

## **Streszczenia w języku angielskim**

**Malgorzata Czemińska**

**Keywords:** Generalized Scheme of Preferences, General/standard GSP, the Everything But Arms Initiative, rules of origin, least developed countries (LDC), country and product coverage, beneficiaries of the GSP, change in tariff heading

The Generalised System of Preferences (GSP) was launched by the European Union in July 1971. Its main objective was to provide developing countries with easier access to the EU market by cutting down or eliminating customs rates imposed on goods imported from these countries. The significance of GSP preferences for the beneficiaries of the scheme is constrained by several factors. Among them, rules of origin of goods are of key importance. They imply that economic operators must comply with complex rules of origin of goods, which increase the costs of administrative procedures and impose specific technical requirements.

The aim of the article is to assess the rules of origin in the European Union's GSP system of unilateral preferences, with a focus on changes introduced to these rules since 2011.

In the paper it was put forward as a research hypothesis that the changes in the rules of origin of goods introduced in the last two decades had resulted in their simplification and relaxation, particularly in the case of the least developed countries (LDC) and in relation to specific groups of goods important from the standpoint of these countries' exports. This was advantageous for the least developed countries, which were most impacted by these changes. However, this does not mean that the rules of origin of goods are no longer a barrier for beneficiaries in their preferential access to the EU market, especially in the case of certain goods and other GSP subsystems.

## **Przemysław Piotr Damski**

**Keywords:** Arctic, Russia, United States, Norway, Alaska purchase, Svalbard Treaty, disinformation, international law, English School of IR

This article examines the rise of Russian public claim to Alaska in the US, challenging Norwegian sovereignty over Svalbard. Both cases are analyzed in light of the theoretical framework of the English school of international relations, which presupposes that the international community is governed by treaty provisions and norms of conduct, as well as principles and values shared by its members.

For this reason, the main part of the article focuses on the analysis of the treaty provisions and their implementation. Based on this, it was concluded that the rhetoric towards Alaska and Svalbard adopted by the Russian government represents Russia's departure from the norms and principles constituting the Arctic regime (the so-called exceptionalism) and the implementation in the High North of foreign policy tools which, although typical for the Kremlin in other parts of the world, have not yet been applied in the Arctic.

Then, in accordance with the theoretical presumptions of the English school of international relations, it was verified whether the Russian policy in the Arctic in these cases violated the principles underlying the particularity of the region established within the framework of the Arctic international society.

## **Krzysztof Garczewski**

**Keywords:** Polish-German relations, historical narratives, eastern policy, Russia's war against Ukraine, Eastern Partnership, politics of memory

The main objective is to analyze the place and role played by history in the operations of Poland and Germany in the field of Eastern policy, with particular emphasis on the context

surrounding the Russian war against Ukraine and how it developed in the first months of this conflict.

In order to demonstrate the relationship between history's influence on the present public discourse and Eastern and European policy of Poland and Germany, the article focuses on selected aspects of these countries' Eastern policy, both historically and currently. The study also shows the connection between history and politics, particularly as it relates to the Russian Federation's use of the so-called historical tools in hybrid tactics aimed at Poland, Germany, Ukraine and other democratic European countries.

The text employs both the historical method and the comparative method. Additionally, discourse analysis was used in order to examine selected utterances of politicians and other representatives of public life in Poland and Germany, regarding history and Eastern policy. Selected elements of the analysis of the decision-making process related to the issues of the politics of memory, Eastern policy as well as European policy were also used.

**Łukasz Jureńczyk**

**Keywords:** war in Ukraine, German-American relations, arms supplies, energy security, economic sanctions, humanitarian aid

The aim of the article is to analyze and evaluate Germany's policy toward the 2022 war in Ukraine from the standpoint of the United States, anti-Russian coalition leader.

The main research problem is the question: Does Germany's policy of supporting Ukraine and sanctioning Russia meet US expectations? The main hypothesis is that after Germany's disgrace in the first months of the war, its reputation as a reliable ally of the United States in Europe was gradually restored as a result of its successively increasing support for Ukraine and breaking off cooperation with Russia. Germany saw significant revaluations in consequence of the war in Ukraine, especially in the military and energy sectors. Regardless of the outcome of the war,

a return to "business as usual" in terms of economic and energy cooperation with Russia is very unlikely. In turn, the military improvements that have been announced, including a major boost in the combat potential of the Bundeswehr, will probably only partially be carried out. Germany will continue to be one of US key allies in Europe during the coming years, but it is likely that Washington will tighten cooperation with the countries of NATO's eastern flank, to some extent at Germany's expense.

