

## CURRENT DILEMMAS OF EUROPE AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

**Cezary Kościelniak**, *Christian and Secular Contexts of the Idea of Brotherhood and Their Political Consequences*

The main purpose of the paper is to analyze the transformations of the idea of brotherhood in Christian and secular thought and its impact on the current development and social policy of the EU. The paper shows the differences between Catholic and secular approaches to the idea brotherhood. A renewed concept of brotherhood for the UE needs to change the utilitarian background and turn to the selfless attitude towards other human beings and communities in need. The above thesis is located in political philosophy, partially in theology and public policy.

**Tomasz Grzegorz Grosse**, *Can "Differentiated Integration" Lead to a Federation of Europe?*

The main purpose of this article is an attempt to answer the question whether the phenomenon of "differentiated integration" can accelerate a federal system in the European Union. The starting point of the method used in the article is an attempt to define the terms federation and confederation, as well as to distinguish the federal and confederal characteristics of the previous processes of integration in Europe. Then three main models of differentiated integration in the political discourse on the future of the integration in Europe are examined. Analysis of these models indicates whether they favor a more federal structure in Europe or hinder this systemic change, among others, enhancing confederal features of the political system in the European Union. The main conclusions of a theoretical nature are then confronted with the analysis of changes in the European integration during the eurozone crisis (2010-2014). Did it favor reforms towards a democratic federation in Europe? Could the trend towards differentiated integration (or forming the so-called Two-speed Europe) facilitate such federation? Or could it serve very different political and systemic tendencies in Europe?

**Sebastian Wojciechowski**, *In Search of a Model of the European Union's Foreign Policy*

The reforms which have been implemented following the Treaty of Lisbon contributed to a greater efficiency and operativeness of the EU's foreign policy. However, developments in Ukraine, Syria, Iran and elsewhere showed that the undertaken actions are still insufficient and should be continued not only on the institutional or legal level but first

of all in the procedural and political sphere. One of the many shortcomings of the EU's foreign policy is a lack of a universal and clear model by means of which the essence, specificity and evolution of this policy could be analyzed.

The object of the paper is to show several selected ways of presenting the components and determinants that shape the EU's foreign policy and to create a model as an attempt to systematize the above issues. A further object is to demonstrate that the EU's foreign policy, contrary to the opinion frequently expressed today by representatives of political elites or the academia, cannot be reduced to a mere sum of the foreign policies of particular member states. It includes also a range of other elements such as, among others, the goals and actions of EU institutions and ongoing changes in the international milieu or within the EU itself.

### **Michał Tomczyk, The Effect of Europeanization on the Decision-Making Process in the Foreign Policy of Switzerland**

The specificity of decision-making processes in the foreign policy of Switzerland has undergone constant changes in recent years due to European integration processes and globalization. New geopolitical challenges brought the need not only for mental, but also institutional adaptation to the current conditions. These transformations refer to the evolution of decision-making centres, as well as to political processes and concepts. Analysing this particular phase of Swiss decision-making process we can conclude that the effect of internationalization has a significant impact on consultation procedures, reduction in the level of conflict, shift in the distribution of power and the rise of new actors. Thus, this article is an attempt to indicate to what extent European integration influenced the decision-making processes in the foreign policy of non-EU countries. The decision on accession to the Schengen/Dublin agreements serves as a point of reference, which perfectly illustrates the practical dimension of the discussed phenomenon.

### **Magdalena Szkudlarek, Turkey in the EU – Still a Real Perspective or Political Fiction?**

The aim of the article is to attempt an assessment of the change in Turkey's policy toward the European Union since mid-2013. In the author's opinion, all the concepts concerning Turkey's resignation from efforts for membership and its turn toward Muslim countries in the region are precocious and their nature is temporary. A failure of the two main pillars of the foreign policy that has been in force until now – the policy of 'zero problems with neighbours' and aspiration to become a regional leader – prompted the government in Ankara to renew its interest in the European perspective. The article also indicates premises of validity of this scenario and the circumstances that will be necessary for its implementation.

