

e-ISSN 2300-9918

HUMANITIES | AND SOCIAL | SCIENCES |

Quarterly, Volume XXV
(July-September)
Research Journal 27
(3/2020)

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Krzysztof Surowiec

HSS Journal indexed, among others, on the basis of the reference of the Minister of Science and Higher Education in The Central European Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (CEJSH), ERIH PLUS and Index Copernicus Journal Master List 2019.

Issued with the consent of the Rector

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e-ISSN 2300-9918

Publisher: Publishing House of Rzeszów University of Technology,
12 Powstańców Warszawy Ave., 35-959 Rzeszów (e-mail: oficyna@prz.edu.pl)
<http://oficyna.prz.edu.pl>

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<http://hss.prz.edu.pl>

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FROM THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

We are giving you the next 27th (3/2020) issue of the Scientific Journal of the Faculty of Management at the Rzeszow University of Technology entitled “Humanities and Social Sciences”.

The aim of the Publisher is to raise the merits and the international position of the quarterly published by the Faculty of Management, that is why we are still developing the cooperation with foreign team of reviewers, as well as an international Scientific Council. The Editors have also attempted to apply for international databases; currently the quarterly HSS is indexed in **Index Copernicus Journal Master List, The Central European Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (CEJSH) and ERIH PLUS**.

The Journal has been also included in the list of projects qualified for funding under the **“Support for scientific magazines program”**.

The articles published in this publication are devoted to the broader issues of the humanities and social sciences. They are the result both of theoretical and empirical research. The subjects covered vary considerably and reflect the interdisciplinary nature of the Journal. We do hope that the papers published will meet your kind interest and will be an inspiration to further research and fruitful discussions.

On behalf of the Editorial Board of “Humanities and Social Sciences” we would like to thank the Authors for sending the outcomes of their research. We would like to express particular gratitude to the Reviewers for their valuable feedback that greatly contributed to increasing values of the scientific publications.

With compliments
Editorial Committee

Anna BARWIŃSKA-MAŁAJOWICZ¹
Kamila TEĆCZA²

REGIONAL LABOUR MARKET AND DEPOPULATION – AN ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION IN THE PODKARPACKIE VOIVODESHIP

Currently, the aging population is an important phenomenon facing Europe. This study focuses on demographic changes and their importance for the labour market that are becoming a more noticeable problem in Poland. The conditions of depopulation have a significant impact on the size of labour demand and supply.

The article characterizes selected factors that determine the phenomenon of depopulation and its impact on labour market changes. The main aim of this study is to present the situation on the Polish modern labour market (using the example of Podkarpackie Voivodeship) within the context of assessing the dynamics of changes in selected parameters in relation to the process of current and future depopulation. The researchers used the desk research method and descriptive statistical analysis to analyze the data. In addition, there was an analysis of the following demographic measures: age dependency ratio, total fertility rate (TFR), population growth, and net migration. Additionally, the authors describe the statistical measures related to the labour market such as e.g. registered unemployment rate. The time range includes the years 2012–2018 and forecasts from current time until 2050.

Keywords: regional labour market, depopulation, migration, ageing society.

1. INTRODUCTION

As a result of globalization, sharing open inter-state borders in European Union and intensification of human capital mobility, Polish enterprises have clearly felt the economic pressure related to, among others, increased competitiveness of economies and economic entities (Drzeżdżon, 2011), which led to numerous consequences for the functioning of the labour market.

On one hand, transformation of the Polish labour market linked to the changes in forms of employment³, expansion of the potential area of business activity, flexibility growth of the company's organizational structure and higher number of potential players on the

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³ As a result of enterprises development, so-called outsourcing starts to play a greater role that improves the company's operations by delegating responsibilities outside the company; in addition, new forms of employment began to be used, e.g. job sharing, home office etc.

market, resulted in increased demand for work. What is more, the recruitment of highly qualified staff has also become a priority for employers. On the other hand, the same factors considered from the employee's perspective, contributed to the higher number of job offers, wage competitiveness and expanding the possibilities of free choice of working conditions⁴, which successively changed the profile of the Polish labour market from the so-called "employer's market" to "employee market". Through generational changes, transport infrastructure development and socio-spatial which are the results of globalization on the labour market, the phenomenon of atrophy of employee attachment to both the place of living (Trąbka, 2018) and to the work itself began to be noticed. In the 21st century attention was paid to the process of transition from a "safe" employment system preferred by employers (characterized for example by permanent employment, less frequent job change etc.) to more risky, decentralized (Beck, 2004).

Along with the development of the labour market, another, originally unnoticed and underestimated problem was growing in Poland: demographic changes which lead to the phenomenon of depopulation. In recent years, it is the determinants of elaborated phenomenon that are beginning to increasingly affect the shaping of the supply and demand side of the labour market (Brzychcy, 2011). In the face of depopulation, Polish entrepreneurs began an intensified struggle for an employee, not only national but also the foreign one, changing simultaneously the scale and directions of economic migration.

The effects of depopulation are already noticeable in the current labour market. However, according to the forecasts of the Central Statistical Office (CSO), a population regression, not only related to the decrease the number of Polish citizens, but also to the structural changes in Polish society, will accelerate over the next several years. The consequences will be noticeable for example on regional labour markets, especially in regions where the unemployment rate and the degree of mismatch are already high, creating inefficient surpluses and deficits in professions (Podkarpackie Voivodeship is one of those areas).

The main aim of this study is to present the situation on Polish, current labour market (by the example of Podkarpackie Voivodeship). This paper presents the analysis conducted in the context of assessing the dynamics of changes of selected parameters in relation to the process of current and future depopulation. Methods used in this article, in relation to the existing data related to the undertaken issue, are the desk research method and descriptive statistical analysis. The following demographic and labour market measures were analyzed e.g registered unemployment rate, age dependency ratio, total fertility rate (TFR), population growth and net migration. The time range includes the years 2012–2018 and the forecast reaching the year 2050. In 2018, according to the statistical data of CSO, Podkarpackie Voivodeship was one of two Voivodeships⁵ with the highest equity of people in working age among all inhabitants of the region (62.0%). Labour market participation rate reached the value of 55.4% (4Q2018) which was the 7th position compared to the other fifteen Polish Voivodships. Despite the good economic situation that affects the labour market improvement, Podkarpackie Voivodeship has the highest unemployment rates in Poland and a surplus of demand over labour supply, the consequences of which were visible in the number of vacant jobs at the end of 2018. In this case, it is reasonable to analyze the potential threats to the mentioned labour market with regard to the depopulation forecast.

⁴ And also an increased mobility and the possibility of remote working.

⁵ The next one was the Opolskie Voivodeship.

Statistical data aggregated as part of this publication come from the CSO databases. Graphic interpretations of selected indicators were also presented. The first part of this study contains a theoretical outline, showing the phenomenon of depopulation and its impact on the current labour market. Further fragment presents the dynamics of changes in selected indicators that shows the current situation on the Podkarpackie labour market and also includes an attempt that has been made to analyze forecasts regarding the phenomenon of depopulation as a potential threat to the functioning of the regional labour market. Whole article ends up with a synthetic summary of the taken considerations.

2. DEPOPULATION AS ONE OF THE DETERMINANTS THAT SHAPES MODERN LABOUR MARKET

Depopulation, as a phenomenon of population decline, has accompanied our civilization since the dawn of time. The root of this demographic process were mostly violent and dynamic factors, such as epidemics, wars, natural disasters and mass migrations. The scale of depopulation and its implications in the form of demographic structure changes are examined by demographers essentially in terms of sociological and geographical background. As a result of multi-dimensional area of mentioned phenomenon, differential causes, uncontrolled direction of changes and unclear measurability, the economic aspect, including the impact of depopulation on shaping of labour markets, is often underestimated or not fully appreciated. Nevertheless, depopulation is sometimes mentioned in the literature as one of the main threats to proper functioning of regional, national and global markets (including labour markets), as well as the cause of market imbalance (Guzikowski, 2016). Its economic aspect is extremely important, because taking into consideration depopulation underlying the basis for creating new strategies for authorities (adapted to current realities) that may have support socio-economic development⁶.

The following depopulation (in contrary to previous years) depends on diverse and dynamically changing factors of a dual nature: sociological and economical. Its causes have more unitary nature (which appeared only in scale effect) and they are bound to e.g. individual decisions and motives such as comfort of life, increase of people's awareness, change of priorities etc. In the wake of lack of stability and control of its individual components, current depopulation is a highly dangerous phenomenon. What is more, its evolution and intensification in Europe enforce the reform of the population demographic development approach, which resulted in so-called *New demographics of Europe* concept (Kotowska, Józwiak, 2012).

As factors that shape the modern type of depopulation, related literature includes the following phenomena:

- increased life expectancy;
- low total fertility rates (without the generational replacement guarantee);
- populations age structure changes (ageing society);
- intensive migration (negative net migration) (Dybowska, Widera, 2015).

A further important point to note is that the above factors also determine the labour supply volume and structure and also have a direct impact on the scale and structure of demand on labour market e.g. by amending changes in labour costs and productivity

⁶ The current dynamics of demographic changes will not only result in subsequent changes in the labour market policy but will also affect the form of the national migration policy.

(Dylkiewicz, 2013). In addition, according to the *New demographic* concept, the effect of a chronic decline in female fertility, prolonged life expectancy and increased migration will be permanent changes in all market structures, which in the long-term forecast will translate into the development of European economies slowdown (Kotowska, Józwiak, 2012).

Depopulation issue is also a concern of one of the sociological theory such as *Demographic transition theory* (Warren Thompson, 1929). In compliance with its theses, the demography of a country depends on the degree of development of its economy. First two transition phases (phase I and phase II) relate to pre-industrial and industrial society, are characterized by instability and high birth rates⁷. The actual demographic transition begins in phase III, when the country turns into developing country (increase in life expectancy and participation of people in retirement age in entire population, population growth decrease)⁸. The last, 4th phase apply developed countries, including European countries such as Poland (Grzywna, 2014) and in these economies depopulation occurs in the developmental meaning (increased professional activity of women, family model 2 + 1, career- orientated persons, stabilization of birth rate on low level). Taking into account all these considerations, depopulation may be regarded as antagonism – being both a determinant of development and a factor inhibiting it.

Dynamic changes that occurs in population structures has created some framework for the so-called double aging concept (Adamczyk, 2017), more frequently, discussed in the literature on the subject. Double aging concept focus on the interplay between the dynamics of increase in number of people in particular age category. The post-working age population can be divided into persons aged 65–74, 75–84 and the oldest, i.e. over 85 years of age. Double aging phenomenon may be discussed only when an intensive increase in the oldest population (85+) is noticeable with a less dynamic change in the size of the population aged 65–74. It's also the next threat to well-functioning labour markets, which is related to the intensive increase in the number of the oldest population, unable to work and the relatively low increase in the number of people potentially able to be reactivate (65–74 years of age). This situation may have the additional effect of a change in the demand for employees in the area of medical care (Adamczyk, 2017).

Population shrinking affects both the change in the model of society, and has its consequences for the labour market and the behavior of its players. That is why, this phenomenon should be considered not only in the sociological, but also in economic terms. Furthermore, depopulation results in deepening supply and demand imbalance (lack of workforce, mismatch between qualifications and job offers), which slow down the development and competitiveness of a country. The depopulation effect may also have an impact on the inefficient use of existing human capital (too little activation of the elderly, waste of the potential of national capital).

