significant international position and whose political perspective must have a global dimension; partaking in the European integration process, these countries initiate

Jan BARCZ

“FLEXIBLE INTEGRATION” WITHIN THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE RULE OF LAW IN THE MEMBER STATES

Abstract: The concept of “flexible integration” is based on two assumptions: first that internal differentiation in the EU has become a fact and, second, that it may serve to increase the dynamics of the development of European integration, provided that it takes place within the institutional and legal framework of the Union (in accordance with the procedures provided for in the Treaties on which the EU is based). In the light of the concept of “flexible integration” outlined above, the author considers two questions: First, Is there a lack of democracy in some EU Member States to accept that such countries remain among the EU Member States? Second, considering that maintaining the systemic coherence of the EU presupposes that the fundamental axis of its reforms must remain its institutional and legal system, based on the principle of mutual trust (the basic premise of which is compliance with the rule of law), will leaving non-democratic states among the EU Member States not “blow up” the entire political system of the Union?

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Over a quarter of a century ago, in the face of successive waves of enlargement of the European Community (and then the European Union) and the growing competences entrusted to it by the Member States, various models of “differentiated integration” appeared. Currently, the differentiation within the institutional and legal framework of the EU has become a fact – not only has the enhanced cooperation procedure (Art. 20 TEU) been launched in several cases (Sapieżko-Samordak, 2016), but also several important areas have emerged in which the interests of various groups of EU Member States are so diverse that they may even threaten the systemic cohesion of the Union. The progressive consolidation of the euro area, aimed at establishing a political union around it, comes to the fore – after the reform of the euro area in the aftermath of the financial crisis that shook its stability (Somek, 2013). No less significant problems may cause controversy related to building a common migration policy, which would be able to prevent a recurrence of the crisis in the event that large groups of refugees and economic migrants reappear at the external borders of the EU or accelerate the construction of a common defence policy focused on increasing the efficiency of the EU’s internal defence market and the related strengthening of cooperation between the defence industries.

The EU is trying to overcome the above systemic challenge by the concept of “flexible integration” (broader considerations on this subject: Barcz, 2015), which is based on two assumptions: first that internal differentiation in the EU has become a fact and, second, that it may serve to increase the dynamics of the development of European integration, provided that it takes place within the institutional and legal framework of

Ryszard PIOTROWSKI

DILEMMAS AND PROSPECTS FOR THE EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION

Abstract: Europe is not a one-dimensional concept. It exists as a historiosophical category, a myth of the system in which society develops even though man is not its servant. Europe is a specific moral concept, formed by views about its history, about the causes of wars and social disasters, about the opportunities for development and the determinants of the future.

However, Europe also exists as a legal category shaped both by the answers to the question about the human rights that are considered to be European and about the limits of these rights, as well as by the provisions of the treaties that define the European Union's system and the rules of its functioning, which co-create the European *acquis* that can act to some extent as a non-statutory constitution.

The functional constitution of the European Union is a construct that is constantly evolving as a result of a certain dialogue between the member states, which takes place in the European Parliament when it takes a position on the understanding of the EU's system and fundamental rights. Solutions that shape the EU's functional constitution are also formulated in disputes between the European Commission and the member states, as well as in rulings of the Court of Justice of the EU on specific problems in the member states. The European Union's constitution, described as functional, is not the result of the will of the European sovereign or the sovereigns of its member states, although the treaties that created the Union were approved by way of referendum in some of these states. The source of this constitution's legitimacy lies in the values rooted in European culture, while the source of the European judiciary's legitimacy lies in its ability to adjudicate independently of the will and interests of politicians, multinational corporations and bureaucrats. It also has historical legitimacy, linked to the tragic legacy of European disintegration. Rejecting this legacy requires a communal limitation of sovereignty, which is currently threatened by the developments known as the sovereignty counter-revolution that is taking place in many European countries.

Europe is not a one-dimensional concept. It exists as a historiosophical category, a myth of the system in which society develops even though man is not its servant (*Potęga mitu...*, 2007, p. 26). Europe is a specific moral concept, formed by views about its history, about the causes of wars and social disasters, about the opportunities for development and the determinants of the future. However, Europe also exists as a legal category shaped both by the answers to the question about the human rights that are considered to be European and about the limits of these rights, as well as by the provisions of the treaties that define the European Union's system and the rules of its functioning, which co-create the European *acquis* that can act to some extent as a non-statutory constitution (Walker, 2013, p. 1204 ff.).

Europe is much more than a geographical concept that refers to the economy and politics. It is, after all, not only a pluralistic civilisation (see (Kissinger, 2014, p. 11 ff.; Piotrowski, 2018, p. 13 ff.)) shaped in a long evolutionary process and not just its name which fulfils the term "Christian world" (quoted in Davies, 1998, p. 31; see also Pagden, 2002, p. 33 ff.).

Artur NIEDŹWIECKI

IMPLEMENTATION OF “GOOD GOVERNANCE” PRINCIPLES IN THE EU PERIPHERY

Abstract: The major aim of hereby article is to present an interdisciplinary approach that attempts to integrate legal, economic and political fields to analyse the concept of “good governance” in the context of the EU peripheries. In particular, this paper undertakes to illustrate interactions and interdependencies between the notion of “good governance” and the European Integration process. Apart from legal and economic issues, indicated areas form a specific field of politics, which should be perceived through the prism of political science. This institutional approach requires, however, focusing also attention on the centre-periphery paradigm. The hypothesis of this article is the following statement: the potential collapse of the liberal integration paradigm may encourage the peripheries to avoid real and full implementation of the rules of “good governance” and, as a consequence, to follow fragmentary imitation of some of these rules, resulting in the strengthening of decomposition phenomena of the EU community.

INTRODUCTION

Using the concept of the “periphery” appears to be quite problematic, and even risky. Due to the ambiguity and imprecision of this category, it is sometimes used as a convenient instrument to stigmatise opponents in political disputes. People do not want to be identified with marginal areas, so awareness in this area is often denied or even rejected. Playing the role of a gloom and doom, peripherality carries with it accusations of obscurantism, stagnation and, above all, misery of one’s own ideas for flourishing and progress. These territories are perceived as functioning on the sidelines of major modernisation, and their specific identity is difficult to reconcile with the standards of supranational institutions.