Interviews with American scientists and analysts specializing in international politics were conducted as part of the research.

### **Jadwiga Kiwerska**

**Keywords:** United States, Clinton administration's, Russia, Central and Eastern Europe, NATO

A stable and democratic Russia that cooperated with the West after the collapse of the Soviet Union, was seen by the United States as a key component of the new European order and a strategic challenge to American policy. The article provides a historical analysis of the 1990s Russian policy of the Clinton administration. The study's main focus is on American efforts to make Russia a strategic partner in international affairs.

The major objective of the research is to find answers to questions about the determinants, assumptions and goals of the "strategic partnership" policy. The main purpose is to evaluate the US administration's too positive and optimistic stance. The reasons why the Americans abandoned the idea of forming a "strategic partnership" in favor of a "two-track" policy are also explained. According to the general consensus at the time, the latter was a contributing factor to the NATO membership of the first countries from Central and Eastern Europe.

The main research method used in developing this topic is a critical and comparative analysis of documents, speeches of politicians and diplomats, literature on the subject, contemporary press and online resources.

**Michał M. Kosman**

**Keywords:** Russian-Ukrainian conflict, annexation of Crimea, Germany, Zeitenwende

The aim of the article is to provide an overview of Germany's post-Cold War policy towards Russia, especially in the context of such epoch-making political events in Ukraine as the Orange Revolution, the Russian annexation of Crimea and the conflict in eastern Ukraine, and Russia's February 2022 invasion of Ukraine, as well as the accompanying announcements of a breakthrough in German foreign and security policy under the *Zeitenwende* banner.

Therefore, the following research hypothesis can be put forward: Russian military actions against Ukraine in 2022 appear to mark a turning point in German policy towards Russia that signifies a major divergence from the German perception of Russia as a link promoting the stability of the global environment. They also portend a potential bigger turn in German foreign policy toward assuming more responsibility for international security matters. Although Russia's image in Germany had been undergoing gradual changes in the previous years, the new phase of the conflict (since February 2022) radically accelerated this process.

The monographic method was used in the preparation of the article, which allowed for discussion of the facts cited, including their cause and effect sequence, and this in turn facilitated an analysis of the key aspects of the evolution of German policy towards Russia. Content analysis method was also employed to examine program documents, statements, selected legislative acts and studies.

**Stanisław Kosmyńka**

**Keywords:** Italy, jihadi terrorism, radicalization, security, prevention

Jihadi terrorism has been posing a severe threat to international security for more than two decades. Many European countries serve as important targets and bases of operations for salafi networks. In order to fully comprehend the challenges and threats posed by jihadist terrorism, it is crucial to understand the process of radicalization, which frequently occurs online and through personal interactions.

The study explores the issue of violent radicalization in Italy and examines counterterrorism policy that has historically placed a major emphasis on prosecuting, penalizing and expelling radicals. Italy is a major player in the EU's immigration and security policy. The paper also discusses Italy's contribution to the international radical salafi movement. The article focuses on the circumstances and goals of Italian policies and programs implemented over the past 20 years in response to jihadi activity in the Apennine Peninsula. The paper's main hypothesis holds that for many years, Italian authorities prioritized on enacting mostly reactive measures to combat terrorism.

The methodological analysis is based on the integration of historical and system method and refers to Marc Sageman's theory of the jihadist networks, which is more appropriate for understanding how they rise and function.

**Michał Kuryłowicz**

**Keywords:** France, Russia, communism, sovereignty, double security

The aim of the article is to characterize the changing attitude of the French elites towards Russia in consequence of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict that has been developing since February 24, 2022, and more broadly – to describe how the evolution of Paris's current policy toward Moscow is perceived in France. This change is shown through the lens of the reaction of French political parties to the conflict, the assessment of this stance by the French media, and the scientific reflection of French academics on the current policy of the French establishment toward Russia.