2.1. Demographic measures related to the phenomenon of depopulation in the labour market context

The classic measure of demographic dependency which affects the labour market is the age dependency ratio related to the phenomenon of population ageing. According to the CSO definition this factor relates to *the ratio of number of people in non-working age to the number of people in working age*. The higher the indicator volume is, the lower supply of

⁷ E.g. countries of the African continent are in mentioned phases nowadays.

⁸ E.g. India, China.

labour force in the labour market. Moreover, age dependency ratio growth is a barrier to countries operating a pension system based on people of working age – an obstacle to receiving health and retirement benefits (such as Poland).

Another measure used in the demographic change analysis is the total fertility rate (TFR). In order to achieve stable demographic development, and thus move towards balance in the labour market, the TFR should strive to 2.10 / 2.15 value (on average there are two children per one woman aged 15–49). Depending on the value of this indicator (Table 1), it can be concluded that the generation replacement is on high or low level.

Table 1. Total fertility rate – generational replacement and consequences on the labour market

Total fertility rate (TFR)	TRF < 2.10	2.1/2.15	TRF > 2.15
Consequences for the labour market	no generational replacement (low fertility trap) labour deficit; imbalance in the labour market;	simple generational replacement (desired condition) stability of the population structure; effective adjustment of supply to demand on the labour market	overpopulation; oversupply of labour; high level of unemployment;

Source: Own study based on (Szukalski, 2015).

The reasons for low fertility ratio can be found in the so-called low female fertility (caused by stress, increased professional activity etc.), as well as in the lack of families financial comfort (Kotowska, 2014)⁹. In this case, another cognitive dissonance is noticeable. The low level of TFR has a negative impact on the labour market, but it is the elements of this market (i.e. insecurity of employment, unsatisfactory pay etc.) that are inhibiting fertility.

The value of the next two factors that determines depopulation, i.e. negative population growth and scale of population migration, has already been noticed in scientific analyzes of Polish interwar period. These factors, closely related to each other, also play an important role in creating labour supply in a country (Jędruszczak, 1964). What is more, population changes are no longer included just as form of the value of the population growth generated by the inhabitants of the area or the demographic dependency ratio. The net migration and the dynamics of migration movements of the society has also become an integral factor that forms scale of depopulation. This is also extremely important due to the proven impact of migration on the development of processes taking place on the labour market (Jóźwiak, 2013).

Current migration processes has become a kind of axiom for the functioning of the labour market (Barwińska-Małąjowicz, Tęcza, 2018). The globalization, development of transport, reduction of barriers related to crossing borders as well as the reduction of language barriers (universal access to education) have improved the mobility of the society.

⁹ Over the past decade, the average age of women for their first child has also increased (according to Eurostat data for the European Union in 2013 it was about 29 years, and in 2018 - about 31 years).

Migration began to be treated as a remedy for the proper functioning of labour markets in terms of deficits or oversupply (the lack of employment opportunities in one country is often a motivator for migration, and to supply another labour market with a deficit in a given profession). In short, according to the macroeconomic theory of migration create by A. Lewis, increasing labour mobility has both positive and negative implications for the national and regional labour markets (Table 2).

Table 2. The impact of migration on the labour market

Migration and labour market		
	Sending country (emigration)	Host country (immigration)
negative implication	loss of native human capital; GDP decline	cultural diversity (risk of employee intolerance); increased labour supply (increased competitiveness between employees)
positive implication	unemployment decline; increase wages to maintain capital in the company's structure; migrants' income transfer; increased qualifications of returning employees.	knowledge transfer; filling gaps in shortage occupations.

Source: Own study based on (Golinowska, 2011).

3. LABOUR MARKET IN THE PODKARPACKIE VOIVODSHIP IN THE FACE OF DEPOPULATION – CURRENT SITUATION AND FORECAST

The population of the Podkarpackie Voivodeship has not changed much since its creation¹⁰. The lack of extreme changes, both in the number and structure of the population, effectively distanced the current analyzes of depopulation as a potential threat to the Podkarpackie economy. Thus, Podkarpackie labour market policy was focused mainly on tackling the high unemployment rate, which was one of the highest value in Poland in 2018 – 8.8% (Fig. 1).

The largest group among the unemployed citizens of Podkarpackie region were aged 25–34 (30.2%)¹¹, followed by those aged 35–44 (23.2%). In addition, in 2018 there were on average 28 unemployed persons per job offer. Over 30,000 new jobs were created, and around 14,000 were lost.

Another paradox is related to the issue of the increase in the number of vacancies on the Podkarpackie labour market. Despite the high rate of economically active persons, as well as the above-mentioned high unemployment rate, at the end of the 4Q2018, there were about 4,000 vacancies (including 1,200 newly created jobs), which means that in comparison to the previous year, the number of vacancies increase on 15%. The highest number of vacancies were registered for craft and related trades workers as well as plant and machine operators and assemblers (Fig. 2). One of the main factor which may determine this

¹⁰ 1999.

¹¹ The higher value of the indicator was noticed only for the Lubelskie Voivodeship – 31.1%.

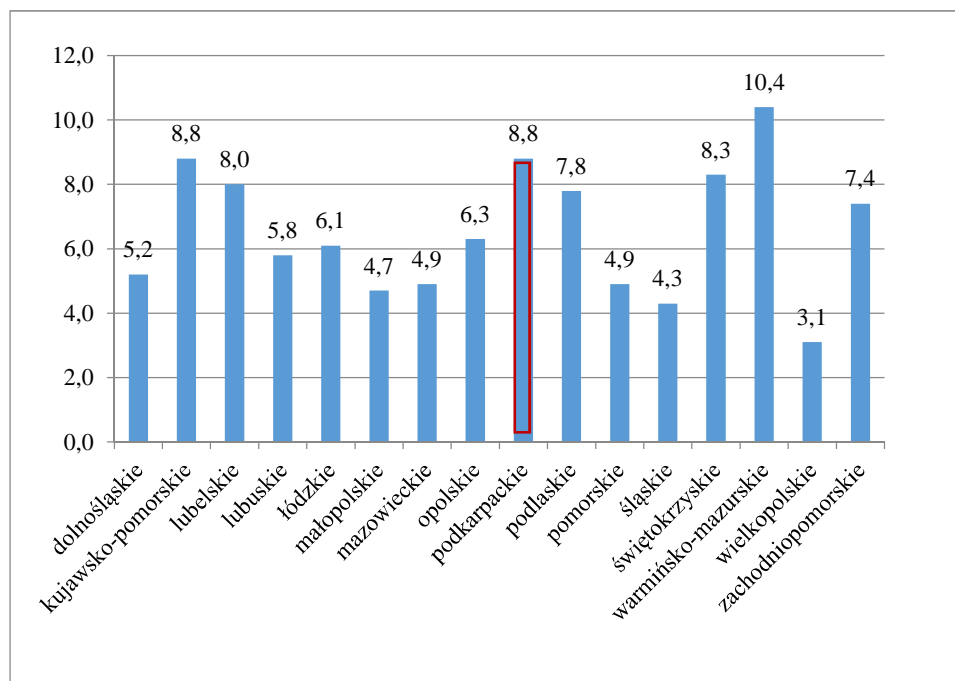


Fig. 1. Registered unemployment rate in Poland by Voivodships in the year 2018 [%]

Source: Own study based on statistical data of Central Statistical Office.

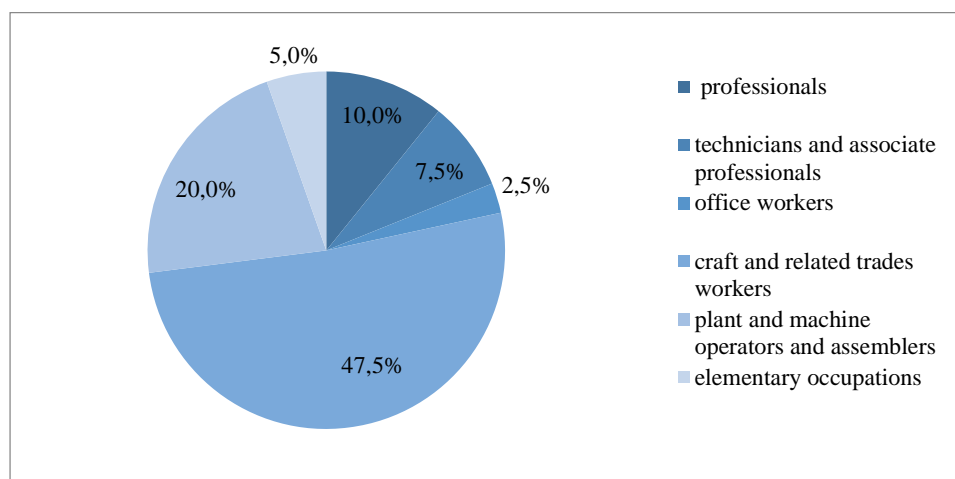


Fig. 2. Job vacancies by selected occupations at the end of the 4Q2018 – Podkarpackie Voivodship

Source: Own study based on statistical data of Central Statistical Office.

situation may be the lack of tailored to the needs between job offers and the qualifications of potential employees. Most of the above professions are professions requiring special qualifications related to the specialist courses or vocational schools (*Education development program in the Podkarpackie Voivodeship until 2020 ..., 2017*).

The analysis of available data indicates that the situation on the Podkarpackie labour market may deteriorate as a result of adverse changes (e.g. the beginning of the depopulation process) observed in recent years. Moreover, some of reaserchers expects that this tendency may be accelerated (Koprowicz, 2017). CSO forecast¹² confirm that in the following years the population of the Podkarpackie Voivodeship will decrease – a decrease of 0.7% in 2020 compared to 2018 (Fig. 3).

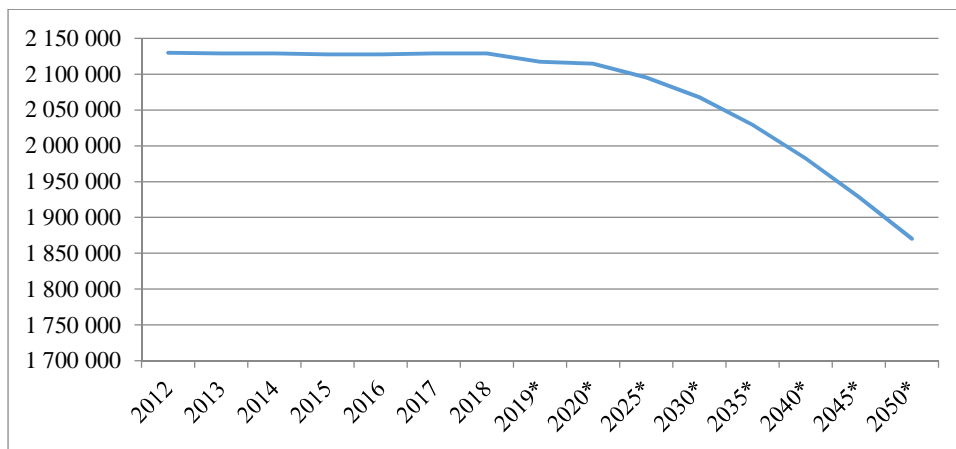


Fig. 3. Population of the Podkarpackie Voivodeship in 2012-2018 with a forecast* (number of people)

Source: Own study based on statistical data of Central Statistical Office

The first signs of a decreasing population in the Podkarpackie Voivodeship were noticed in 2013, however, the dynamics of these changes (0.03% year-over-year) did not liable to endanger the functioning of the labour market. In 2018, Podkarpackie region was inhabited by 2,129.015 people. CSO forecast show that by the end of 2050 this area will be inhabited by less than 2 million people (1,870.343 people – a 12.1% of decrease compared to 2018), which raises legitimate concern regarding the functioning of the labour market¹³. In addition, the analysis of data by poviats shows that only in one of them – Rzeszów, the population will increase slightly until 2050. In the next 25 poviats (including cities with powiat status), an average decrease, compared to 2018, is on approx. 15% level¹⁴.