The aim of this article is to reflect on the fate of peripheral areas in global structures, with a particular emphasis on the implementation of the “good governance” from integration organisations such as the European community. This work attempts to determine the connections and interdependencies between marginal territories and the process of Europeanisation, one of the pillars of which is the transmission and universalisation of the above-mentioned principles. The hypothesis of this work is as follows: a potential breakdown of the liberal integration paradigm may encourage the periphery to avoid real and full implementation of the “good governance” principles in favour of only a fragmentary imitation of some principles of this type, resulting in the strengthening of decomposition phenomena of the EU community. Until now, the core of the organisation affected by the crisis has only witnessed the imitative modernisation of peripheral territories, but currently, faced with the failure of a project to create a coherent and homogeneous policy – the most important are integration initiatives of “variable geometry”, which may result in the restoration of historical fragmentation into the

Jarosław Filip CZUB

THE HYBRID INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF INTEREST GROUPS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

Abstract: The article presents the concepts of development and the role of interest groups in the Member States of the modernizing European Union from a theoretical, normative and functional perspective. The concepts and assumptions contained in the article are presented in a condensed manner and take into account the directions of development of interest groups in the European Union. The article analyzes the physical impact of independent phenomena on the functioning of interest groups in the European Union, which is i.e. verification of the assumptions of development and the role of interest groups in the Member States of the modernizing European Union. The above analyzed research material from a theoretical perspective shows the real role to which the functioning of sectoral interest groups in the European Union boils down. In addition, depending on the approach in the article, we can distinguish various functions performed and prospective within the decision-making system. Sophisticated forms of influence are also defined, which reflect the actions taken mainly by sectoral interest groups at national and European level. The main research problem in the article is the verification of the direction of development and the place of sectoral interest groups in the modernizing European Union. The key research questions are: to what extent will sectoral interest groups become central to decision-making at European level? What will be the role of interest groups in the implementation process in the perspective of sophisticated research theories? What kind of functions will be performed by sectoral interest groups in a modernizing European Union?

INTRODUCTION

The institutional system of the European Union (EU) is open to interest groups (Eising, 2005, p. 197). The first steps at institutionalisation took place during the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951, when only close cooperation with “political actors” was foreseen to build a unifying Europe (Article 5 of the Treaty ECSC). After the entry into force of the Treaty of Rome in 1958, the European Commission issued a communication which only confirmed the establishment of cooperation and consultations with interest groups. The treaty establishing the European Economic Community itself did not contain any legal regulations concerning interest groups. On the other hand, the Single European Act spoke about cooperation in the field of science and technological development of the European Community countries with international organisations and third countries (interest groups are treated indirectly by the European Union as international organisations). The Treaty on European Union (the Treaty of Maastricht) more closely regulated the issue of interest groups in social matters. Interest groups obtained a legal initiative and took an active role in creating social policy within the European Union, and the European Commission was able to expand the scale of contacts with interest groups in the field of policy. The Amsterdam Treaty contributed to the enhancement of social dialogue, in which solutions were adopted that allowed for close cooperation with the Member States, conducting research, consulting

Marek GÓRKA
Michał POLAK

SELECTED PARADIGMS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION IN SECURITY POLICY

Abstract: The main challenge of this thesis is to seek answers to the question of how, in the EU policy field, security has been conceptualised in relation to the main political provisions. By analysing political developments in the context of European security, the authors of the paper seek to understand the ongoing changes in security policy, while describing the role of the EU in the European security order. They also point out the importance of the process of gradual expansion of EU powers as an important stage in the development of security policy. Among other things, they point out that international security challenges have been important determinants of the key treaty changes to date.

INTRODUCTION

The perception of the security policy area on the basis of conducted research often depends on the identification of specific periods as well as specific security dimensions (such as the threat of terrorism, the phenomenon of migration, the development of digital technologies). Currently, however, the rapid change of reality is causing many phenomena and processes to take place simultaneously, which is why it is often impossible to indicate the factors determining a given phenomenon in the political space. The main directions of research on the security policy of the European Union (EU) have developed along two scientific approaches. The first concerns the approach to European integration, which is perceived as a process of stabilising and expanding security among European countries. The second focuses on security technologies, which are gradually implemented in public space, and on soft security elements such as the development of culture and science, and multiple social and systemic aspects (Adamczyk, 2017, p. 69).

By analysing political events in the context of European security, we make an attempt to understand the changes taking place in security policy, and at the same time describe the role of the EU in the European security order. They also indicate the importance of the process of gradual expansion of EU's powers as an important stage in the development of security policy.

The article also emphasises that the history of the EU to date has been largely related to its activity in the field of international security. The evolution of the EU's policy also points to attempts by political decision-makers to establish the foundations of European security, reflecting the various arrangements and perspectives enshrined in European treaties, which have often required changes in the current political practice. Therefore, the main challenge at work is to find an answer to the question of how, in the area of EU policy, security was conceptualised in relation to the main political provisions.

The European Union, as a global actor, tries to find the best strategies to ensure a coherent response to political, socio-economic and international security crises. The

Jarosław GRYZ

COMMON FOREIGN SECURITY AND DEFENSE POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION – BETWEEN IDEA AND REALITY

Abstract: The chapter deals with the evolution of the European Union in the field of foreign, security and defense policy. It considers the possibilities of realizing its ambition to play a global role in each of the mentioned domains and accompanying solutions. Institutional conditions defining the ways of the European Union's actions shape the current form of foreign, security and defense policy. At the same time, they are the next phase of development resulting from international influences. Hence, current and future ad hoc solutions are *illo tempore*.

The evolution of the European Union in the area of foreign, security and defense policy in confrontation with the increasingly complex problems determining the security of this organization prompts us to pose a few key questions. Is it able to implement the idea and ambition to be a global political player and is it properly prepared for it? What determines the current shape of the organizational solutions in this area? These questions and related issues determine the form and, at the same time, institutional solutions that describe the methods of action of the European Union, here and now and in the near future, defined by successive treaty changes. The thesis of the article is that the current form of development of foreign, security and defense policy is a temporary form, tied to the place and time of its formation in a reactive manner in relation to threats and in this regard identified challenges. It is the result of an inadequate way of operating an organization inspired by the institutions of the European Union and Member States to play global roles in every domain of international relations. The aim of this article is to present the political determinants of European integration in the area of security and the resulting solutions.