Energy security is one of the pillars of the security of a modern state. Security of energy resources supplies is of crucial importance for safeguarding the vital interests of the state – its duration and development. The above observations also pertain to the European Union as a group of states that intensify their mutual political and economic integration. A majority of the member states are importers of energy resources, especially crude oil and natural gas, a situation that leads to growing dependence of the EU on extra-European energy media supplies.

The Near East region plays a key role in the EU's energy security strategy, particularly in the diversification of energy resources supply. In this context Egypt must be mentioned not only as an exporter of its own resources to the European market, but also on account of its major role in the transit of energy resources from the Persian Gulf region to Europe. No wonder then that the ongoing process of political changes in this country since 2010 has attracted interest also in the perspective of guaranteeing the security of resources supply. The object of the present article is to seek an answer to the question whether the political changes in Egypt after 2010 impacted on the level of EU's energy security.

#### **Adam Kirpsza, Party Group Coordinators in the European Parliament**

Party group coordinators are among the most influential figures in the European Parliament. They decide, inter alia, which of the Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) will be the rapporteur, shadow rapporteur, EP Bureau member or committee chairmen. However, despite their key role, the literature on coordinators is scarce. The article aims to fill this gap. It addresses the question of what factors increase or decrease the chances for the MEPs to obtain this position. For this purpose a special dataset comprising information on MEPs from four biggest political groups in the seventh EP term (2009-2014) was collected. Subsequently, on the basis of the above dataset, an empirical test of hypotheses was carried out, using a logistic regression method. The results are as follows. First, MEPs' experience, expertise, voting loyalty to political group and high attendance rate in plenary sessions significantly increases their chances of becoming coordinators. Second, women are less likely to be appointed as coordinators than men. Third, MEPs from the member states that have acceded to the EU in 2004 or 2007 received considerably fewer coordinator positions in the seventh EP term than their peers from the old states. This means that the discrimination trend in the distribution of key positions to MEPs from the accession countries observed in the sixth EP term (2004-2009) was continued in subsequent years. Fourth, nationality was a crucial factor in allocating coordinators in the seventh EP term. The MEPs from Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, Netherlands, Ireland, Luxembourg, Germany and Sweden were most likely to get this position, while the MEPs from Portugal and Slovakia were at a disadvantage.

**Wojciech Kasprowski, The European Union's Transport Policy in the Activities Undertaken during the 7th Term of the European Parliament**

The paper is an attempt to synthesise activities undertaken during the 7th term of the European Parliament in the area of the European Union's Transport Policy. The systematically improved transport infrastructure helps to bring down barriers between Member States, to generate economic growth, to create new workplaces, and to raise the quality of life for the citizens. Appropriate legislative rules are supposed to aid in the creation of a single internal market and implementation of the rules is to facilitate free circulation of people, goods, and services. Poland remains one of the main recipients of UE regional development programmes. It is therefore necessary to engage Polish Members of the European Parliament in order to guarantee solutions beneficial for Poland.

**Agnieszka Kiszteli ska-W grzy ska, From the History of Polish-Austrian Diplomacy in the 1970s. The Visits of Chancellor Bruno Kreisky**

Federal Chancellor Dr. Bruno Kreisky overcame the peculiar isolation in Warsaw – Vienna contacts. The first major event in the history of mutual relations after World War II was a visit of the then Foreign Minister in Warsaw on 1-3 March, 1960. In the following years this politician paid four more visits in Poland as Chancellor in June 1973, January-February 1975, September 1976 and November 1979. The course of the visits and assessment of their effects provide insight into the role of Austria in the diplomatic activity of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the 1970s. The basic source of information on the assessment of Kreisky's motives as a social democratic politician and a commentary on Austria's foreign policy towards Poland is in the archives of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the years 1972-1980.