In order to undertake a meaningful assessment of the impact of population decline on the Podkarpackie labour market, a detailed breakdown of the Podkarpackie Voivodeship population has been done, including economic age groups (Fig. 4): pre-working age group

¹² Forecasts were prepared in 2014 for the years 2014–2050.

¹³ CSO forecast were prepared in 2014. It should be noted that, according to the same forecast, by 2050 in Poland as a country over 11.6% of the population will be depleted.

¹⁴ CSO data. Forecast for 2050.

(less than 17 years old); working age group (aged 18–60/65); post-working age/retirement age group (60/65 years old and more). What is more, the authors specified the sphere of mobile working age (18–44 years old) and immobile working age (the age between 45 and 60/65).

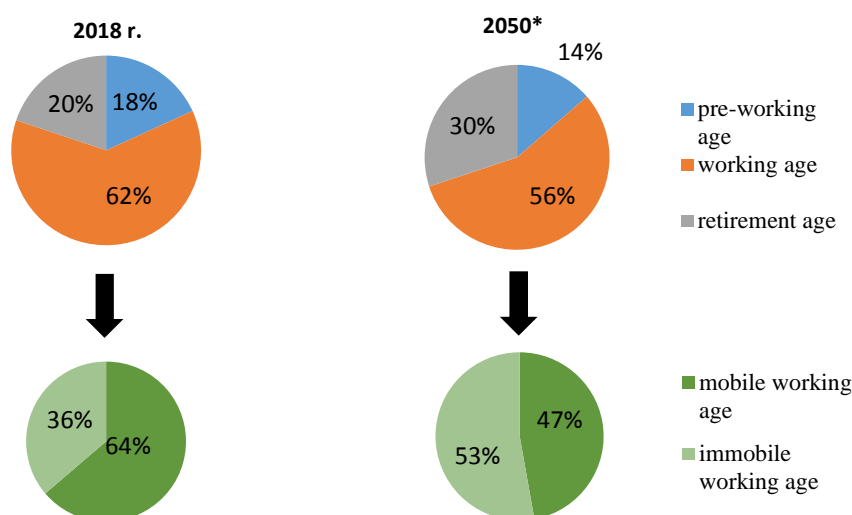


Fig. 4. Population of the Podkarpackie Voivodeship, including economic age groups in the year 2018 and the forecast*

Source: Own study based on statistical data of Central Statistical Office.

The analysis of data presented at Fig. 4 shows that the dominant group of working population in Podkarpackie Voivodeship is a working age group (62.0%). 63.7% of it is the mobile population in working age, which means that the majority of economically active citizens of Podkarpackie are able to change jobs or retraining. However, the slow aging process of the Podkarpackie Voivodeship population is being noticed. According to the CSO data, in the Podkarpackie Voivodeship (in all poviats and cities with poviat status), people in post-working age reached approx. 1/5 of all inhabitants of the each administrative units. In addition, forecast shows negative changes of the Voivodeships age structure.

By 2050, the number of people in working age will decrease by almost 20.1%¹⁵, including the number of people of immobile working age, thus they will represent more than half of all working active people. The current “labour shortage” despite the desirable age of the citizens, leads to the conclusion that a decrease of this indicator (from 62.0% to 56.3%) may aggravate the problem of finding a suitable employee, which in turn may imply a decrease in quality or an increase in services/product cost (salary as a motivating factor for a potential employee) as well as seeking labour resources abroad. Taking into consideration the fact that people of immobile working age do not express a desire to change jobs, this can significantly reduce the scale of emigration (internal and external), which will

¹⁵ Year-over-year comparison. Base year: 2018.

retain the resources of regional human capital. On the other hand, it is more difficult for these people to retrain, which may inhibit the development of the Podkarpackie labour market and the entire economy of Podkarpackie Voivodeship.

In 2018, the demographic dependency ratio for the Podkarpackie Voivodeship, calculated as the ratio of the number of people in non-working age to the number of people in working age, was on 61.4 level and was the second lowest value of the indicator throughout the country¹⁶. This mean that there were about 61 people in non-working age per 100 people of working age (about 2 people of working age per one elderly person). According to the forecast, by 2050 in the Podkarpackie Voivodship the number of people per one person of non-working age will be 1: 1 (Table 3). As it was mentioned in first part of this article such situation may results in increase development of medical care in Voivodeship. It is worth noting that in 2018 professions such as medical staff and carer of the elderly persons were already in shortage professions (*Occupational Barometer...*, 2018).

Table 3. Value of the demographic dependency ratio for the Podkarpackie Voivodeship in the year 2018 with the forecast*

Year of the forecast	pre-working age [numer of persons]	working age) [numer of persons]	retirement age [numer of persons]	non-productive age – the sum of pre-working and retirement age [numer of persons]	age dependency ratio [people in non-productive age per 100 people of working age]	dependency ration per 1 person in non-productive age
2018	387 423	1 319 331	422 261	809 684	61.4	1.6
2019*	376 570	1 354 578	386 399	762 969	56.3	1.8
2020*	373 559	1 350 308	390 728	764 287	56.6	1.8
2030*	324 598	1 293 765	449 320	773 918	59.8	1.7
2040*	281 881	1 226 022	474 549	756 430	61.7	1.6
2050*	254 411	1 053 240	562 692	817 103	77.6	1.3

Source: Own study based on statistical data of Central Statistical Office.

Age dependency ratio for Poland (65.1 persons for non-working age per 100 of productive one) and the Podkarpackie Voivodeship one, reached levels below the European Union average. Eurostat results indicate that in 2017, in the entire European Union, there were about 3 people of working age per one person in non-productive age.

Data summarized in Table 4 shows that the phenomenon of double aging, signaled in a section above, was not observed in the Podkarpackie Voivodship. It is because, despite a higher increase in the number of people above 85 years of age compared to people aged 65–74, the number of people of “middle” age decreased. The group of people aged 65–74 has been growing the fastest since 2016. Thus, the Podkarpackie Voivodship has a larger

¹⁶ The lowest demographic dependency ratio was noted on Opolskie Voivodeship (61,2).

number of people who, with a deficit in the labour market, may be subject to working re-activation, but it will require reform of adequate programs and changes in the labour market policy with a focus on activating seniors.

Table 4. The phenomenon of a double aging society in the Podkarpackie Voivodeship in the years 2012–2018 [persons]

year \ age	65-74	YOY change (%)	75-84	YOY change (%)	85+	YOY change (%)
2012	93 764		66 491		18 992	
2013	99 202	5.8%	66 300	-0.3%	20 344	7.1%
2014	105 716	6.6%	66 554	0.4%	21 711	6.7%
2015	113 297	7.2%	65 796	-1.1%	23 216	6.9%
2016	121 444	7.2%	65 136	-1.0%	24 286	4.6%
2017	129 813	6.9%	64 203	-1.4%	25 243	3.9%
2018	138 810	6.9%	62 889	-2.0%	25 758	2.0%

Source: Own study based on statistical data of Central Statistical Office.

Population ageing process and the acceleration of depopulation in the Podkarpackie Voivodeship are confirmed by statistics on the total fertility rate (Fig. 5).

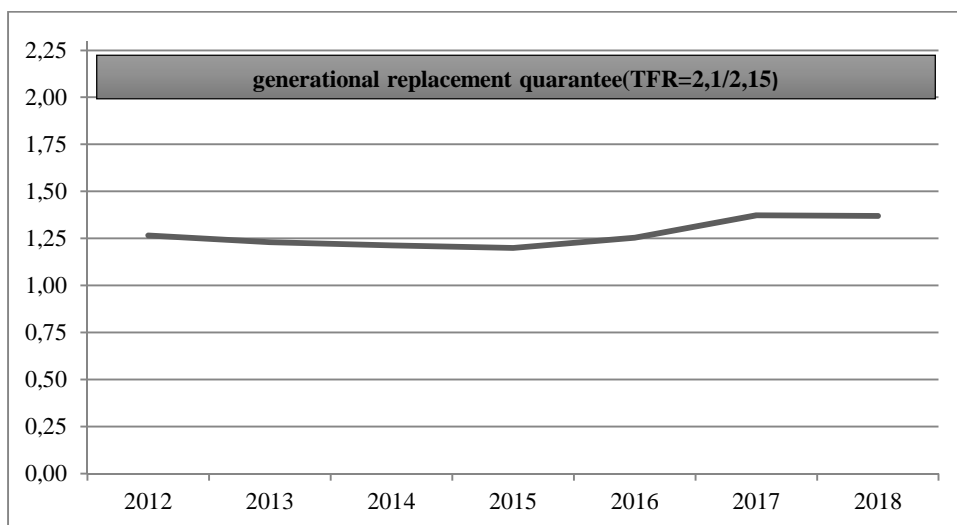


Fig. 5. Total fertility rate in the Podkarpackie Voivodeship in 2012–2018

Source: Own study based on statistical data of Central Statistical Office.

In the years 2012–2015, the TFR decreased, reaching the level of 1.20 in 2015. Thus, four years ago, one woman in her childbearing age (15–49 years old) had an average one child. In 2018, this indicator increased slightly to 1.32 (for Poland the value of the indicator

in 2018 was 1.44). The “aging” of the regional labour market and a reduction in the number of people of working age can, as a consequence, lead to a significant deficit of “young” employees.

It should be noticed that another significant factor for Podkarpackie labour market, that has an impact for depopulation is migration phenomenon. What is more important, Podkarpackie Voivodeship as yet displayed characteristics for so-called migration region. For an in-depth study of net migration for Podkarpackie Voivodeship the authors separated migration into internal and foreign one (for permanent residence).

The Podkarpackie Voivodeship is characterized by a large scale of emigration of inhabitants to other administrative units of Poland (e.g. study trips, emigration), thus creating a negative net balance of internal migration. In 2018, the difference between internal emigration and immigration in Podkarpackie was approx. 3,000 inhabitants, and this number was 31.4% higher compared to the previous year.

The reverse situation has been noticed in net foreign migration. Since 2016, due to the increased economic immigration of workers from Ukraine, the balance of permanent and foreign migrations is positive. This situation, if it stays at this level, may be also a remedy for future problems of the Podkarpackie labour market. Economic migrations from Ukraine (as the dominant country in recent years in immigration to Poland as well as in the Podkarpackie Voivodeship) show a yearly substitution character in relation to regional job deficits (Barwińska-Małajowicz, Tęcza, 2018). In 2018, the highest number of offers submitted by employers in poviats labour offices was related to so-called “simple jobs”, in which foreigners are most often employed (*Occupational Barometer...*, 2018).