THE REALITY OF THE COMMON FOREIGN, SECURITY AND DEFENSE POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

The formula of the European Union's security, articulated in 1993, is one of the key elements of its integration. As such, it creates a platform for cooperation for the policies of the Member States and the institutions of the organization. From the very beginning, security has been defined through the prism of development (Article C of the Maastricht Treaty) developed in the formula of the European Commission and the Council (92/C 191/01). In practice, it covers all aspects of governance and stability in areas in and around Europe, and – over time – within the organization. In addition, it sets trends to determine the nature of the development of the entire planet. The imperative

Sebastian WOJCIECHOWSKI

SELECTED DETERMINANTS SHAPING THE DEFENCE NETWORK OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Abstract: The main aim of the study is to identify selected determinants affecting the present and future security of the European Union (completed March, 2022). The full list of such factors is very extensive and includes elements from various spheres of EU functioning. These are the following conditions: the demographic problems of the European Union, considered primarily in the context of depopulation and the ageing of the EU society; increasing deficit of fresh water in some EU Member States and selected problems related to it; possibility of a recurrence of the migration crisis in the territory of the EU and the accompanying consequences; another escalation of disintegrative tendencies, including separatism, fundamentalism and terrorism in the European Union. The above issues are, to a greater or lesser extent, interconnected, forming an essential part of the EU safety net. The occurrence and, above all, the possibility of escalation of the indicated challenges and threats necessitates the preparation of numerous analyses in order to learn their causes, symptoms, scale of occurrence, consequences or methods of counteracting them as effectively as possible.

The striking words “I fear for the future of the European Union” uttered by former US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright (shortly before her death in March 2022) can be understood in several different ways. Regardless of the form of interpretation used, one should be aware of the multiplicity of the already existing and potential determinants affecting the security of the European Union (EU). They are interconnected to form a network of connected objects (defence network). This network is evolving both horizontally and vertically. In the first case (horizontal), it is related to the change in the number of entities constituting it and the nature of their interrelationships (e.g. Brexit). On the other hand, in the second one (vertical), it concerns the necessity to take into account new, and new factors, directly or indirectly affecting EU security (e.g. the war in Ukraine, migration crisis, Russia’s policy, transatlantic relations, etc.). Metaphorically speaking, the defence network can be compared to the complex system found in the human brain, composed of over 100 billion neurons and several trillion of their connections in the form of synapses. This system is influenced by various internal and external stimuli that determine our existence, including security.

The main aim of the study is to identify selected determinants affecting the present and future security of the European Union (Gruszczak, 2022). The full list of such factors is very extensive and includes elements from various spheres of EU functioning. They can be divided into determinants included in the soft and hard security sphere. The soft sphere concerns various challenges and threats not related to the use of force or violence (e.g. economic, raw materials, ecological, demographic, health factors and many others). On the other hand, the hard sphere includes various issues related to force aspects, such as crime, armed conflicts, terrorism, etc. and the hard sphere of EU security. These are the following conditions:

Radosław KUPCZYK

THE IMPACT OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS ON THE INTEGRATION PROCESSES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION IN THE LIGHT OF THE THEORY OF OPTIMUM CURRENCY AREAS

Abstract: The article analyses the impact of the economic crisis on the effectiveness of economic policy at the supranational level in the European Union. The first part, which is a theoretical area considering the issue under study, presents the problems resulting from the coordination of transnational economic policy implemented in the area of monetary union in the light of the theory of optimal areas. In turn, the analytical part examines the most important aspects of the functioning of the Economic and Monetary Union in Europe from both a political and economic perspective. The impact of institutional changes affecting the functioning of supranational economic policy was also analysed. The study uses a systemic method supplemented by the theory of optimal control, which is the analytical basis for the functioning of the monetary union.

INTRODUCTION

Many political and economic factors contribute to the current uncertainty about the future development of the European Union (EU). They also, to a varying degree, affect the legitimacy and structure of the functioning of its institution. The world recession of 2007–2010 had a significant impact on the stability of the economic system, and the subsequent debt crisis raised concerns about the prospects of the eurozone, the most important European integration project. For almost ten years, many of the EU Member economies struggled with weak economic growth and high unemployment. As a result, some governments have had to introduce austerity measures as part of their fiscal policies to reduce budget deficits and public debt, which has not met with the favour of social groups affected by budget cuts. In order to stop the crisis in the euro area, EU institutions have introduced a number of political and financial solutions to counteract the destabilisation of the financial system on the one hand and halt the development of recession mechanisms on the other (Kundera, 2017, p. 211). As a result, countries such as Greece, Italy, Ireland and Portugal avoided insolvency because they had been receiving financial aid not only from the European Union but also from the International Monetary Fund. It should also be emphasised that the crisis in the euro area also led to changes in the European financial system, which led to the collapse of many banks.

As a result of the ongoing economic crisis and continuing disputes with creditors, concerns had arisen that Greece may leave the euro area. This was avoided because the Greek government agreed to implement the austerity package as part of its fiscal policy and undertook to implement economic reforms in return for another financial aid package. Negotiations to solve this problem led to significant disputes within the

Mariusz RUSZEL

THE DIRECTION OF ENERGY POLICY DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE COMMON ENERGY MARKET OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Abstract: The EU energy policy is dominated by the individual interests of the Member States. Firstly, building a common EU energy market creates an opportunity for the creation of a gas connection network, increasing market competition, strengthening the effectiveness of crisis response mechanisms, modernising and developing energy infrastructure, reducing energy costs and increasing political power in negotiations with current suppliers. However, on the other hand, the conditions of market competition pose a risk for weaker entities that may be taken over by stronger companies. This will increase the position of the strongest players in the energy market. The integrated EU energy market in crisis conditions will strengthen energy security, as it will enable crisis response in the event of interruptions in gas supplies. It seems reasonable that the risk assessment related to a break in natural gas supply to EU countries should be carried out systematically (e.g., once every 2 years) and take into account the simultaneous occurrence of several factors, i.e. gas pipeline failure, cyber-attacks, failure of selected LNG terminals (Gędek et al., 2015). According to the results of the assessment, plans for crisis response and preventive actions at the regional level should be developed. On the other hand, under conditions of political stability, the energy market will become an area of competition for end users, as external suppliers sell natural gas to different Member States at different prices. The price of natural gas should be economical for all countries in the EU, not only for select ones. It is necessary to increase the transparency of gas contracts, to fully apply the competition law without any exceptions and to systematically build political trust.

