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Włodzimierz Wesołowski, Formation of the Political Parties in Post-communist Poland ................. 7

After communist rule, political parties in Poland had a difficult start. One of the problems was the negative perception of the party concept based on past experience. Another problem was the social phenomena connected with the "Solidarity" movement. The mass social movement created a natural obstacle to re-emergence of traditional political parties, based on different economic, social and ideological expectations. Belief that the trade union movement would represent interests of people best, resulted in lack of local infrastructure for newly created political parties. Victory of the post-communists in 1993 showed how important the local structures were. The political change has led to a discussion of the conditions for the re-emergence of a consolidated democracy in Poland. The author makes an attempt at analyzing the Polish political scene. In the last chapter he focuses on the crisis and re-integration of political consciousness. As the result of the latter, there is a chance for formation of liberal, christian, national and socialist identities but to achieve this, the fragmentation of the political scene must come to an end.

Tadeusz Moldawa, Dilemmas of the Future of the Polish Constitution ................................ 29

The answer to the question whether it is possible to create firm, democratic, and effective governments in Poland, in the author's opinion, does not depend only on legal or constitutional regulations. It depends on the ability of the political elites to pursue moderate and rational actions, in the creation of a stabilized party system, articulating crucial interests of the main political groups in Poland. The author highlights the main points of the constitution being discussed in the parliamentary commission of the Sejm and in the Polish mass-media. Author presents his view on the relation between the parliament and the president. In conclusion, he states that a most important role in forming modern civil society will be played by the ability of the elites to convince society of the values of democratic procedures and institutions as well as the necessity of participating in them.

Jadwiga Staniszki, Politics of Post-communist Institutionalization in Historic Perspective (part I) ........................................... 39

Previous attempts at analytical clarity and understanding of the chaos emerging from the post-communist order, have brought the author to two major conclusions: 1) The first phase of the above process often means a change of the ontological status of the existing institutions rather than emergence of new types and, also, change of the rules organizing and regulating their activity. 2) The mechanisms responsible for the shape of the emerging
postcommunist institutional order are mostly rooted in the past. The author presents an evolutionary discontinuous theory of change, which helps her to overcome the dilemma of a parallel application an epistemology of the context and an epistemology of the identity. The analysis of the institutionalization of the post-communist order in three time horizons is the best way, in the author's opinion, to understand the present politics of institutionalization. In the first part of the article the author explains the implications of her theory.


The constant structural crisis of the centrally planned economies could be seen already in the mid-seventies. The systemic transformation, which started in Poland in 1989 and one-two years later in other Eastern and Central European states as the effect of the fall of communism, may be described in the following stages; 1) partial reform initiated by the former regimes from the above, 2) fiascos of those reforms, 3) systemic transformation, 4) economic collapse, 5) stability, 6) economic growth based on the market economy vehicle. The authors of the article focus on the systemic transformation, the general dynamics of East and Central European economies, their economic inequilibria, internal relations and standards of living. The authors also mention the two existing and widely publicized tendencies — modernist and protectionist — which merge into an idea of the "third way" of development for those states. The authors conclude that there is no third way and that Central and East European states should become part of greater European structures.

Jerzy Pietkiewicz, Was the PRL a Polish State?

The fall of the PRL (Peoples' Republic of Poland) and emergence of the Third Polish Republic are the effect, both of collapse of the ruling camp gathered around the PUWP (Polish United Workers Party) and disintegration of the Soviet Union. With the new government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the process of the breaking the ties with the USSR was started. Along with the power, the new, governing political team inherited the old state structures. The reorientation of the state structures from direct dependency on the Soviets made the new Polish state fully sovereign. The PRL was, in the author's view, a state-province, as opposed to an independent Third Polish Republic. The author concludes that the PRL was de facto an external part — province of the Soviet Union and with the December 1989 decree of Sejm, Poland re-gained its lost independence.

Tomasz Rafał Wiśniewski, Self-knowledge of Freedom or the Challenge of One's Own Perspective

The rebellion of the 1960s in the West, known as "youth revolt", "students revolt" or, more enigmatically "the period of youth unrest", is usually described by authors in terms of artificially constructed explanatory models without taking into consideration opinions voiced by the creators of those events. The author of the article attempts to analyze the self-awareness of the youth movements of almost three decades ago. To understand the spirit of those days the author tries to define the nature of the youth revolt by referring to existing theories of the classical anarchosyndicalist revolution, the ideas of Leon Trotsky, and focusing on such notions as the European "cultural revolution", "the fifth column of the Third World", neo-anarchism, pacifist revolution. Along with those elements, the author puts emphasis on cultural changes brought to our present life by the ideology of black power, the hippies and new aesthetics in the arts. The author concludes that the revolt of 1960s was a complex phenomenon and has not given any satisfactory answers to the questions about its own unique nature.
Waldemar Paruch, Fundamentals of the System of Values of Pilsudski's Followers 1926—1939. Determinants of Political Activity . . . . . . . . . . . 117

The above article presents the system of values of the so-called „Pilsudski's camp” (followers of Marshall Pilsudski) and is aimed at working out and selecting a catalogue of the basic features of their political activity. The model of politics preferred by them was based on a two-level structure. The first level was composed of a system based on firm hierarchy of values, applied directly to the society, the second level was contradictory immoral and was focused on means of implementing political goals. In the years 1926—1939 the politicians from that political formation performed the highest state functions and strove for an authoritarian model of power, very frequently utilizing morally dubious means in order to achieve their objectives. They did not take into consideration their social legitimacy and negative side-effects which affected their popular image. The power exercised by Pilsudski's followers was based on individual responsibility for political deeds in a moral and historical perspective only.