Despite the positive net external migration, data that shows a net migration divided into working age groups can cause a concern. In the years 2012–2018, a positive migration balance occurred in the case of persons in non-working age (both pre-working and post-working age). The migration balance of people of working age was negative, which means that people who are potentially active and able to work leave the Podkarpackie Voivodeship more often than supply it (Fig. 6).

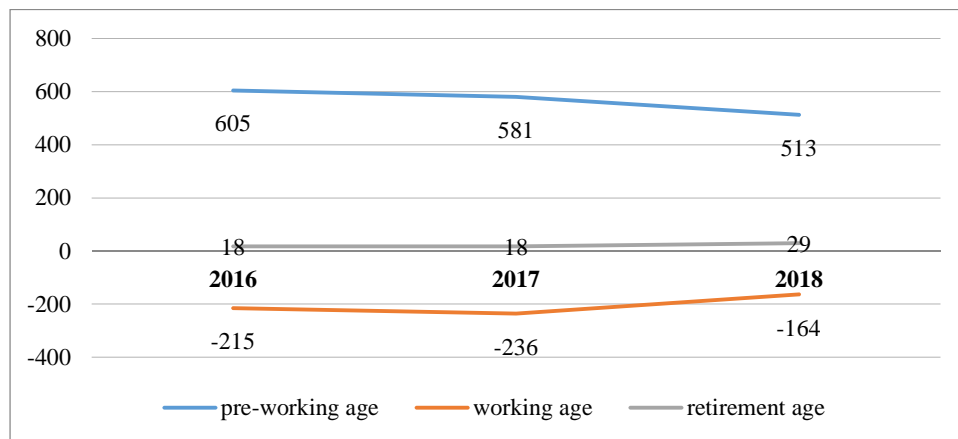


Fig. 6. Balance of international migrations by economic age groups for the Podkarpackie Voivodeship in 2018

Source: Own study based on statistical data of Central Statistical Office.

4. SUMMARY

Despite the difficulties in capturing the economic nature of depopulation, its particular determinants (demographic dependency rate, total fertility rate, net migration) clearly show its destabilizing impact on economic processes. Depopulation affects both macro- and micro-economy structures. In the Podkarpackie Voivodeship, this phenomenon was first recorded in 2013 and from 2018 a long-term forecast shows population decline, which by 2050 will reach the level below 2 million citizens.

In the face of depopulation, the main challenge for the Podkarpackie labour market will be a chronically ageing society, a lack of demand and supply matching of work as well as a negative net, internal migration i.e. the loss of native human capital. Moreover, the demand for professions that already belong to the shortage one (e.g. in a field of medical care) will increase.

Podkarpackie Voivodeship has become more attractive as an investment area (expanding economic zones, attracting foreign capital, creating new workplaces –including in branches of international companies), but lack of labour force may cause a significant slowdown in regional development.

One of the factor that can lead Podkarpackie Voivodeship out of imbalance on the labour market may be foreign immigration (especially from Ukraine), which currently is filling the gaps in deficit professions in the region.

The depopulation process in Podkarpackie Voivodeship is inevitable, which is why effective striving for balancing the regional labour market should also depend on the proper implementation of market strategies developed on the basis of thorough research of current and future population structure of Podkarpackie Voivodeship.

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DOI: 10.7862/rz.2020.hss.25

The text was submitted to the editorial office: December 2019.

The text was accepted for publication: September 2020.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF LEGAL CONVERGENCE IN THE ACTIONS OF THE STATE REGARDING RELATIONS WITH THE CHURCH: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH

This paper examines the influence of state authorities on the approval of church-state relations. State power constantly intersects in various levels with church institutions due to the specific nature of its activities. The church and the state cooperate in the development of philosophical and social concepts, specific social programs, and in determining the progress and direction of society. The article demonstrates that anthropocentric ideas of Christianity are of great importance in ensuring the stability and effectiveness of state and church relations. The social and political partnership of the authorities and the church is always built on the reconciliation of mutual interests of the partner entities, and political relationships can take many forms: dialogue, partnership, cooperation, indifference, rivalry, conflict, domination and subordination. The historical forms of state-church relations are characterized through an in-depth analysis of different countries, in particular Russia and Poland, and we outline prospects for further development. We argue that the Christian worldview is deeply rooted in the Ukrainian mentality, socio-philosophical space, and state-building processes. An existential interpretation of time is revealed as an important constant in the formation and construction of anthropological and social space. It is especially important to take into account the phenomenon of human rights and the education of citizens. We argue that a society with an awareness of the primacy of an individual over society will reject and oppose totalitarian ideologies. In order to ensure the partnership and stability of public authorities and the church, representatives of the state must promote the implementation of Christian moral-ethical and anthropological ideas and ideals into social practice. By being aware of their calling, government officials can positively influence the development of legal relations in the church dimension of being. Priority area should include the educational, legal, and religious dimension of the existing Ukrainian state.

Keywords: church, state, state-church relations, Christianity, Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Christian outlook, religious organizations.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Due to the specifics of state authorities' activity, state power constantly intersects in various levels with church institutions. State and church cooperate in the development of philosophical and social concepts, specific social programs, in determining the progress and direction of the society movement. Social and political partnership of the authorities and the church is always built on the reconciliation of the mutual interests of the partner entities, and political relationships can take many forms: dialogue, partnership, cooperation, indifference, rivalry, conflict, domination and subordination.

In the dimension of state-church relations, the forms of interaction between state authorities and Christian churches are based on the Christian worldview, which is deeply rooted in the Ukrainian mentality, socio-philosophical space and state-building processes. It is especially important to take into account the phenomenon of freedom of the person. In the society, in which there is an awareness of the primacy of personality over society will demonstrate a rejection of ideologies of a totalitarian type, will oppose them. It is substantiated that in order to ensure the partnership of public authorities and the church, the stability of state-church relations, the representatives of the state in their existential-worldview must promote the implementation of Christian moral-ethical and anthropological ideas and ideals into the social practice. Aware of their calling, government officials can positively influence the development of legal relations in the church dimension of being. One of the priority areas of their activity is the educational, legal and religious dimension of the existence of the Ukrainian state

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Being at the point of modernity of the spatio-temporal continuum, we do not always realize the factors that played a major role in the formation of the entities of the political and social dimension. Geographically and historically, Ukraine is directly related to Europe, its culture and mentality. In this sense, the words of Monsignor Joseph Dore concerning Europe can be referred to Ukraine with good reason:

The past history of Europe is unthinkable without Christianity, so it follows that the question of the future of Europe itself can neither be posed nor analyzed unless one considers the fact that Christianity itself can still be capable of nourishing it – even at a price of quite a significant evolution of it (Dore, 2001).

The Christian worldview is deeply rooted in the Ukrainian mentality, in the socio-philosophical space and state-building processes in the territory of our state. Government bodies that are directly and indirectly influenced by the moral, ethical and anthropological ideals of the Christian worldview, paying attention to this impact have a great prospect in the field of constructive change of Ukrainian society to the social ideal. A society where each of its members will have every opportunity to realize their transcendental-semantic mission in the dimension of earthly being. At the same time, in such a society, each of its members will feel happy about living in it.

It is the anthropocentric nature of the Christian religion that will always determine the direction of government in any country. The very core of this anthropocentrism was expressed by J. Dore, saying that

every person, regardless of their age and gender, ethnic origin and nationality ... has a heart and a soul, is a person, and therefore deserves all the respect, absolute respect ... even more: according to the Christian faith, the weaker in danger, the more unrecognized and rejected one is, the more honor and respect, help and support one deserves (Dore, 2001).

Christian, even simply universal, anthropological ideals are a kind of beacon for government officials, on which the advancement and direction of society movement usually depend. Due to the specific nature of its activities, the authorities are in a such a position that they must constantly intersect in different planes with different institutions, including the ecclesiastical ones. An interesting aspect of the influence of state power on the activities of church institutions is presented by O. Isaev (Isaiev, 2011). He takes into account the fact that throughout the history of Russia, relations between the state and the Russian Orthodox Church have been one of the main priorities for the functioning of both, moreover, such interaction significantly influenced the characterization of functioning of elements of state and social development. The researcher considered the relations between these institutions at the level of „subject – subject” and defined through the concept of „state – confessional (church) relations”, which are „a collection of historically evolving and changing forms of interconnections (political, legal, economic, social and cultural) between state institutions and institutional religious entities” (Isaiev, 2011).

In general, relations in the political arena are predominantly dependent on the level of mutual interest and the goals of specific actors involved in these relations. The latter result in various forms: dialogue, partnership, cooperation, indifference, rivalry, conflict, domination and submission. As for the sphere of state-church relations, it can be said that in the long view, considering reaching the ultimate goals, the inherent most democratic and constructive forms are cooperation and partnership. To this state of things both the first and the second institutions came, having overcome a long way of various impasse forms of relationships, which, given the logical continuation, usually led to the realization of their inefficiency, since they always occurred contrary to the main goals of the development of the state authorities and the church institution.

Social and political partnerships between public authorities and the church are always built on the mutual interests of the partner entities. In the development of a variety of both specific social programs and philosophical-social concepts, the contribution of each party to the common cause of the development of close to the social relations ideal is significant. Despite some positive dynamics of the development of such relations for today, O. Isaev also presents the main vectors of their further progress in the perspective of the Russian Federation: 1) improvement of the legal and regulatory framework for cooperation between the authorities and confessions regarding the elaboration of the strategy of the Concept of State Religious Policy; 2) participation in the activity of public chambers, commissions, other consultative structures at the executive bodies of state power; 3) working out at the theoretical and methodological level such forms of interaction as social expertise, social grant and procurement; 4) development and implementation by the parties of the interaction of a single conceptual apparatus: both at the level of household and popular (Isaiev, 2011). It should be noted that the above proposals, in fact, should not differ much in the case of their application in the territory of Ukraine.

The goodwill of government officials is important for building strong partnerships with church representatives. The state as a public institution is called to serve the society in

general and every person in particular. In view of this, the state is to some extent involved in creating optimal conditions for the functioning of a large social organism. It is also worth emphasizing the need for correlation from those institutions that the state cooperates with. For example, in the dimension of church-state relations the appeal of the leaders of the Christian churches of Ukraine to legislators to introduce new ways of registering individuals in Ukraine can be significant. Such an appeal was a reaction to the appearance of bills „About registration of individuals in Ukraine” and „About the Unified Register of Personal Data”, according to which a large amount of information should be collected in the new general register of individuals residing on the territory of Ukraine, which would concern each person. This state of things concerns fundamental human rights and freedoms, among which the right to religion is not the least.

According to these bills, there may be a situation of lifelong fixation for each person of a specific digital code, which will become the main feature of a person, putting aside personal traits. As mentioned in the above message,

In essence, the assignment of an impersonal code to a person that is supposed to be used in all legal relations between the state and the citizen, as well as between the citizens themselves, contradicts the Christian understanding of the meaning of name and in the spiritual and cultural sense breaks the connection of generations (Zvernennia, 2008).

Therefore, a pragmatic approach to using an identification number instead of the traditional attributes of a person in the social dimension, along with the practical benefit, also entails significant dangers in many other dimensions, affecting even the anthroposophical dimension of the human personality being. A closer examination of this problem reveals other negative consequences of such an innovation. In particular, there are doubts about the reliability of the protection of the base itself. In addition, there is a probability of criminal use of such a base against people who are objectionable to the authorities and all people in general.