INTRODUCTION

The energy policy of the European Union is a product of particular interests of the Member States. They have different structures of energy balance, and therefore use different energy resources to produce the final energy. EU Member States do not have their own energy resources in sufficient quantity to meet current and future economic needs. Therefore, they depend on imported crude oil (87%) as well as natural gas (70%). Despite the development of technologies in the energy sector, as well as increasingly innovative forms of energy and fuel production, traditional energy resources still occupy a key position in the global energy balance. This indicates a necessity to conduct an energy policy in the external dimension in such a way as to maintain appropriate political relations with suppliers of strategic raw materials. On the other hand, the EU's political aspiration is to develop renewable energy technologies and to systematically increase the share of this form of energy production in the energy balance. This is due to the EU climate policy, which has become a catalyst for the EU's energy transformation. Considering the above conditions, the aim of this article is to indicate the direction of development of the EU energy policy. The research analysis in terms of the subject was narrowed down to natural gas. The research hypothesis was adopted that new forms of

Zbigniew KRYSIAK

BARRIERS TO DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

Abstract: The study of barriers to development of European economic integration aimed to analyze the model of economic integration in the EU, its quality, the foundations from which it grows, and coherence with the ideas of the European Community and the barriers that arise before it as determinants of economic efficiency and economic development of Europe. The development of the EU strongly determines the development of the whole of Europe, therefore the analysis of the behaviour of the EU economy will be a strong indicator of the economic condition of the entire Europe. In the process of achieving the scientific goal, the following hypothesis was formulated: the quality of the economic integration model in the EU strongly determines the economic effects within the community and against the backdrop of the world economy. In the hypothesis verification process models of economic integration and its determinants in Europe were presented and discussed, which helped to draw characteristics of the three systems like community of European nations, superstate, and nationalism. Above mentioned analysis revealed the evidence of poor economic integration in the European Union. Afterwards, we presented the differences in the effectiveness of the models of solidarity and neoliberalism in “catching up” with strong economies on the example of the Polish economy. Based on the second-hand data and studies of other research groups, we proved that Economic integration in Europe was additionally damaged by introduction of the Euro currency too soon, which triggered very high losses for the Eurozone Countries in the period of 20 years from the introduction of the single currency. Based on the research studies we have specified barriers to economic integration in Europe, and as the scientific contribution of our research, were offered 15 recommendations for removing barriers to European economic integration.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PROBLEM, SCIENTIFIC AIM AND RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

In the presented study, the research problem concerns, inter alia, the adequacy of the model of economic integration in the European Union (EU) in relation to the original objectives of Schuman and the roots of the European Community after World War II. The broader context of the study is the quality of the integration model, which requires an answer to the question of whether it is only apparent or meets the objectives of economic solidarity, which was the key foundation for building the Coal and Steel Community after the war, the aim of which was not only to remove the risk of rebuilding the arms industry and other wars, but above all, creating conditions for equal economic development of the peoples of Europe. In this context, Schuman formulated a guiding principle for such a process, which he expressed in the logical sentence (logical implication) unity→ solidarity→ peace. The interpretation of this sentence follows from the logic of implication in which the successor is real only if the predecessor is real as well. Another conclusion from this sentence is also the fact that when there is a lack of, for example, solidarity, then a strong threat to peace arises, which means that it is necessary to return to rebuilding unity as soon as possible.

Katarzyna SOBOLEWSKA-MYŚLIK

THE EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE EUROPEAN UNION MEMBER STATES

Abstract: The article concerns the changes that the political parties of the EU Member States are undergoing, focusing on those which, in the author's opinion, constitute certain long-term trends, in other words, the changes described in the article are already visible, but they will probably also determine the specificity of the party in the near future. Therefore, the processes of creating new parties, changes taking place in the party's organizational structures, including the processes of internal party democratization, and populism as an important trend determining the program image of contemporary parties have been taken into account. The last paragraph is devoted to a group of countries defined as "new" democracies. The purpose of this distinction was to answer the question whether the indicated changes take place in the same way in the "old" and "new" democracies.

In addressing the guiding idea of this volume, which is to create a certain vision of the future, it is impossible to avoid references to the current situation. In the case of political parties, this situation is far from stable, there are a lot of changes both in the ways parties operate in political systems and within their organisational structures. Among these changes, I have selected those that I think represent certain long-term trends; in other words, the changes described here are already visible, but they are still likely to define the specifics of parties in the near future. Thus, the processes of formation of new parties, the changes taking place in the organisational structures of parties, including the processes of intra-party democratisation, populism as an important current that defines the policy image of contemporary parties have all been taken into account. The last paragraph is devoted to the group of countries identified as "new" democracies. The purpose of this distinction was to answer the question of whether the indicated changes are taking place in the same way in the "old" and "new" democracies, or whether the latter exhibit special features compared to the more established countries in the western part of the continent.

1. DIRECTIONS OF CHANGE IN CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL PARTIES

1.1. New parties

One of the changes concerning political parties that is very prominent in a large number of European Union countries these days is the emergence of new parties and, importantly, their ability to gain parliamentary representation and fill executive positions. Examples include the Five Star Movement in Italy, Syriza in Greece and Forward, Re-

Jolanta ITRICH-DRABAREK
Marta BALCEREK-KOSIARZ

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REFORMS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION COUNTRIES: “VICIOUS CYCLE” OR HIGHER QUALITY OF ADMINISTRATION

Abstract: The aim of the article is to characterize the premises and directions of changes taking place in the administration of EU countries. The authors, based on the system analysis and the theory of public management, assume that the reforms in the countries under discussion have been permanent since the 1980s, and that the governments of the countries will periodically withdraw from the introduced changes. In addition, the directions of administrative changes in the countries of “old” Europe are not the same as the changes that took place in Central and Southern Europe, which is particularly characteristic of the civil service, because the Central and Southern Europe’s administration is struggling with commitment to political parties, statism, corruption, and excessive bureaucracy. The hypothesis is supplemented by the assumption that the process of European integration has a positive impact on the changes made in the administration of Central and Eastern European countries, but these changes are partial, superficial, and ineffective.

Characterizing the premises and directions of changes in public administration in European countries is not an easy task due to the scale and scope of the cases conducted. The public administration sector in Europe employs around 75 million workers, or roughly 25% of the workforce (around 16% in central government alone) and accounts for almost 50% of the GDP (*Public Administration*, 2018, p. 7). Due to its scale and scope, it is not only of great importance for the everyday life of citizens, but also influences the functioning of the economic sector and non-governmental organizations.

