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Krzysztof Jasiewicz, Presidential Election 1995 and Establishment of the Polish Party System ........................................ 7

Presidential election 1995 mobilized Polish citizens to unprecedented political activity, which was reflected in the highest turn out in polling stations in after war People’s Poland. As expected, the second round was decisive for the final result of the election. The division lines in the second round were crossed with the lines reflecting divisions of the political scene. Only two biggest groupings (in terms of supporters in the autumn of 1995) SLD and “Solidarność” ended up in one political throng almost entirely. It is not a good sign for the steadiness of the political scene. Although the presidential election in 1990 sketched roughly the new party system, the 1995 election muddled the clear picture. Half a year after it is still not certain in which direction the changes in political scene will go. Will it be a two-party-, three-party-system, stable multi-party-system or further fragmentation? Dissemination of party electorates and political groupings among different presidential candidates has been a proof to Linz’s thesis that popular vote in presidential election in young democracies (like Poland) do not help crystallisation of political scene. Because of fragmentization of political scene, the own party basis is not efficient enough for any of the candidates to win a presidential race. (New president, Aleksander Kwaśniewski, has attracted a large number of supporters from other electorates). An open question remains how stable was that tendency and whether it would benefit the Polish political scene.

Artur Gruszczak, Regulation of Conflicts in Consolidation Process of Democracy: Functional Perspective .................................................. 17

The author undertakes an effort to analyze difficulties encountered by post-authoritarian governments, trying to consolidate a new democratic system and ensuring governability based on criteria of effectiveness and legitimization. All political changes are connected with bringing and re-creation of the conflict-ridden structures. Adherents of the functional theory of conflicts state that transition to democracy requires many-level regulation of differentiated conflicts, mainly by the consensual establishment of formula of the transition, based upon institutionalization of the conflicts (Przeworski) or on creation of the functional normative system (Coser). Consolidation of democracy is not based on elimination of conflicts only but on their assimilation and re-creation, with a certain degree of institutional reservation in the institutional and normative frames, which construct the base for democratic system. It means also that elements and dysfunctional factors should not encounter a similar
disfunctional answer from institutions of the political system. Conflicts then become a permanent testing ingredient for ability of democracy to self-renewal and reproduction, and further improving of its immunity to the activity of destabilizing and disfunctional elements.

Adam Wielomski, *Two Conservatisms of Wincenty Kosiakiewicz* ...

The member of the Cracow Conservative Club, Wincenty Kosiakiewicz (1863–1918) was one of few, which dared to discuss the prevailing loyalism and realism and describe himself a conservatist. It is an intellectual revolt against overwhelmingly abused notion of democracy. An empty key-word, used by the whole spectrum of political groupings, as the thinker puts it. Kosiakiewicz confronts democratic principle with traditional conservative values of an individual human-being, social human-being. Socialization, in his opinion, is realized on two levels — family and local community. The family is the smallest and the most conservative element of a certain entity. The family is the basis for the social hierarchy. The aristocrats form natural part of the local community and they rule the people. The history is made by individuals and progress is made by genius individuals, not masses. The most natural system of rule for true conservatives is the monarchy. The ideological ingredient cementing them is Catholicism. The monarchistic approach of Kosiakiewicz, in the author’s opinion, is in contradiction with republican traditions of Poland. The codification of conservatism and incorporation of the "real politic" puts Kosiakiewicz in contradiction. His death in 1918 saved him from ideological confrontation with realities of a new-born Poland.

Christopher Williams, *Right-wing Extremism in Western and East—Central Europe: Theory and Practice* ...

The article seeks to explore what we mean by the right-wing extremism, why it exists, whether or not it knows no ideological bounds. What is the nature of the political programmes of right—wing extremist groups and the response of government and other political parties to this phenomenon. The above analysis draws primarily upon West European experience, but in the final section, the relevance of this analysis for our understanding of current trends in Russia and Central and Eastern Europe is explored. There are striking similarities between Western and Russian responses to the extreme right, concludes the author. There is certainly a risk therefore that Russia’s loss of an empire, lack of a strong leader, widespread disorder and the absence of an overall rationale for people’s existence — communism — the extremist groups will step in to fill the ideological vacuum. Although there are specific national conditions facilitating the rise of the extreme right in the East, this article shows that the Russian right-wing parties as well as similar parties throughout ECG must also be seen as part of a general European-wide development.

Stanislaw Mocek, *Political Ethics and Intellectual Tradition. "The Father-Founders" of Political Systems* ...

The article is an attempt at founding in intellectual achievements of human though of the past certain repetitive elements, creating doctrinal essence of the given social and political systems. The author focuses on those thinkers, which have had an important impact on legitimization techniques and connected with them concepts of social and political morality, composing normative shape of the two twenty century political
systems: totalitarian and democracy. The legitimization technic offered by them are described by the author in the context of an answer to the question what is good for individual and society in respective systems. Those technics of legitimization, as well as the moral concepts intertwine, to a different degree, with different concepts of creation of the social order, which is optimal, in the opinion of the Father-founders, for the citizens in the given historical moment.