Of course, in a sense, there is a practical benefit of such an innovation, because the control over socially dangerous individuals and phenomena will be much higher, however, the control will also be greater relatively to ordinary law-abiding citizens as well. This fact is likely to lead to a change in the socio-psychological and philosophical-anthropological space of the latter, and obviously not for the better one, but becoming a catalyst for many of the negative social and psychological issues within a country that would dare to implement these bills. Note that even in countries that are actually at high risk of terrorist activity, although respect for the principles of a democratic society is being traced, other means are being sought to control the situation in the country than those which would be characterized by the total accumulation of information regarding their citizens. In the situation of possible danger of prerequisites for the development of a totalitarian regime, the voice of representatives of religious institutions is heard especially clearly and with parental care it warns against a simplified approach to solving social problems by means of total control over the born free human personalities. Addressing the deputies and their fellow citizens, the leaders of the Christian churches of Ukraine call for awareness of this situation not only in sight of pragmatic relative benefits, but also in many other dimensions of human being:

Remember the responsibility stated in the Constitution of our state to God, to past generations who have passed through to us the spiritual and cultural tradition, surname, name and patronymic, and to future generations who may find themselves in totalitarian slavery, which cannot be exited from in this life (Zvernennia, 2008).

The mentioned example is a significant one, it demonstrates peculiar incompleteness of the decisions made by government that on solving a problem in one dimension, completely overlooks the changes that can occur in other dimensions of human society. In such a situation, one clearly understands the need for a comprehensive and integrative approach where public authorities should at least listen to representatives of other public institutions and simply different professionals, which are relevant to life, in particular, of the human personality and society in general. In addition, in such important matters, it is obligatory to take into account the opinion of experts who, in accordance with their professional responsibilities, deal with the transcendental-axiological level of human being. First of all, this applies to religious figures, professional philosophers and merely sophists. And if the opinion of the first ones, owing to a well-developed administrative and hierarchical church structure that already has some authority in society, is often heard and taken into account, then the scattered voices of others do not have such weight in public space, they mainly rely on the authority of one or another sophist. In this sense, it seems promising to unite such people in an organization to influence society, taking into account the moral, ethical and axiological principles of the transcendental dimension of being.

The state power through its various structures has a real opportunity for direct and indirect influence on the course of social and spiritual life of its citizens. In this sense, the main thing for representatives of state power is the awareness of the importance to build internal public relations on principles that are rooted in the values sphere of life. One example of the phenomenon rooted in the axiological dimension of being may be the phenomenon of Sunday of the Christians or Sabbath of the Jews. At first glance, these phenomena appear to be merely a remnant of past beliefs, a product of a completely different era, after all, representative of the mentality of representatives of the distant past. And as we continue to develop our minds in this direction, we come to the real understanding of Sunday as just a day off that helps to gain strength for a new working week. To some extent, this approach is a reflection of the pragmatic and economic mentality of our time. Adhering to it, the modern man increasingly feels longing for something that would give it a fullness of being, a sense of true life, which would not be limited by the narrow space-time boundaries of its living space. This state of dissatisfaction compels thinking contemporaries to seek what gave our predecessors a sense of fullness of being, that which we lost through the pursuit of improving the material-sensual sphere of life, which resulted in a kind of reduction of human needs, which led to a simplified understanding of the person.

The depth of Sunday's issue is revealed by Johann van der Vloet, quoting R. Guardini in his study:

Sunday is not a matter of an individual person, their religious position or need for rest. This is a community matter, or rather a matter of public order (Vloet, 1994).

Such a significance of the Sunday phenomenon for the social order is based on an understanding of its importance in the anthropological dimension, where Sunday is closely

linked to human dignity. Since the denial of the deep meaning of Sunday leads to a shallow perception of the human personality, which in this case is reduced to an economically consumer being whose main attributes are the production and consumption of the goods. This perception of man is quite widespread in today's technogenic society, where its value is measured mostly by efficiency in the economic sphere – the more products a person can produce, the more valuable he/she is. Such a way of human perception in the conditions of further development of society will further lead to a threat to human dignity.

It is difficult to disagree with Johann van der Vloet that this state of affairs is a kind of response to a new interpretation of time, which covers the phenomena of how modern men understand their being, and, as a consequence, how they build their living space. Indeed, time in the anthropological-existential dimension is not only a certain period of the physical dimension, but also something much larger. As Johann van der Vloet notes,

time is not only what passes, but also existential experience of the past, present and future in their various relationships, among which the present life develops and plays out (Vloet, 1994).

Consequently, in this case we are dealing with an existential interpretation of time as an important constant in the formation and construction of an internal anthropological and general social space. Understanding this dimension of human interpretation of time is the foundation of responsible governmental activity in building existential social relations, where a person will no longer be considered an ordinary, time-influenced object. A person will be that free creator of a peculiar existential-temporal dimension, which will certify its axiological dignity and originality. Whereas, according to the technogenic approach to a person people not only lose their physical and mental health, but also become in fact a kind of hostage to work.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Relations between public authorities and citizens almost always contain an element of violence, since the state is mostly seeking the stability and prosperity that are possible in the absence of conflict between people. However, in this sense, each person seeks something else, namely, activity and diversity. In this perspective, it is possible to understand the idea that government measures weaken the energy of the people. As Wilhelm von Humboldt notes regarding the way the state teaches its citizens,

the actions which the state deems best, it submits as a result of its research and then either straightforwardly prescribes citizens to comply with them by adopting a specific law or indirectly makes them compulsory for citizens, by pursuing some measures, or by encouraging them, relying on their authority, giving certain rewards, resorting to other means of encouragement, or, finally, or simply recommends them to be carried out, giving reasoned reasons (Humboldt, 2009).

In other words, the state finds, in their opinion, the „right” solution and tries in various ways to make it implemented by citizens. Of course, there is a positive thing in this state of things, because they achieve an important goal – the stability of society. However, there are many negative aspects. There is no guarantee that decisions made by the state are correct in a moral and ethical perspective, and this further calls into question the observance of

fundamental human rights. There are many examples of such a false approach in the history of mankind – from the iniquities and cruelty of ancient empires to the terrible experiments on humanity of totalitarian systems close in time to us.

With regard to the attitude of state authorities to citizens, even at the universal level of humanity it is important to take into account the phenomenon of freedom of the human personality. An ideal one in this sense would be an approach similar to that of V. von Humboldt: the best instruction should be manifested as

demonstrate to a person all possible solutions to the problem, thus preparing the person for the independent choice of the most appropriate solution; or, much better, let a person find their own solution, telling in detail about all the difficulties that must be overcome (Humboldt, 2009).

Of course, this would be an ideal approach to human freedom. However, it is not always possible to apply this approach to „state-individual” relationship, given the uneven development of the intellectual and moral-ethical qualities of the individual. Thus, professional experts should develop optimal decisions in power circles, and only then, with wise leadership, should serve as an ideal for the entire community. In this sense, the words of V. Parsons are quite successful saying that

where there is clearly centralized power, there is an expert – sometimes in sight, sometimes in shadow; in agreement with the justification of the government or in the work on its change ... this expert stands with one foot in knowledge and the other in power and prepares secrets for practical use (Parsons, 2006).

Therefore, great responsibility lies with the ideological leaders of various political systems, since the system itself is like a machine blindly controlled by its leaders, which materializes the thoughts of its leaders (Blikhar, 2013).

Together with the complementary function of the church in the society management, the authorities themselves must limit the non-church factors to some extent. Since one of the key tasks of the government is the protection of natural human rights, in particular the right to liberty, one of the main tasks of the government should be to protect the freedom of its citizens both from encroachment from outside and from internal dangers on the part of their countrymen. That is why the government should take care of law enforcement, promote and protect market competition, and support the private sector in all areas of public life. A well-developed private sector can be a kind of guarantor against the arbitrariness of a centralized government, both in the economic and purely ideological fields – it can be a very effective defense of the right to free speech, beliefs and, finally, religion.

Thus, V. von Humboldt, writing about two types of education of the citizens of the state, distinguishes, on the one hand, training as a form of restriction of the rights of the state, and on the other – training as a form of trust in its citizens:

When it comes to adults, only the negative way can be adhered to, giving them complete freedom, which does not remove any obstacles and at the same time generates the strength and the skills needed to overcome them; and a positive way is only possible when it comes to children and youth covered by a truly national public education system (Humboldt, 2009).

No one has any doubts about the need to use a variety of methods in raising children. In fact, public authorities have great opportunities to help children learn about the essence of the Christian faith. Indeed, unlike adults working in different places, children are almost 100% likely to attend educational institutions. This very fact enables the state to reach almost all the representatives of this age group through educational institutions.

D. Sutton, for example, cites the results of the activities of the Department of Religious Education and Catechism, established under the Moscow Patriarchate in Russia. The head of this department, hegumen Ioan Ekonomtsev at the Episcopal Synod (1994), criticized courses in religious studies and history of world religions taught at Russian universities. His criticism was directed mainly at the phenomenon of the particular discontinuity and lack of integration of these courses. In particular, attention was drawn to the fact that although these courses taught historical information, general principles, practices and ethical views of religion, the liturgical life, which, according to the Hegumen, is the source of all of the above, was ignored. D. Sutton called the phenomenon he encountered in the UK a phenomenon of „accounting mentality“. This way of material presentation encourages teachers to impart knowledge in details so that it is easily perceived. This incorrect approach, in his opinion, has far-reaching consequences – on the one hand, such partially simplified material distorts the real state of the subject under study, and on the other, it does not allow students to develop critical and interpretative skills. D. Sutton notes that

talking about Christianity as the source of historical, cultural and aesthetic influences, in essence, means emasculating the very essence of the subject – the Christ-centered and ecclesial vision of salvation (Sutton, 2003).

In France the situation is somewhat different. The dangers of fundamentalism, on the one hand, and the oblivion by young people of the Christian roots of a large part of French culture, on the other, prompt everyone indifferent to this situation to seek a solution. It is remarkable that exactly when Christian democracy had the greatest influence in France (1946) it was proclaimed that the IV Republic was a secular state. Already nowadays, the Ministry of National Education is seriously considering options for renewing the teaching of the foundations of religion, since France has faced with a kind of amnesia of the youth who being cut off from its religious and cultural roots risk eventually to become alien to their civilization.

Another aspect of this state of affairs is the inability, to one degree or another, to understand and communicate with civilizations that, as a result of globalization processes and demographic changes, turned out to be very close, literally became neighbors on the same staircase – people of different faiths: Christians, Muslims, Jews etc. In this perspective, it becomes clear that there is an withdrawal the study of the phenomenon of religion from a secularized state, which leads to not entirely positive results regarding a society that would go the other way. The ideas presented by F. Surman seem to be appropriate when he writes that.

The ideas that F. Surman puts forward when writing that

the expulsion of religious studies outside the walls of rational and politically controlled broadcasting of knowledge causes further pathologization of this sphere instead of its healing... The objective and deep knowledge of the Holy Scriptures,

as well as their own traditions, inspires a significant proportion of young people to hesitate the wardship of the fanatical (Siuremen, 2003).

If the approach that actively promotes a certain system of views regarding children and youth does not cause resistance from the majority of society, then the case of the same propaganda regarding the adult population is not so simple. After all, if some will maintain positions of active influence on the worldview of citizens of the state, others will stand on the position of only presenting facts objectively, leaving adults the right to draw conclusions themselves both regarding reality and their development.