It should be assumed that public administration in the examined European countries is subject to adaptation resulting from the conditions in which it has to function—mainly economic and political, as well as social changes taking place both inside countries and in international relations. The time periods that were characteristic of the reforms carried out were as follows: the 1980s, when the economic crisis triggered a discussion on the need for changes in the administration, limiting its bureaucratic features, structures and the number of people employed in it, and resulted in the implementation of New Public Management; the first decade of the 21st century – when the accession process and the accession to the EU of ten countries from Central and Southern Europe made it necessary to adapt the administrations of these countries to the new requirements, and the second decade of the 21st century as the time of searching for an optimal model for the administration facing many challenges.

These challenges relate to several old issues, such as the effective performance of the functions of providing administration based on meeting social needs, including

Kinga ZDUNEK

ACCESS TO PRIMARY CHILD HEALTH CARE IN EUROPE: RESEARCH FINDINGS

Abstract: Access to health care means the possibility or ability to use health services, depending on the needs, while ensuring protection against financial risk. It can be considered as physical accessibility, financial affordability and acceptability. This study was a part of the MOCHA project (The Models Of Child Health Appraised) which aimed at assessment of the various patterns of children's primary care in Europe, in order to identify optimum models.

The main goal of this study was to characterize social reactions to the various styles of health policy performance. Qualitative methodology was used. The MOCHA project had an experienced child health agent in each of the 30 countries; research questions were raised by the researchers, validated by an independent Expert Advisory Board, and issued to country agents.

A questionnaire designed as a semi-structured survey instrument asked agents to identify strong public and professional discussions related to child health services in their countries between July 2016 and mid-December 2016.

The thematic analysis was performed. The stages were as follows: collecting data, pre-reviewing data, incorporating the data into qualitative analysis software, coding the data, categorizing the data, and identifying themes.

Representatives of 24 countries responded and 71 cases characterizing different areas of public concerns of European countries were described. Eight themes were identified. In this paper one of them was described: access to primary health care for children.

Four areas of access to primary health care were identified: access to immunization, infrastructure, medicines and services.

Access to primary health care for children in Europe can be considered through preventive measures (i.e. access to vaccinations) and curative measures (i.e. access to infrastructure, services and medicines). Amongst factors shaping systemic solutions for wider access to primary health care for children in Europe are societal movements which contribute to change of unfavourable political decisions and act as a power for introducing the changes which are desired by users.

INTRODUCTION

Access to health care is the possibility or the ability to actually use health services as needed while ensuring protection against financial risk (Evans et al., 2013, p. 546). It can be analysed from three perspectives (Evans et al., 2013, p. 546): physical accessibility, financial affordability and acceptability. Physical accessibility refers to the organisation of health services and entails the possibility of using health services within a reasonable scope and at a time adapted to the patient's needs. Financial affordability determines the ability to cover the costs of treatment without generating financial difficulties and takes into account not only the costs of health services, but also indirect and alternative costs related to e.g. transport. Affordability is influenced by the broader healthcare financing system and household income. Acceptability refers to the willingness to use services. It is defined as low when patients perceive the services as ineffective.

Jacek WOJNICKI

LOCAL GOVERNMENT MODERNISATION TRENDS AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF EUROPEAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT STANDARDS

Abstract: The article discusses the issues of modernization of local governments in the context of Poland's membership in the European Union. Several levels of modernization trends focused on structural, functional and organizational issues were discussed. The importance of EU funds in the modernization of public administration, especially at the local government level, was emphasized.

The article discusses the issues of modernisation of Polish local government in the light of European local government standards. These standards are laid down in a document of the Council of Europe – the European Charter of Local Self-Government of October 1985, and in systemic solutions adopted by individual countries of the Old Continent. The European Charter of Local Self-Government has been in force in Poland since 1994 and refers to the key elements of the functioning of local authorities in the country (*Europejska Karta Samorządu Terytorialnego*). As emphasised by Leon Kieres, it is “characterised as a model of values that shape the essence of the ‘real’ local government. As such, it is a source of harmonisation of the member states’ legislation on matters of local government and its units.” (Kieres, 2015, p. 79). At the same time, another researcher emphasises: “The Charter, as a kind of ‘international agreement’ concluded between the member states of the Council of Europe, sets out the principles under which local communities are to participate in the management of public affairs at the local level.” (Tor, 2005, p. 42; Ofiarska, 2015). It should be emphasised at this point that the authors of the Charter recognise local government as an essential and indispensable feature of a democratic country. At the same time, they set out the minimum institutional framework within which local governments should function (such as, for example, constitutional or statutory regulations to enshrine the competences and tasks of local administration; the priority place in the structure of local government for elected councils and assemblies of residents; and the right of local authorities to judicial protection of their rights). The Charter does not specify the procedure for the election of local government bodies, their mutual relations and structures or the length of their term of office, the detailed catalogue of tasks delegated by the state administration to local authorities, leaving these issues to be decided by individual European countries that are signatories to the Charter. Particularly in the Central and Eastern European countries, where the restitution or even the formation of local governments occurred as part of the post-communist transition process, the position of the Charter was important as a kind of ‘guideline’ for the adopted model of local government. Some countries treated the Charter as a weapon of sorts against centralist inclinations of post-1989 governments. In this group of countries, Poland occupied a prominent place, as its government was

Piotr CHROBAK

POLITICAL PREFERENCES OF POLISH VOTERS IN THE ELECTIONS TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT IN THE YEARS 2004–2019

Abstract: The subject of the research are the voting preferences of Poles in elections to the European Parliament in the years 2004–2019. The research was based on a political science analysis of electoral behaviour on a national scale. During the course of four elections, Poles have expressed quite stable electoral preferences, as the first three were won by the Civic Platform Party (PO) [Pol. *Platforma Obywatelska*], while in the last the best result was achieved for the first time by the Law and Justice Party [Pol. *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość*], with the PO coming in second. Moreover, the results of the European elections to a large extent coincide with the election preferences for the Sejm and Senate and for the President of the Republic of Poland.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The subject of the research are the voting preferences of Poles in elections to the European Parliament (EP) in the years 2004–2019. The research was based on a political science analysis of electoral behaviour on a national scale. During the course of four elections, Poles have expressed quite stable electoral preferences, as the first three were won by the Civic Platform Party (PO) [Pol. *Platforma Obywatelska*], while in the last three the best result was achieved for the first time by the Law and Justice Party (PiS) [Pol. *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość*], with the PO coming in second.