The article will verify the hypothesis that the outbreak of the Russian-Ukrainian war made France change its previously moderate stance toward Russia and gave a majority of the French elite cause to express their criticism of Moscow's foreign policy more forcefully than before. This was facilitated by the electoral campaign preceding simultaneous presidential and parliamentary elections in France, which made it necessary for the political actors participating in the election race to evaluate the events taking place in Eastern Europe on an ongoing basis.

The initial assumption that the French elites' attitude towards Moscow is fundamentally different from the political thinking about Russia in Central European countries will also be verified, and confirmed even in an amended version. This is the case supposedly because France, which views Russia as a crucial guarantor of France's strong international position, believes that Russia must be a part of the European security architecture in order to ensure the stability of the EU.

With regard to France's stance toward Russia in the wake of the conflict in Ukraine, the author's goal is to reflect on the nature of the current French debate on the topic. This justifies considering, above all, the books published in France after February 24, 2022, and how they portray French-Russian relations.

**Janusz Józef Węc**

**Keywords:** European Union, Ukraine, refugee and humanitarian crisis, temporary protection system for refugees, Integrated Political Rapid Response Mechanism, EU Civil Protection Mechanism

The aim of the article is to analyze the position of the European Union institutions and EU Member States towards the refugee and humanitarian crisis caused by the Russian invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022. The analysis is limited to the legal status as of April 3, 2023.

Two research hypotheses are presented by the author. The first one is based on the premise that, compared to the migration crisis of 2015-2016, the EU and its Member States fared much better in dealing with the refugee and humanitarian crisis caused by Russia's aggression against Ukraine. The reason for this is that this time volunteers, national and local non-governmental organizations, civil society entities of the countries receiving refugees, but most importantly, the entire Polish society provided shelter to the Ukrainian population fleeing the war, with the Polish people even allowing Ukrainian refugees into their own homes. The second research hypothesis postulates that the already existing, but so far underestimated or inactive EU aid instruments, such as: the mechanism of temporary protection for refugees, the mechanism of integrated crisis response at the political level and the EU Civil Protection Mechanism, played a crucial role in coping with the massive influx of Ukrainian refugees.

As a result, the author formulates the following research questions: 1. Which EU Member States have helped Ukrainian refugees the most, and why? 2. What was the impact of the highly effective EU legislative, institutional and aid tools indicated above? 3. What was the scale of the economic, financial and humanitarian assistance of the EU and its Member States to Ukraine?

**Rafał Wiśniewski**

**Keywords:** People's Republic of China, Russia-Ukraine war, great power rivalry, Sino-Russian relations.



In analyzing the worldwide consequences of the Russia-Ukraine war, it is necessary to consider the position of People's Republic of China. This results from three major factors. First, the aggressor state, the Russian Federation, has China as a strategic partner. Second, the ongoing armed conflict (which is actually also a confrontation between Russia and US/NATO) coincides with a period of increased rivalry between United States and China. And third, even if China wasn't Russia's strategic partner and Sino-American weren't so tense, it would have been impossible to ignore China's stance on the war. That is due to the fact that PRC is at present the second superpower and a strong candidate for international leadership.

The article aims to achieve the following research goals: 1) Identifying and explaining PRC's position on the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine. 2) Assessing the effects of the current war on China's international position. 3) Identifying the key factors that will determine the future course of PRC's policy towards the conflict.

**Anna Zielińska-Chmielewska**

**Keywords:** production, meat consumption, pork meat, beef meat, poultry, food processing sector, Poland, UE-28/27, world.

The issue of meat production and meat consumption in Poland, EU-28/27 and in the world is currently a debating point, due to the fact that a balanced human diet includes meat and meat products. Objective and comprehensive analyses and predictions for the future development of the meat market are necessary for the ongoing process of upgrading the quality standards of raw materials, monitoring animal welfare in food production, and ensuring a healthy human diet.

The aim of the study is to assess and predict the volume of production and the balance of consumption of pork, beef and poultry in Poland, EU-28/27 countries and worldwide in the

years 2000-2022. The article consists of a theoretical part and an empirical part. Methods of descriptive, comparative, deductive and synthetic analysis were employed in the theoretical part. In the empirical part, a synthetic review of the researched issue was conducted using statistical analysis with detailed charts, tables and summaries.

The final conclusions of the study consist of the author's own research results and the achievements of economic practice.