When analyzing these two approaches, it is safe to say that the latter is more hypothetical and theoretical than the one that would be implemented in real life. It is not even a case of the examples of gross manipulation of human consciousness through the media of various political forces, or of numerous multinational commercial companies with their obsessive advertising and the use of various psychosocial techniques to increase sales of their goods. In this case, we focus on those things that often do not fall into the field of view of human consciousness. An accurate illustration of this phenomenon is K. Mannheim's words on Marxism:

In the fight against its opponent – the bourgeoisie – Marxism again reveals that there is no pure theory in history and politics ... behind each theory there are certain aspects of the vision inherent in certain groups... this phenomenon – thinking, by social vital interests – Marx calls ideology (Mannhaim, 2008).

Indeed, it is difficult to disagree with the fact that the perception of any human person is significantly influenced by the socio-cultural environment. Marx just used it politically. This phenomenon of the existence of the individual in the space of ideology, in our opinion, emphasizes this kind of position of the state, where it is eliminated from the formation of ideology, freeing up space for the formation of an alternative ideology, which, in turn, can be both positive and negative, where there can be no assurance that alternative ideology will harmonize with the anthropological and transcendental-axiological dimensions of human being. Hereof conclusion follows that the state, as an institution, called upon to ensure socio-economic stability and conditions for transcendental-meaningful development of its citizens, is obliged to shape their correct socio-philosophical habitat. An environment that would be guided in its activity by high moral and ethical principles and ideals of the axiological dimension of being.

Of course, the situation of impossibility of removing the state from the education of its citizens leads to an understanding of its deeply anthropological mission, and this leads to a desire for a deep understanding of the mystery of the human individual. Such a need for an anthropological orientation of the authorities activity encourages the study of the value space of man. In this sense, D. Hildebrand's words are important saying that

the created spiritual personality of man, in essence, is purely objectively oriented to the world of values, and above all to God, the embodiment of all values. The essence of a person can only be understood in view of this orientation and connection (Hildebrand, 2000).

In the context of our study, the influence of public authorities on the establishment of state-church relations, it seems that in order to ensure the stability and fruitfulness of these relations, the representatives of the state in their existential and ideological dimension should contribute to the ideas propagated by representatives of church structures. Such a peculiar transcendence towards the recognition of the axiological dimension of being with its clear hierarchical structure of values and recognition of the priority, basically, of spiritual values, even in the political dimension of being, gives great hope for the successful realization of not only creative and constructive relations with representatives of the church but successful implementation of positive plans in the political dimension. Successful will be a statesman who is aware of the tasks of his government, as well as those from whom he received power and to whom he should serve. In a democratic state, it is the will of the people that gives the government legitimacy. A conscientious elect should also understand the responsibility that falls on his shoulders. If the elect is a believer, then he must also be aware of his place in the axiological power structure of being, he must know that he is simply an instrument in the hands of the true ruler. With this awareness, one will never move to usurp power and use the latter for personal gain.

The agreements between the Polish government and the bishop of the Roman Catholic Church, which gave the church representatives many rights, can be considered significant. The agreement itself was drawn up in 1950, and it is notable that it was not a new concordat, since the pope did not sign it. The agreement was accepted by the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland. According to this agreement, the Polish Catholic Church maintained contact with the pope, who was recognized as the highest authority in the church in matters pertaining to church jurisdiction, moral aspects of life and the dogmatic truths of the faith. The recognition by the state of religious freedom did not limit the authority of the pope in the three areas listed above only, while in other cases the bishops should be guided by the interests of the state. The latter, in turn, also went towards the church, as it gave a guarantee of stability and invariance of the modern system of religious education in school. An interesting form of cooperation in this area was that representatives of both education and church authorities had to participate jointly in the implementation of the religious education program and the appointment of inspectors to monitor the progress of religious education. Moreover, religion teachers were given equal rights with other teachers, which consequently affected wages. An eloquent example of the desire of the state to meet the church was that in places where there were schools without religious education, parents were given the opportunity to send their children to schools where religion was taught.

Constructive cooperation between the church and the state was not limited to the sphere of education, it penetrated into many other spheres of social life. Thus, students of religious schools were granted deferrals from military service, and even more – clergy and monks were generally released from military service. It should also be noted that priests were always present in hospitals, military units and prisons. The Church, for its part, supported a state for such a wise position. As O. Bogolepov notes,

for maintaining the connection with the Holy See and the current internal structure of the Church, for the possibility of open worship and continued (even if limited) educational and charitable activities, the bishop of the Polish Church promised obedience to the new system, to urge the population to support its intensive work and criticize hostile activity of the clergy (Bogolepov, 1958).

In addition to the influence of nation-wide ideology, every member of society is in one way or another influenced by certain events, especially the resonant ones, that take place in their life. In this case, much depends on the individual responsible for shaping the interpretation of events. In other words, it is the moral priorities of the interpreter and the purpose with which one implements it that will be very important for shaping public opinion about an event. A society in which there is an awareness of the primacy of the human person over society will always oppose the perception of totalitarian-type ideologies. It is also worth mentioning the phenomenon, which in a certain way can be associated with religious structures and which in some ways resembles a totalitarian approach to reality. We mean a situation where religion is „perceived as a fundamental basis that divides people into 'friends' and 'strangers'" (Farxitdinova, 2011). The consequence of this state of things will be an increase in tension within society which will in no way fit either the goals of the state or the church. It is in this perspective that another direction emerges for the actions of state authorities, which should guard the religious freedom of their citizens, without exerting in the legislative and other dimensions the advantages of any one religious group. In the context of Ukraine, the actualization of this principle will mean, at the very least, the non-interference of public authorities in the process of identifying one of the denominations of Ukrainian Christianity as the main denomination, with the appropriate involvement of public funds for the development of it solely, that further threatens the use of the latter in mercantile-ideological interests by one or another political force. Public authorities should stand for the peaceful coexistence of these denominations and other religious communities and use various means of influence to prevent the creation of religious extremism in our country. Since in both the socio-philosophical and religious perspectives the society is not yet perfect, the state, according to K. Bart,

has a task in the world not yet saved by the Church, to worry – within the limits of human reason and human capacity, in the case of danger and use of force – about law and freedom (Bart, 2006).

4. CONCLUSIONS

Thus, it is difficult to overestimate the role of public authorities in establishing legal relations with the church. The fact is that the teachings of the church on the basic principles of life have been unchanged for centuries. The church has always stood guard over the observance of natural human rights. The essence of its activity was preaching high standards of transcendental-spiritual dimension and taking care of observance of moral and ethical principles in the life of society. In an ideal scenario the state should build its activities in accordance with high moral and ethical principles. But in reality, there are often distortions in its functioning, the last negative poles of which are a totalitarian approach to governing the state and an approach whereby the state actually shies away from leadership, freeing up space for the influence of other, often not entirely positive factors. Despite the fact that representatives of the church structure are always ready to build constructive relations with the state, it is the state authorities that have a great responsibility for establishing such relations and their approval. The source, the engine of their construction should be the awareness of state authorities of their calling and responsibility. Properly understanding their calling, government officials can have a significant positive effect on the development of legal relations in the church dimension of being. One of the priority spheres of their

activity can be considered educational, legal and religious dimension of the state. In all of these spheres, with a prudent, wise approach, considerable success can be expected in building strong and complementary relationships with the church as an institution-representative of the transcendental-axiological dimension of being.

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DOI: 10.7862/rz.2020.hss.26

The text was submitted to the editorial office: December 2019.

The text was accepted for publication: September 2020.

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PHENOMENON OF “COMMUNICATIVE ACT”: A PSYCHOLINGUISTICS PERSPECTIVE

The article presents the theoretical study of the phenomenon “communicative act” from the point of view of psycholinguistics. The article describes different approaches to the phenomenon “communicative act” and provides a representative and analysis of the main structural components. The article proves the text to be the basic unit of communication, determines the universal characteristics of the text as the basic manifestation of the communicative act (there are 11). The purpose of the article is to present the communicative act theoretically in an optimally wide range of problems that are relevant to modern science in general, and psycholinguistics in particular, and also to represent the theoretical analysis of the universal characteristics of the text as a basic manifestation of the communicative act. In addition, the article presents the data from a psycholinguistics proper perspective and also incorporates perspectives from psychology, philosophy, and philology that are necessary from the point of view of the essence of the problem. It is determined that a speaking person acts as a subject of communication, appearing at each moment of his/her communication simultaneously in three parts, as a set of “personality” phenomena – as a personality 1) language, 2) speech, and 3) communicative. It is shown that communication can be structuralized. The basic unit of communication is a communicative act, understood as a functionally integral piece of communication, the core of which is a text (a monologue, a dialogue or a polylogue). In each communicative act, four components are distinguished and, therefore, four aspects 1) the extra-linguistic aspect; 2) the semantic aspect; 3) the cognitive aspect; 4) the proper linguistic aspect.

Keywords: communication; communicative act; discourse; text; personality; psycholinguistics; psycholinguistic characteristics; psycholinguistic researches; universal characteristics of text.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Having crossed the half-century frontier, psycholinguistics is confidently moving from a multidisciplinary science, born as a result of a combination of the object of linguistics and the subject of psychology, to an independent scientific branch of knowledge with a clearly defined methodology of psycholinguistic research, in particular, with developed and applied psycholinguistic toolset. Accordingly, there are more and more publications on the problems of psycholinguistics, there is a distribution of the latter to solve many individual and social problems. At the present stage, psycholinguistics exists as an independent discipline, whose premises can be found in the history of science. The origins of psycholinguistics are in the writings of famous linguists, psychologists, physiologists: W. von Humboldt, W. Wundt, A.A. Potebnia, I.A. Boduen de Kurtene, A.A. Shakhmatov, L.S. Vygotskii, I.M. Sechenov, S.I. Bershtein, A.N. Leontev, A.R. Luriia, N.I. Zhinkin etc. Most studies on the history of the development of psycholinguistics dwell on the determination of three main stages of its development, of which the first is associated with the name of Ch. Osgood and is called associanist, the second is named after N. Chomsky, and is known as transformational, the third – with the names of modern scholars (V.P. Belianin, O.O. Zalevskaia, D. Carroll, A.A. Leontev, J. Ferguson, R.M. Frumkina, T. Harley etc.), and is called the modern one (Zasiekina, Zasiakin, 2008). The main difference of the latter is the transition from the sentence to the complete text/discourse, i.e. to communication. Significance takes on the context and within the limits of psycholinguistics the meaning of the word because it is constructed in accordance with the specific situation of the subject's life or academic experience.

Psycholinguistics studies the processes of production and understanding of the text, the social, communicative conditions for the course of these processes, taking into account extralinguistic factors and the psychological significance of the language tools used. Moreover, the text as a phenomenon of linguistic and extralinguistic reality is a complex phenomenon that performs various functions: it is a means of communication, a way of storing and transmitting information, and a reflection of the individual's mental life, and a product of a certain historical era, and a form of cultural existence, and a reflection of certain sociocultural traditions. That is why there is such a variety of definitions of the text, such a variety of approaches to it. The construction of a psycholinguistic model of text perception should be based both on the basis of taking into account the substantial and formal characteristics of the text, as well as the psychological patterns of text perception by various recipients.

The issues about the psychological patterns in language, about the unconsciousness in language, about the correlation of consciousness and unconsciousness in connection with language and speech activity have been discussed by N.V. Krushevskii, F.F. Fortunatov, F. de Saussure, A.A. Potebnia, F. Boas, R. Jakobson etc.