Another characteristic feature of the European elections in Poland was the low turnout. In the first three elections, less than a quarter of eligible voters showed interest in the elections. It was only the last elections that met with much greater public interest.

Two research hypotheses were formulated in the paper: 1) Poles have long demonstrated consistent electoral preferences because: a) the PO party won the first three elections, b) in the first three elections, the PiS ended up in the third or second place, c) in the last elections the PiS won and the PO came in second. 2) Poles for a long time showed little interest in elections to the European Parliament because: a) the turnout in the first three elections did not exceed 25%, b) politicians were not effectively involved in encouraging people to participate in elections.

In order to verify the above hypotheses, a comparative analysis of individual elections to the European Parliament was carried out, trying to answer the following research questions: 1) What were the results of the individual elections to the European Parliament? 2) What was the turnout level? 3) What factors could have influenced the turnout level? 4) How many committees applied to be represented in the EP? 5) Did the political preferences of the EP coincide with those of the national parliament?

Nataliia PAVLIKHA
Iryna TSYMBALIUK
Maksym VOICHUK

CONCEPTUAL BASIS OF SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT GOVERNANCE IN THE CONDITIONS OF DECENTRALIZATION AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Abstract: The article concerns the introduction of sustainable urban development in Ukraine based on the experience of European countries and the increasingly intensive processes of Ukraine's integration with the EU. It has been proposed to use an integrated approach in the implementation of the process of sustainable urban development management.

The pragmatics of sustainable spatial development, as reflected in the "EUROPE 2020. A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth", is of particular relevance both in Europe and worldwide. Problems and ways of ensuring high quality and comfort of life as the main criteria for sustainable development are localized at the level of individual settlements. In the context of the implementation of the Leipzig Charter "Cities of Europe on the Road to Sustainable Development" principles and the implementation of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and EU, the governance system for sustainable urban development needs to be improved based on the experience of European countries.

In the context of the implementation of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and EU, it is advisable to develop and implement scientific and practical recommendations for improving the sustainable urban development governance, which should be formed on the basis of the experience of European Union countries. Therefore, the development of directions for improving the efficiency of sustainable urban development governance in the context of European integration processes is based on the guiding principles of the Ukraine 2020 Sustainable Development Strategy, which goal is to introduce European standards of living in Ukraine and Ukraine's leading position in the world.

In particular, we draw attention to the vectors of development and responsibility identified in the Strategy. We mean "ensuring sustainable development of the state, carrying out structural reforms and, as a consequence, raising living standards"; "territorial communities will independently decide on issues of local importance, their well-being and be responsible for the development of the whole country" (Law of Ukraine, 2011).

S. Serohin notes that "the decentralization reform is intended to solve the traditional problems of territorial governance for the local self-government, to create opportunities for full implementation of the principle of subsidiarity in the exercise of self-governing powers, to eliminate the administrative 'dual power' in the territories" (2016, p. 6).

Krzysztof TOMASZEWSKI

PRESIDENT EMMANUEL MACRON: FROM VISIONARY TO HOSTAGE OF THE INTERNAL SITUATION. THE CRISIS OF THE FRENCH CONCEPT OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION?

Abstract: France under the presidency of Emmanuel Macron is actively seeking its place and role in the European Union. Originally E. Macron had a very ambitious vision for France's involvement with European affairs. However, the complicated situation inside the country, as well as the challenges of COVID-19 and the economic crisis, caused the president to change political course. Internal affairs became a priority. In this situation, President E. Macron must confront the ambitious visions he set out in his first presidential term, while at the same time addressing the needs of the French public, which expects the Republic to focus first and foremost on solving internal socio-economic problems. The text presents the complex challenges of Emmanuel Macron's presidency in the context of France's engagement with the European Union.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The French Republic as the founding state of the European Community from the very beginning of the European integration process set the tone for all new initiatives and ideas, thanks to which the idea of cooperation among states in Western Europe became more and more tangible. In its present form, this idea took the form of the European Union – an organisation about which many good, but also critical words can be said.

On the one hand, it is an important platform for political, economic and social co-operation between the countries of the Old Continent, but on the other, it is sometimes negatively assessed for excessive bureaucracy in activities, democratic deficits and ineffectiveness in crisis management. Certainly, of all similar initiatives, the European Union has achieved the greatest political success. What this means in practice, including: general elections to the European Parliament; strong supranational institutions that efficiently coordinate activities implemented at the Community level; one European currency, or finally the joint management of many key policies.

Initially, the European Union reflected the expectations of the founding states, but with time – in the process of evolution – it changed in line with the expectations of other Member States. The shape of the European Community, and then the EU, was certainly the result of many compromises developed over the fifty-year history of the integration process.

There is no doubt that France is the backbone of European integration. It would be difficult to imagine a united Europe without its strong commitment. It spared no effort to first rebuild European economy after the devastating World War II, then make the European Community an active interlocutor towards the United States (Tomaszewski,

Tomasz Grzegorz GROSSE

FROM GEOECONOMICS TO GEOPOLITICS IN GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY

Abstract: In accordance with the art of geoeconomics, Germany used economic instruments as a source of power and geopolitical influence in the EU and neighboring regions. Central and Eastern Europe and the Western Balkans were of particular interest to Berlin. There was a strong primacy of economic interests in foreign policy, although it was noticeable growing geopolitical aspirations. Germany as a “commercial republic” fought for the maintenance of economic globalization, and thus the institutional system of economic exchange that is beneficial to it. Among the most important geopolitical goals of this country, one should mention increasing autonomy from the USA, establishing strategic relations with Russia, controlling integration processes in the EU and the zone of geoeconomic influence in Central Europe and Western Balkans. Berlin’s important geopolitical goal was also shaping the international order towards multipolarity and Germany’s participation in major global decisions.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of my analysis is to determine the evolution of German foreign policy, including that implemented within the EU and towards powers outside the EU, mainly the US and Russia. After the defeat in World War II, economic development and the promotion of economic interests in foreign policy were to rebuild the damaged economy, as well as the German reputation in international relations. They were also to serve the restoration of political influence and importance. This was also the purpose of involvement in the European integration project. Although Germany distanced itself from both the use of geopolitical nomenclature or declaring geopolitical goals, such as the sphere of influence and hegemony in the immediate region, the growing economic power and influence in the Communities (then the European Union) led the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) to an increase in geopolitical importance in the EU itself, as well as in the surrounding areas. Thus, there is a visible relationship between the development of the economy and exports, and the increasing political influence in Europe.