Wojciech Kaute, "Optimism-Pessimism". Two Concepts of Polish Identity 133

The author states that the identity of the Pole is based not only on the dichotomy "pessimistic" "optimistic" and perception of his archetype of the national culture in the modern times. For optimists the "real world" in Polish culture is not always perceived as real; the notions "truth" and "laws" creating reality in the rest of Europe, do not necessarily mean the same here. Populist democracy (different from the concept of Rousseau) and not liberal democracy shapes the state in Poland. From the optimists' point of view, the Poles were not able to take their chances in modern times. For the pessimists, things are just the other way around. For the latter, passivity and anarchy in Poland construct the set of values, norms and patterns, which form the archetype of Polish culture. They are considered by the pessimists to be negative and fatalistic.

Jarosław Książek, Historical and Contemporary Elements of the "Jagiellonian idea" in New-democratic Publications and Historiography of the Inter-war Period . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 147

The notion of the "Jagiellonian idea" is composed of two, almost impossible to separate, ingredients — history and politics. For that reason writers and publicists were tempted to use their expertise to advertise or criticize one of them, depending on their political stand or views. The origin of the "Jagiellonian idea" goes back to the days of partition of Poland. The emotional values built around the idea were a reaction to the lost independence and foreign traditions brought by the new rulers. The author analyzes different aspects of the "Jagiellonian idea", as seen by its opponents and proponents in Poland and abroad. The "Jagiellonian idea" for the democratic and national circles meant a strong and independent Polish state, placed between Russia and Germany. It became one of the pillars of the ideology of the influential National Democracy of Poland.

Ryszard Paradowski, Concept of Euro-asianism . . . . . . . . . . . 165

The article focuses on the problem of the basic concepts of the doctrine of Euro-asianism. That doctrine was conceptualized at the beginning of 1920s in Russian emigre circles as an intellectual reaction to the Russian revolution of 1917 and to the prevailing assumption that after the defeat of the Bolsheviks the monarchy would be restored. The emigres contradicted the restoration of monarchy the Tatar factor. Russia to them was not an European state but a continuation of the Mongolian Empire. As a result of this, the Russian were Slavs only in part and the Russian nation was a pan-ethnomosaic of cultures. The new concept of the Russian state was based on corporatist ideas, very popular in Europe
of those days. Euro-asianism, in the author’s opinion, constitutes an important intellectual factor as a new ideological legitimization for the post-Soviet political order.

Józef Fiszer, Is Nationalism the Main Threat to European Unity? . . . . 177

The author makes an attempt to answer this very difficult question, equally crucial for international relations. Is nationalism a significant threat to the process of building of an United Europe? Before the author comes to his conclusions, he presents the actual state of the construction of united Europe and their future prospects. Next, he analyses the nature, different aspects and sources of contemporary nationalism. The author tries to define what presently determines the development of international relations in Europe from a theoretical and practical point of view. What dominates the political tendencies — integration or nationalism? Despite the existing examples of nationalistic behaviour, the process of unification of Europe will be continued, concludes the author. The real threat comes from the sources of nationalism rather than from its external characteristics.

Jan Rowiński, Revolutionary Mission or National Interests? The Chinese Peoples’ Republic and the First Indo-Chinese War . . . . . . . . 193

Almost half a century after the World War II, and forty years after the battle of Dien Bien Phu, there are still blank spots concerning international activity of China and its relations with socialist neighbours. The dramatic break in Chinese-Vietnamese relations in the 1970s brought to public attention many unknown documents on the mutual relation of former allies. The author analyzes some of them. Already in the Geneva Convention the author finds the first signs of long lasting animosities between the two nations. Thus after a quarter of a century two socialist states, ‘forever friends’, found themselves in opposite political camps during the third IndoChinese war, writes the author.

Iwona Grabowska-Lipińska, Political Situation in Eastern Asia and the Pacific Region after 1989 (selected problems) . . . . . . . . 211

The political situation in Central and Eastern Asia has changed very much in recent years. Independence has been achieved by such states as Kazakhstan, Kirgistan, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan; they are formulating new goals for their foreign policies. The status of Mongolia has changed as well, so has ASEAN. The biggest threat to the security of the states in that region, in author’s opinion, is posed by former republics of the Soviet Union. The sell-out of military technology to neighbours is the most-feared scenario. The future of the Asian Pacific region will depend mainly on the way the existing conflicts are handled. The confrontation of Western democracy represented by the U.S. with socialism Chinese-style will be based on peaceful coexistence, which will take into consideration current realities, concludes the author.