Although scientists have had different attitudes to the relationship between language and psychology, they have been unanimous in that the distinction between psychology and linguistics is not good for both disciplines. In terms of methodology, this approach impoverishes linguo-psychology and undermines its foundations, and deprives linguistics of prospects and the humanitarian base. Thus, the definition of the place of communication in general and the communicative act in particular in the context of psycholinguistic research, analysis of the main directions of development of psycholinguistics in the new century, as well as the identification of the main directions of psycholinguistic research in

the field of communication at the present stage of domestic and foreign thought is gaining timeliness (Kalmykov, 2018). The problem of understanding the text is one of the core problems under the conditions of modern information and communication society. It has been actively investigated by the scientists and scholars of different countries and areas of humanitarian science (Dijk, Kinch, 1998; Zalevskaia, 2015; Cummine, Cribben, Luu et al., 2016; Foucart, Romero-Rivas, Gort, Costa, 2016; Hubers, Snijders, Hoop, 2016; Bitan, Kaftory, Meiri-Leib et al., 2017; Bosco, Gabbatore, 2017; Sharon, Thompson-Schill, 2017; De Freitas, Peruzzi, Deacon, 2018; Hahne, Goldhammer, Kröhne, Naumann, 2018; Houghton, 2018; Murray, Starr, 2018 etc.).

The *relevance* of the study is due to the fact that the modern linguist cannot be familiar with psycholinguistics, at least with its foundations, and with the theory of communication as one of the main areas of psycholinguistic research, and is also predetermined by the need for a theoretical and practical study of psycholinguistic factors that influence on the origination and perception of the text in the process of communication, the study of specific and universal features of communication, characteristic of communication of representatives of different psycholinguistic historical-cultural communities.

The *originality* of the study is to consider theoretically the universal characteristics of the text as the main manifestation of a communicative act, the main focus is on structuring the basic unit of communication – the communicative act, as well as on the phenomena of a psycholinguistic nature that are behind the verbal form of speech and language behaviour and are included in the psycholinguistic plan of communication.

The *purpose* of the article is to present the communicative act theoretically in an optimally wide range of problems that are relevant to modern science in general, and psycholinguistics in particular, and also to represent the theoretical analysis of the universal characteristics of the text as a basic manifestation of the communicative act. At the same time, the article presents the data not only of psycholinguistics proper but also of psychology, philosophy, and philology, which seems necessary from the point of view of the essence of the problem under discussion. All of the above said determines the specific objectives of this article: 1) to give the reader an idea of the most significant and most interesting data which have had a huge impact on the development of psycholinguistics, have determined its current face and have reflected the main ideas of psycholinguistic research on the problem of communication; 2) to present the theoretical points of view of psycholinguists, psychologists, philologists on the problem of the communicative act; 3) to determine the universal characteristics of the text as a basic manifestation of the communicative act; 4) to represent the totality of “personality” phenomena (a speaking personality, a language personality, and a speech personality) and to clearly distinguish them.

2. METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF THE RESEARCH

The following theoretical methods are used in the research: the analysis of scientific sources devoted to the problems of psychology, linguistics, psycholinguistics, the generalization of scientific investigations, the interpretation of communication laws, the separation of the baselines, the characterization of the discussions selected taking into account their intentional and purposeful orientation, conclusion, and the method of observation and introspection.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The emergence of psycholinguistics was due to the fact that there became recognized the necessity of developing a new scientific approach that could overcome the narrow departmental study of facts and thereby could provide new perspectives for their vision and explanation (Zalevskaia, 2013). The fact is that traditional linguistics and traditional psychology could not give a theoretical understanding and practical solution to a number of problems, such as, for example, language training (native and foreign), speech education of preschool children, speech impact, speech restoration after brain injuries, etc. In addition, according to scientists (Leontev, 1999; Frumkina, 1995; Zalevskaia, 2013), traditional sciences did not describe language as a psychic phenomenon. Psycholinguistics was designed to solve these and other problems.

The subject of psycholinguistics is extremely wide, in the focus of its attention today there are the following main areas: mechanisms for understanding, memorizing and producing speech; processes of generating and understanding speech; functioning language in the process of generating and perceiving speech; mechanisms for using language; mental dictionary; mastering the language (native, foreign); ontogenesis of children's speech, congenital language mechanisms, language environment of the child; the phenomenon of bilingualism; human speech mechanism and peculiarities of its formation and functioning; language (speech) disorders; intellectual processes in communication (Parret, 1993).

At the present stage of development, the following problems are the most relevant for Ukrainian and foreign psycholinguistics: non-verbal components of communication; correlation of the phenomena "language – man – society"; the phenomenon of the language personality; the image (picture) of the world; ethnocultural specifics of communication; intercultural communication, aspects of the language pictures of the world; theory and practice of translation (Krasnykh, 2001; Slama-Cazacu, 2007).

Psycholinguistics exists and develops in close genetic connection with psychology. At the same time, psychology is engaged in interpersonal communication, one of the main means of which is language (Leontev, 1999). Psycholinguistics is most closely associated with traditional linguistics, as it deals with a wide range of problems directly related to language. The origin and development of a new direction in psychology – cognitive psychology, which involves the study of the role of cognitive processes in speech activity, has led to the emergence and parallel development of cognitive linguistics, the aim of which is to study and describe the "conceptual sphere" (conceptosphere) of a person. Based on the language picture of the world, cognitive linguistics is engaged in studying the language consciousness, the language image of the world. The development of civilization, the emergence of new technologies has led to the fact that contacts with representatives of other cultures have begun to occupy an increasingly important place in human life. As a result, studies of interethnic, intercultural contacts, unfortunately, and conflicts are developing more and more actively. All the above mentioned has contributed to forming a new scientific direction in psycholinguistics – ethnopsycholinguistics. Psycholinguistics is also closely related to sociolinguistics, since, studying communication in the broad sense of this word, it cannot but consider the subject of communication – man and human society.

Man is a social being, social in nature, human in man is generated by his life in a society, in a culture created by man (Leontev, 1999). Consequently, human consciousness is a reflection of reality, refracted through the prism of socially developed language meanings, concepts, and individual human consciousness is possible only under the conditions of the

existence of public consciousness. Many psychologists and psycholinguists use consciousness and language consciousness to describe one and the same phenomenon – man, “To have consciousness is to own language. To own language is to own meanings. The meaning is a unit of consciousness (language, verbal meaning). Consciousness with this understanding is significant” (Leontev, 1994). By the definition of I.A. Zimniaia, “language consciousness is a form of existence of individual, cognitive consciousness of a homo sapiens, a speaking man, a communicating man, a man as a social being, as an individual” (Zimniaia, 1985). So, consciousness has a language nature, manifests itself in language, and language is the best reflection of human thought. It follows from what has been said that language consciousness is one of the aspects of human consciousness, that area of consciousness that is associated with the speech activity of man.

The picture of the world and the language picture of the world are closely connected with consciousness and language consciousness. Modern psycholinguists believe that the concepts of “consciousness” and “picture of the world” (the image of the world, the model of the world) are close, if not synonymous. The picture of the world is recognized as a reflection of the world in the head of man. Moreover, the picture of the world is understood as a reflection in the human psyche of the subject surrounding reality, mediated by objective meanings and corresponding cognitive schemes and amenable to conscious reflection (Leontev, 1999), as a result of the past of the people to which we classify ourselves (Ufimtseva, 1993). The picture of the world necessarily bears a national cultural imprint. The language picture of the world is the world in the mirror of language – the secondary, ideal world in language expression, the totality of knowledge about the world, reflected in vocabulary, phraseology, grammar. Each natural language reflects a certain way of conceptualizing (perceiving and organizing) the world. The meanings that are expressed in language form a unified system of views, which is a kind of “collective philosophy”, which all the speakers of the given language adhere to as mandatory. The language picture of the world is a kind of material form in which the picture of the world is fixed and realized.

For socialization, becoming a member of a society, a person, therefore, an individual needs to learn, appropriate the experience gained by the members of the given society, achieve spiritual and material culture, and learn to use them. In other words, in order to become a member of one or another national-linguistic-cultural society, it is necessary to appropriate the consciousness of this society. One of the main channels for obtaining information in the process of socialization of an individual is language, which, according to the idea of E. Sapir, is “a powerful factor in socialization, perhaps the most powerful of the existing ones” (Sapir, 1993). This position of language is due to the fact that in the system of language signs, the social being of people is modeled, and displayed. Language is a part of social memory, a set of meanings that make up the indicative basis of activity not only of speech one but also of the other one, for example, cognitive. In this regard, it is necessary to form various competencies of an individual: language, speech, communicative, as well as cultural competency (Kravchenko, 2017).

The phenomenon of a language personality is closely connected with the above said, the teaching of which has recently become increasingly popular among researchers. But so far there is no single interpretation accepted and recognized by all. The spread of its understanding is wide – from the subject, individual, author of the text, native speaker and even just an informant (passive or active) to the language picture of the world and knowledge of the world, knowledge of language and knowledge about language, up to language national identity, the mentality of the people (Krasnykh, 2001).

Iu. N. Karaulov proposes a structure of linguistic personality, consisting of three levels: 1) verbal-semantic, 2) cognitive, 3) pragmatic (Karaulov, 1987).

The verbal-semantic level assumes normal knowledge of the natural language for the native speaker, and for the researcher – the traditional description of the formal means of expressing certain meanings.

The cognitive level, the units of which are notions, ideas, concepts, developing in each language individuality into a more or less ordered, more or less systematized “picture of the world”, reflects the hierarchy of values. The cognitive level of the structure of the language personality and his/her analysis involves the expansion of meaning and the transition to knowledge, which means that it covers the intellectual sphere of the personality, giving the researcher a way through the language, through the processes of speaking and understanding to knowledge, consciousness, processes of cognition of man.

The pragmatic level includes goals, motives, interests, attitudes, and intentions. This level provides the analysis of a logical and conditional transition from assessments of his/her speech activity to the understanding of real activities in the world in the language personality (Karaulov, 1987).

Scientists have been studying the first verbal-semantic level for a long time, the last two levels have become the object of close attention of researchers in recent decades, which is associated with the development of psycholinguistics, the theory of acts, cognitology and cognitive linguistics.

In connection with the problem of the language personality, the question arises of the relationship between language and speech, which scientists have been pondering over since the times of F. de Saussure. Currently, it is considered by a number of researchers through the prism of the language personality, and the language personality is comprehended in the light of the indicated dichotomy. The logical conclusion of such studies has become the thesis of the presence of not only the phenomenon of language personality but also the phenomenon of speech personality. Moreover, “any language personality is a multilayered and multicomponent paradigm of speech personalities” (Klobukova, Mikhalkina, 2001). Otherwise, according to the words of Iu. E. Prokhorov (Prokhorov, 2007), if a language personality is a paradigm of speech personalities, then, on the contrary, a speech personality is a language personality in the paradigm of real communication. In A.A. Leontev’s opinion, the language personality is correlated with language as an object, and the speech personality is correlated with language as an ability (Leontev, 1999).