The purpose of the analysis is to reflect on German geoeconomics, as well as whether the FRG is gradually moving from an economic power to a geopolitical one. Geoeconomics is most often defined as the use of economic instruments by states for strategic purposes, both in the economic sphere and geopolitics (Luttwak, 1990, pp. 17–23). This applies to obtaining asymmetrical advantages over rivals, which will allow them to weaken, become “addicted”, and thus submit to the dominant power. Did Germany use economic instruments for strategic purposes, both in the sphere of economics and geopolitics? Is it becoming an “ordinary” geopolitical power that plays for power with other countries, reaching for it by a variety of means, ranging from diplomatic, economic, and ending with military? Finally, can Germany also become a military power in the future thanks to the EU’s defence policy? At the end of the analysis, I present the conclusions regarding

Krzysztof SZEWIOR

POLAND'S HIGHER EDUCATION IN A PHASE OF SYSTEMIC-STRUCTURAL TRANSITION?

Abstract: The activities undertaken in Polish higher education are in line with the standards of practicing public policies in the EU. They are consistent with the directions of change in other European countries and in the following areas: EHEA, ESFRI, EEA. The reforms also implement the values of the European Social Area and EU internal markets, as they are characterized by: deregulation, efficiency, cooperation, internal competition, networking, social responsibility, sustainable development, knowledge transfer and commercialization of scientific research results. The most important changes in Poland boil down to: evolution of the management model to make it more managerial and entrepreneurial, effective and to contribute to the development of the socio-economic environment of higher education and to contribute to sustainable development, technological and digital changes. A feature of the reform is a different approach to the evaluation of scientific activity and the development of science within the new structure of scientific disciplines, parameterization, and promotion of internationalization. Universities must now focus more strongly on knowledge transfer and commercialization of research results.

It is undeniable that the current rulers clearly have the intention to overhaul the higher education system and carry out pro-quality initiatives. In the sphere of science and higher education, the Sejm of the Republic of Poland and the government have been dominated by reform efforts, which, according to the initiators and proponents of the reform, acquire the status of constitutional changes (*Szkolnictwo wyższe...*, 2019).

The reform, conceived and drawn up in the spirit of deregulation, is supposed to boil down to changes in employment and working conditions, student education, as well as the conduct and evaluation of scientific research. Another important catalyst for the changes was to focus more attention on the cooperation of science/higher education institutions with both the scientific and socio-economic environment. Hence the emphasis on promoting internationalisation and stimulating academic mobility. The value of these reforms can be seen in sustainable development and social responsibility, which lies equally on the side of the academics and those in power. The latter perceive it through the prism of pro-innovation measures and those aimed at improving the competitiveness of science, universities, researchers. These result in an increased attractiveness and pulling power of our intellectual capital. Hence the decision to boost funding, whose streams should come from public and private sources. However, the passivity of universities in waiting for public subsidies is not accepted, they are instead stimulated to effectively transfer knowledge and develop cooperation between schools and their economic and socio-public environment. As the actions of the government must to some extent correspond with the development strategies of the EU and Poland, the emphasis is therefore placed on the development potential for change, improved competi-

Piotr MADAJCZYK

POLAND AND GERMANY'S PLANS TO REFORM THE EUROPEAN UNION AFTER 2015

Abstract: In the changing geopolitical situation, not least because of plans to expand the European Union, its reform has been under discussion for years. From the Polish perspective, the EU reform projects are also a high-risk undertaking, especially for a state that currently has little ability to form coalitions in Brussels. German concepts are more similar to Polish interests than French ones, but there are also significant differences in interest with Germany. These differences are discussed in the following text.

INTRODUCTION

Thirty years have passed since the breakthrough of 1989, and from today's perspective it can be assessed that the distrust that had prevailed in Poland towards the first western and then united Germany is a thing of the past. Accurate forecasting of future relations is not possible, some deterioration in the future may be a consequence of the currently visible strengthening of the memory of World War II and Polish discussions on reparations and compensation from Germany. Between 2004 and 2019, it increased by 10 points, to 82%, the number of Poles who consider the war to be "a still living part of Polish history that needs to be constantly reminded of". Similarly, the belief that Poland should demand some form of compensation from Germany for war losses has increased to almost 70% (*Postrzeżanie II wojny...*, p. 1).

The attitude of Polish society towards Germans is not independent of politics and it has deteriorated since 2018, under the influence of Polish-German controversy, but not to a state comparable to the beginning of the 1990s, when it aroused hostility among more than half of Poles (*Stosunek do innych...*, p. 4). Poland has been a member of NATO for two decades, together with Germany, and a little less time in the European Union (EU). Most Poles accept the project of stationing NATO troops in Poland, and the reluctance of Germany to increase spending on armaments for their "toothless army" is critically perceived.

The attitude of Germans towards Poland is also strongly influenced by political relations, which was visible both during Poland's involvement in Iraq after 2003 and after 2015. The percentage of people who assessed relations with Poland positively fell radically from 70 to approx. 30% after 2015 (*Polska – Niemcy*, 2019, p. 94). As economic ties continue to grow between Poland and Germany, cross-border cooperation is extensive, as well as in the area of culture and science, it can be seen that such a radical change of assessment is emotional and not rational.

Support in the Federal Republic of Germany for the EU and German membership has remained high for years, and not only did discussions about Brexit not weaken

Bogdan J. GÓRALCZYK

THE HUNGARIAN CONCEPT OF SOVEREIGNTY AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Abstract: Since coming to dominant, unlimited power in 2010 Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán and his Citizen's Party – FIDESZ has captured the state. As can be observed, it is a process of constant cumulation of ever more authoritarian power, leading during the pandemic of COVID-19 even to the rule by decrees. This new system, built beyond liberal democracy and checks and balances, is self-defined by Orbán himself, already in 2014, as illiberal democracy. In fact, in the domestic scene it resembles more autocracy than democracy, while on the international arena Hungary is promoting its own vision of Europe, frequently defined as “integration of sovereign states”. Formally it should be implemented in the old spirit of Charles De Gaulle, but in fact it is promoting a classic intergovernmental scenario of integration, of independent states with strong, centralized internal power and influence. According to this vision, any federalist concept of integration is opposed. Thus, according to some assessment shared by the Author of this text, it is an even more dangerous scenario and greater threat for the future of the EU than Brexit itself. As relatively small Hungary has initiated a dangerous axiological crisis in the continent In its result in many member states of the EU one can discover a domestic tension – and fight – of the “sovereign” political forces with “federalists” honest to the Copenhagen criteria. While one country of the EU, namely Poland, since 2016 has followed the footsteps of Orbán. No easy solution to jump out from this trap.