**Marta Ryniejska-Kiećanowicz, The Role of Public Diplomacy in Creating the External Image of the European Union**

The aim of this article is to provide an answer to the question of how the European Union uses the tools and methods of public diplomacy, the extent to which these can help achieve international goals and what their functions are. I characterize soft power and public diplomacy, and point out which programs proposed by the EU are of worldwide interest, that concern not only the European Union but also foreign audience. What are the current tendencies and what challenges do countries face on the international stage? As T. Łoś-Nowak rightly notes contemporary foreign policy in the late-Westphalian international system is becoming increasingly complex in the context of a radically changing world. Therefore articulating and implementing foreign policy has become complex and multi-faceted. Beata Ociepka presents public diplomacy as a two-way, dialogue-based form of international communication, directed at the public

abroad, implemented via the mass media and direct channels. Its aim is to shape and foster abroad a positive image of one's country and community by influencing public opinion and thus shaping positive attitudes to the country that sponsors such undertakings. Public diplomacy is to help the European Union achieve its aims on the international stage. Thus, Europe's public diplomacy is an important element of EU relations with the rest of the world and thus plays a part in shaping the EU's reputation and affects the exercise of union interests.

**Bartosz Jankowski**, *Economic Partnership Agreement as Part of EU Development Policy*

This article concerns the subject of Economic Partnership Agreements. The analyzed agreements constitute an essential element of the reform of commercial relations between the European Union and the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States and are a new instrument of the development policy established in 2000 by the Cotonou Partnership Agreement. However, the pro-development character of the Agreements is often challenged. Therefore the purpose of this article is to analyze the Agreements within the context of the development policy of the European Union. The article presents: origins, principles and purposes of the Economic Partnership Agreements, the process of their negotiation, their terms therein and assessment of the potential results of their implementation.

**Urszula Panicz, Janusz J. Tomidajewicz**, *Economic Activity Relocation and Cohesion in EU Member States*

The purpose of this paper is to define delocalization magnitude for cohesion and employment in EU member states. The first part presents general theoretical reflections on the conception of relocation in EU member states. The empirical part of the paper shows directions of delocalization in the EU, and its impact on employment and cohesion. In the results section, it points out that the relocation processes have a varying influence on cohesion, depending on the level of analysis.

**Piotr Kalka**, *Innovativeness of Polish Economy against the Backdrop of the Economies of EU Countries*

The author compares the innovativeness of Polish economy with the economies of the EU countries. He characterizes the reforms of Polish science and their effects, and also reflects on the conditions that need to be met in order to improve the innovativeness of Poland's economy.

In the comparative analysis three groups of indexes are used: factors enabling innovations, criteria of innovative actions implemented by companies and criteria of the effects of such innovative actions. From the analysis it follows that a majority of those indexes are much lower in Poland than the mean for the European Union. The article presents not only the state of innovativeness of Polish economy but also the various circumstances that condition it.

The author expresses the opinion that the reforms of Polish science have already brought some positive consequences such as progressing reduction of multiple full-time employment and the development of scientific-industrial centres. He also describes a whole range of factors that determine the progress of innovativeness of Polish economy. He considers a large increase of overall expenditure on R&D.

**Agata Ludera-Ruszel, Development of Polish Labour Law in Consequence of Poland's Integration with the European Union**

This article deals with European integration from the perspective of labour law. When Poland became a member of the European Union (UE), EU legislation has become a part of its national legal order and autonomous source of labour law in Poland. However Europeanization of Polish labour law – its adaptation to EU legislation – was initiated long before the Polish accession to the UE. This process proceeded in four main stages that differ with regard to the type, pace and justification of introduced changes. The analysis undertaken in this article allows us to formulate the conclusion that the real impact of the UE on Polish labour law legislation is determined by preference rule, direct effect rule and the rule of pro-European interpretation of national law as well as by the jurisdiction of the Court of Justice of the European Union to determine a binding interpretation of national law.

**Sylwia Talar, Joanna Kos-Łabędowicz, Unia The European Union vis-à-vis Challenges of the Internet Revolution**

The use of the potential of continually developing information and communication technologies (ICT) and especially the Internet leads to an increase of innovativeness, accelerates economic growth and impacts on all socio-economic spheres, thus contributing to the improvement of the quality of life of the citizens. These circumstances result in both a growing risk of marginalization of economies and an opportunity for faster economic growth, whereas for the least developed countries there opens a prospect of reducing their backlog.

The object of the present article is to assess the situation and the activity of the EU in the context of challenges related to the Internet revolution and the ongoing transformation in the direction of likewise economy. Based on the information and data gathered from the literature, studies and reports, analysis is undertaken of selected indexes defining the conditions and range of the application of the Internet in EU economy and changes observed in this respect.