Miroslaw Karwat, **Stereotype Personification of Politics**

Stereotype personification of certain phenomena expresses a relatively coherent political and ideological engagement of actors and commentators of politics. It serves rationalization of their own passions, attitudes and making popular (imposing) their own convictions based on prejudices and stereotypes. "Customary heroization" of politics implies reduction of the conditions of the social micro-processes to desires, ambitions and emotions underscored heroes. It reduces processes and events to deeds and gestures of protagonists, results of common accomplishment to achievements (merits, errors) of individuals. "Sociometrical butlerization" means a mixture of beliefs about the key-role of heroes in their "butler's type" way of seeing things, sociometrical criteria of attractiveness and importance of the public persons and sort of a social-type of projection of their mutual relation and cooperation. "Intentional symbolicity of a person" means replacement of cause and effect analysis, of structural and functional one of the complex phenomenon, many-subject relationships of mythological activities by a picture of individual features and deeds, which aim at suggesting and reinforcing desired evaluations and emotions. "Alien—reductive typization" means succumbing of the picture of an individual to a stereotype of a grouping (cluster, institution), which it seems to be a typical representative.

Jadwiga Staniszkis, **Politics of Post-communist Institutionalization in Historic Perspective, part II**

The aim of article is an analysis of logic of an emerging post-communist institutional order in terms of infrastructure market. "Politics of institutionalization", understood here as a strategic game concerning formation and transition of institutions, tries, in author's opinion, to find an institutional strategy, which would allow a capital formation, despite of the difficult conditions. Those are: rapid globalization of economy and inequality in competition with capital of better developed countries; rules of financial stability; high costs of transactions and institutional fragmentary market. The strategies analyzed in the article are, among others, creation of the "organized markets", formation of financial-industrial groups, with cross-related ownership elements, looking by the players for means of trading of the fragments of transaction costs to the state, concentration of the capital.

The above constructs the next (the third) stage of development of the so-called "political capitalism" and threatens creation of an oligarchic model of capitalism. The chance of survival for organized capital and the risk of small and middle-size capital, acting without institutional shield, favours its "escape" into the grey-zone economy. It creates obstacles for making the middle-class and leads to bi-polar economy. The process of self-organization of the fragment of the domestic capital is accompanied by politicization of the entire process.

Placing Polish economy between the markets of different institutional standards (former USSR and Western Europe), connected with attraction of various branches to those different markets, endangers disintegration of institutional infrastructure and its
incompatibility. The author puts an emphasis also on the economic security of the country and the role of their institutional dimension.

Kenneth Ka-lok Chan, *The Authoritarian State in the Taiwan Miracle* . . 117

The rapid transformation in Taiwan from a predominantly rural to urban society without grave social unrest has resulted in higher standards, greater national wealth and a more equal distribution of income. These achievements are perhaps unprecedented in modern times. The developing countries are not likely to duplicate the Taiwan experience. It is due to the salient nature of the state of Taiwan, that is, its high autonomy from the society and the economy. From the above analysis the author tentatively concludes that clearly, any explanation of Taiwan’s achievements, must start with the Nationalist party-state, its nature and its relations with the economy and the society. The author hopes that this article would constitute the beginning but not the conclusion of the statist analysis in Taiwan’s miracle. Having said that, the article does not suggest that the Taiwan’s economic achievements are determined only by the strength and capabilities of the state. On the contrary, the author fully recognizes that a host of other variables impinge on the achievements, but the above article will leave much of them out of consideration. It would be erroneous to read into this omission an argument that the state is alone to constitute the amazing development of Taiwan.

Alicja Sowińska-Krupka, *Moldavia 1940—1989. From Sovietization to National Renewal* . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 127

After annexation of Besarabia by the USSR on June 28, 1940, as an immediate effect of the Ribbentrop–Molotov Pact, the was dismembered. The north and south parts of Black Sea and Danube were incorporated to the Socialist Soviet Republic of Ukraine. The remaining part, along with the Autonomous Socialist Republic of Moldavia (created in 1924 for destabilization and communist diversion in Rumania), formed the Socialist Soviet Republic of Moldavia. The Rumanian people, which constituted majority of newly created republic were subdued to a intensive Russianization, Sovietization and mass repressions. The above processes were stopped in June of 1941, for next three years, as an effect of the military actions of the Rumanian forces in alliance with Nazi Germany. In 1944 the Russian troops took that territory again. The process of national suppression was continued for next decades. The industrialization of Moldavia forced mass immigration to cities and thus "Rumanized" the cities. New social stratification of the Republic, more influential positions of the Rumanian population, has led to a rebirth of national identity of Moldavian Rumanians, so openly demonstrated in the days of "perestroika".

Józef Fiszer, *Polish—German Relations after 1989 and Their Meaning for Security of Europe* . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 141

The article offers a political science view into the Polish—German relations after the "Cold War" and tries to demonstrate their meaning for the security of contemporary Europe. The author’s thesis is that the collapse of the Soviet bloc, reunification of Germany and regaining sovereignty by the Central and South—East European states have, no doubt, increased the feeling of security in Europe. He emphasis though that the European continent is still waiting for creation of a new effective system of international security. In association with that, the Polish—German relations have
played and would play an important role. In the article the author presents not only legal but also factual changes in the Polish—German relations after 1989. The two states have taken to the road of reconciliation and construction of the Polish—German commonwealth of interests. Although the present effects are evaluated positively, they do not reflect the real potentials of both states. The awareness of that the quality of the German—Polish relations has an immediate impact on the stability of both states is still too low. The conclusion of the article is that the new Polish—German relation requires fundamental changes in the historical understanding of Poles and Germans. The author points out the necessary internal and external determinants of such a development.