In the Spring of 2010, the Fidesz party (Hungarian Civic Alliance) of the charismatic leader Viktor Orbán came to power in Hungary after an 8-year break. This time, after the disastrous results of its socialist and liberal opponents, it made “a revolution in the ballot box” (*fülke forradalom*), under which it reached a qualified majority. This majority was quickly used to thoroughly change the country's political system and the entire reality. Already in April 2011, after rapid preparations and changes, a new Constitution was adopted, which was additionally enclosed with a whole package of organic law, also known as per-constitutional (*sarkalatos törvények*). Their distinguishing feature was the fact that a clause requiring a qualified majority of 2/3 was included to change or amend them, which was clearly defined as a form of creating the new system, because in a well-functioning democracy such a high majority is generally hard to come by.

Moreover, the “central political force” (*centrális erőter*), as it was defined by V. Orbán (and therefore something more than the Fidesz Party), intended to reflect the will of the nation – the sovereign, entered the path of rapid legislative changes. As calculated by one of the Hungarian experts, Tamás Sárközy, in 2011, 219 new laws and 375 government regulations were adopted, and in the following two years, respectively – 223 and 445 as well as 252 and 585 (Sárközy, 2014, pp. 265–266). In this way, the reality of the state was completely changed under the new system, which was formally called the System of National Cooperation, and which V. Orbán himself defined a few years later, in July 2014 as “illiberal democracy” (Orbán, 2014).

Tomasz KUBIN

THE POSITION OF POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES REGARDING POLAND'S EUROZONE MEMBERSHIP

Abstract: According to the EU accession treaty, Poland participates in the Economic and Monetary Union as a state with a derogation. Poland should strive to meet the convergence criteria and adopt the single euro currency. Therefore, the issue of Poland's membership in the euro area is and will remain a very important problem for many years to come, e.g. due to the legal status of this issue, the importance of this topic for the functioning of the entire EU and for Poland itself, or the high attractiveness of the issue as a tool used in political rivalry.

The aim of the study is to present and briefly analyze the attitude of selected Polish political parties to the possible introduction of the single currency in Poland. This goal was achieved on the basis of the content of political programmes, political declarations and public statements of politicians. The analysis shows that the topic of Poland's membership in the euro area is present in the programs of almost all major political parties in Poland. However, the argumentation of the positions taken is relatively shallow. It seems that the key factor influencing the program assumptions regarding Poland's membership in the eurozone of political parties is that for over a decade a clear majority of Poles has been against Poland's accession to the third stage of Economic and Monetary Union.

INTRODUCTION

The elections to the European Parliament (EP; 23–26 May 2019) should – at least theoretically – be an excellent opportunity to devote more space to EU-related matters in the public debate in the Member States of the European Union. It is about a discussion of such problems as what character and shape should the European Union have, or, if so, how should the institutional system of the EU be reformed? How should the EU policies be conducted or what should be the policy of a given state in the EU? In the case of Poland, one of the most important issues related to membership in the EU remains the issue of joining the euro area.

The issue of Poland's eurozone membership is and will remain an essential topic for many years to come:

- the legal status related to this issue is a consequence of the provisions of the accession treaty and the legal, political and economic activities that would have to be taken in order for Poland to join the euro area;
- the importance of this topic for the functioning of the entire EU and for Poland itself, i.e. the economic and political consequences resulting both from Poland's entry into the euro area and from remaining outside it. The assessment of the introduction of the Economic and Monetary Union in the EU and the consequences of adopting the common currency by individual states is the subject of a lively scientific and political debate;
- high attractiveness of the topic as a tool used in political competition, mainly at the national level. The issue of Poland's membership in the euro area concerns all vot-

Janusz RUSZKOWSKI

THE THEORETICAL DIMENSION OF RESEARCH ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: THE EVOLUTION OF EXPLANATION AGENDA

Abstract: The space of explanation outlined by both classical Europeanist theories is undergoing a process of noticeable transformation, which consists in their specific upgrading. The evolution of neo-functionalism and intergovernmentalism has demonstrated the ability of both theories to seek answers to new questions, update the explanatory framework and face new research challenges that want to keep up with the practice of integration. The traditional theoretical dichotomy in European studies between neo-functionalism and (new)intergovernmentalism seems to be giving way to a dichotomy of families of theories focused on the one hand in intergovernmental approaches and on the other hand in supranational paradigms. This dichotomy of “families of theories” seems to still be fundamental at the beginning of the 21st century, and the dynamics of their development take place *de facto* within their own space of explanation.

CLASSICAL THEORETICAL DICHOTOMY IN EUROPEAN STUDIES

The classical theoretical discourse in European studies¹ occurs between neofunctionalism (NF) with its supranational solutions and intergovernmentalism, i.e. intergovernmentalism (IG) with its emphasis on nation states.² Both grand theories, on the one hand, define the space for organising research between supranationalism and intergovernmentalism, and on the other hand, they define the framework for explaining and positioning the problems being the subject of the analyses.

Neofunctionalism is a product of a behavioural shift in American social sciences that focuses on institutions, their behaviour and the integration process (Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 2006, p. 89). Neofunctionally understood actors are oriented towards the utilitarian functions of integration, i.e. technocracy, management and specialised expertise rather than interest and strength, which makes neofunctionalism a Europeanist theory that breaks with the tyranny of state-centred theories, as opposed to intergovernmentalism, which supports this tyranny. Such a conclusion is confirmed by the concentration of neofunctionalism on non-state actors and intergovernmentalism on state-actors, including the cooperation of independent states, behaving rationally, which disregard negotiations and

¹ The dynamic development of European Studies (European Integration Studies) makes it possible to indicate specific areas of research that have emerged within them, including: the EU institutional system (political system), EU law, EU external relations, EU sectoral policies, studies on Europeanisation, the future of the EU (*finalite politique*), the theory of European integration, etc.

² Due to the low popularity of federal solutions, in particular in the EU Member States, the role of the theory of federalism, which was even application-wise not only in European political circles, but also occupied an important place in scientific research, is gradually playing a lesser role in this discourse. Today, it is sequentially and incidentally referred to specific solutions in the European Union (e.g. fiscal federalism or certain arrangements concerning the political purpose of the EU).