The language personality and speech personality are paradigmatic phenomena, and if the language personality is the paradigm itself, then the speech personality is an element of such a paradigm. But, as it is known, the system manifests itself in functioning. In the presented case, functioning the system (paradigm) is language as a process. The last component corresponds not to the language and speech personality, but to the person participating in the communication at the given moment, that is, the “communicative” personality. Thus, the totality of “personality” phenomena is presented as follows: a) *a speaking personality* is a person, one of the types of whose activity is speech activity, covering both the process of generating speech and the process of perceiving speech works; b) *a language personality* is a person who manifests himself/herself in speech activity, having a certain set of knowledge and ideas; c) *a speech personality* is a person who realizes himself/herself in communication, expresses and implements one or another communication strategy and tactics, selects and uses one or another set of tools, both linguistic and

extralinguistic; d) *a communicative personality* is a specific participant in a communicative act, actually acting in real communication.

However, it should be noted that such a distinction between personality phenomena is conditional. Each human, as a “speaking person” at each moment of his/her speech activity, acts simultaneously as a language personality and a communicative personality. The main channel of socialization of an individual, the appropriation of social means, the achievements of the development of previous generations, cultural information is communication, in which an individual is included since childhood. Discourse or communication is one of the parties of the interaction of people in the process of their activities. The basic unit of any discourse is considered the text.

Text as a phenomenon is a very multidimensional, diverse and multifaceted phenomenon. In this regard, there is no, and, perhaps, there cannot be a single understanding and definition of the text. In the framework of the scientific paradigm that has developed lately and which integral component is psycholinguistics, the text is considered primarily as a product of speech and thinking activity. However, at present, it is absolutely obvious, and few people reject the assertion that the text as such (or its part, fragment) can be expressed by non-verbal means. In many studies, the text is considered precisely as a “creolised” product, expressed both by verbal and non-verbal paralinguistic, visual, etc. means. Today, even the most “persistent” linguists and psychologists do not dismiss the fact that in the direct communication up to 80% of information is received by communicants through non-verbal channels, and agree that it is impossible to study speech without taking into account extralinguistic factors affecting it. In other words, to analyse speech behaviour, ignoring the general context of communicative behaviour, not taking into account the inclusion of speech activity in the general circle of other activities (and this is one of the postulates of psychology and psycholinguistics), not taking into account the situation in which communication is carried out, and factors affecting the processes of generation and perception of speech work, without considering the linguistic (linguocultural) consciousness of the communicants, today does not seem justified, expedient and correct. The “paradox of the text”, its verbal-non-verbal nature, is explained by the fact that from the whole spectrum of means of expressing some meaning (understood in this case from the standpoint of psycholinguistics), the author selects not only verbal, but also non-verbal (paralinguistic) means (for example, facial expressions, gestures and so on; much has been written about this (for example, by E.A. Zemskaya, 2007, G.V. Kolshansky, 2013, and other researchers).

Speaking of a comprehensive psycholinguistic analysis of the text (as one of the possible approaches), it should be borne in mind that almost all non-verbal components of communication and even all “dumb replicas” can be verbalized. Metaphorically speaking, the text can be presented as a finished picture, a “snapshot” (a kind of “clean” example of this approach is the understanding of the text by I.R. Galperin and his followers: the text is considered as a prepared, finished product that has undergone some processing (Galperin, 2008). If we continue our metaphor, discourse is a process and what surrounds it. Thus, it can be said that the text is what happened when the “artist” (author/authors of the text) put aside a brush or pencil. It can be a drawing, an instant sketch or a complex canvas. But the work on the product is completed, and what has been shaped turns into a life of its own. Discourse is not only and not so much what comes out of the author’s hands, but also all the sketches in the margins, and all the sketches, and drafts, and the process of work, and the workshop, and the artist (author) himself/herself. Of course, with the perception of the

text (and the text lives at the moment of its generation and perception by the recipient/recipients), all the aspects that are relevant to the discourse, all the parameters of the latter, are fundamentally important. And this is understandable since the text is an integral “element” of discourse. We speak more clearly and categorically: for us, the text is the main unit of discourse.

Discourse and text are impossible outside the communication process (much has been spoken and written about it by linguists and psycholinguists); it has been emphasized and repeatedly said that the text is a unit of communication; however, we will make a reservation right away that for us communication is not only a process of direct communication: it can be “scattered”, “distanced” in time and space). Communication is carried out with the aim of transmitting / receiving / exchanging information, with the goal of some definite impact on the recipient (which of these is primary, which is secondary is a separate issue, it is not important for our study). Communication is a process and, like any process, can be divided. The basic unit of communication, from our point of view, is the communicative act (CA). The components of the CA are the situation and discourse; the main unit of the latter is the text.

Some characteristics of the psycholinguistic analysis of the text have been distinguished in the course of observation and analysis. The purpose of such an analysis is to understand whether the communicants have succeeded in a joint (speech) activity. The text has the following typical characteristics:

1. *the consituation*, which, following E.A. Zemskaya (Zemskaya, 2007), is understood as the extralinguistic reality in which a communicative act takes place; here are included all the main changes in the situation that occur in the course of a specific communicative act and are important for the communication process;
2. *the time* or the time factor in some cases is of fundamental importance for the course of a communicative act and, accordingly, the analysis of the latter; pauses between the replicas of the communicants are especially relevant;
3. *the sequence of communicants' replicas* – replicas are not considered mechanically, but their semantics and functional loading should be taken into account: communicative statements spoken sequentially can represent one or several replicas (the number of replicas is determined by the functional-semantic loading and the “role” that these statements play, since the first statement, for example, can “close” the previous (micro) text, and the next, respectively, can “open” the next); the important (but far from the only) indicator, in this case, is pausing;
4. *the specific subject* is a communicant, an author generating a specific speech-cognitive and thinking product;
5. *the stimulus* to speech action and the *intention* of speech generation;
6. *the verbal form of the product of speech-cognitive and thinking activity*, i. e. it is the text itself in direct presentation; the presentation of the text is accompanied by certain comments, noting the main features of the use of language tools in this particular product;
7. *the reaction to a specific speech action*, i. e. there is a reaction – verbal or non-verbal – to this action or not;
8. *the structure of the text* (microtexts and macrottexts);
9. *the logical and semantic structure of the text*, logical-semantic blocks are identified, by which certain fragments of communication are meant;

10. *the concrete speech act as a minifragment of communication*, the communicative-pragmatic orientation of the speech act is determined, its illocutionary meaning (this parameter is associated with the intention and, indirectly, with the stimulus of the given speech action);
11. *the connections between speech actions*, connections between the speech actions of one communicant are revealed and shown (if the speech actions are “spaced” in time and space, if the words of one communicant are interrupted by the words of another one, if there is some logical sequence of speech actions of one communicant) and among the speech actions of different communicants (a chain of “connected” remarks during dialogue, for example).

So, the text is considered as the main unit of discourse. The text may have a simpler or more complex structure. The smallest “textual” unit is microtext, which is characterized, in particular, by one predication, one microtheme, one microconcept when generated. Microtexts can be combined into units of a more complex structure – macrotexts. Macrotexts can have a certain number of microtexts in their composition, and, as our observations show, can also be summarized in texts of a “higher” level. In this case, one can speak about macrotexts of the first level, the second level, etc. A peculiar “peak” of such a hierarchical pyramid of texts is the macrotext of the “highest” level or, if the communicants manage to create a single text in the process of communication, this macrotext can be called “global”. A similar view is correlated with the understanding of the text in psycholinguistics, which considers the text as “a form of expression of the hierarchy of semantic formations of varying degrees of complexity and significance” (Shakhnarovich & Apukhtin, 1981).

The suggested typical characteristics of the text from the linguistic point of view allow determining the psycholinguistic characteristics of the text:

- a) the presence/absence of the communicants’ unifying single motive for carrying out their activities;
- b) the presence/absence of the communicants’ unifying unitary setting towards the implementation of their joint activities;
- c) the implementation of joint (including speech) activities by communicants;
- d) the receiving of a single text as a result of the communicants’ joint activities;
- e) the communicants’ response to changes in the consituation (and if so, how);
- f) the communicants’ active and adequate participation in the process of communication.

All the above said allows determining the psycholinguistic characteristics of the text which are as follows: 1) actualizing a common setting towards the implementation of joint speech activities in the absence of a single global motive and a macroconcept that implements it, unfolding in the macrotext; 2) in the macrotext, the macroconcept of one communicant unfolds, while the second communicant actively participates in communication and contributes to the generation of a single macrotext; 3) carrying out joint (speech) activities, the communicants demonstrate full mutual understanding, which is manifested at the verbal and non-verbal levels and demonstrates that the communicants belong not only to one ethnic group but also to one society (i.e., communicants possess not only one cognitive base but also a single collective cognitive space); 4) the communicants are on the same social level and are fairly familiar. In general, in the process of communication, the communicants manage to create a single macrotext.

Communication is a necessary and specific condition for human life in society. The basis of communication is a problem situation, and it (communication) begins with the fact

that a person has a need for communication. G.G. Pocheptsov defines the communicative act as “the act of interaction between the sender and the recipient, which is based on the message”, i. e. when committing any communicative act, communication participants also make a speech one (Pocheptsov, 1986). Communication in the psychological sense is always the process of solving a communicative problem. Since communication is two-way in nature, the perceptual task, which determines the process of speech perception, is also solved in the communication process.

As it is known, any process, one way or another, lends itself to segmentation. Communication is of no exception either, which allows drawing a certain distinction within itself. A communication act (CA) can be recognized as such a fragment of communication, a segment of communication.

The following clarification also seems necessary: the communicative act and the speech act are different phenomena. Without dwelling on the theory of speech acts (J.L. Austin, J.R. Searle, J. Barwise, J. Perry, N. Fotion, E.V. Paducheva, N.D. Arutiunova, E.E. Razlogova etc.) it should only be noted that modern linguistics, psychology and psycholinguistics consider first of all separate speech actions (the word “act” in the name of this theory is, in our opinion, is an English tracing-paper in which “act” means “action”). A speech act is understood as a certain communicative action, a structural unit of linguistic communication, a discretely allocated tact, a quantum of discourse. We mean a larger fragment of communication. The core of such a fragment is the text, which can be represented by a monologue, dialogue or polylogue. Thus, the theory of speech acts is applicable in this case in a rather limited form (only when considering separate speech actions that are included in the analysed text).

A communicative act is a real and at the same time conditional unit. The paradox is due to the fact that, on the one hand, communication, as a process, has the property of divisibility/segmentation, but on the other hand, the boundaries of such a unit are mobile, somewhat blurred and subjective. Each communicative act has two components: the situation and discourse, which are two sides of the same coin. *A situation* is a fragment of an objectively existing reality, of which a verbal act can also be a part. As for *the discourse*, in linguistics, psychology and later in psycholinguistics, the interpretation of this concept has changed along with a change in the general paradigm of knowledge of the above sciences, as well as due to a change in approaches to studying oral and written communication and its results in various schools and directions representing this paradigm.

Thus, it can be assumed that the communicative act appears to be a broader concept regarding speech. So, for example, T.A. Van Dijk, revealing the essence of the term of a communicative act, also correlates it with a speech act, arguing that a speech act is a unit of transmitting information, when, as a communicative act, is a unit of communication. He also defines the units of the communicative act as follows: a speech act, an auditing act (a listener’s act), and a situation of communication (Van Dijk, 2015).

According to the concept of A.E. Kibrik, the following components of a communicative act are distinguished: 1) discourse – “a communicative situation, including the consciousness of communicants and the text created in the process of communication”; 2) speech act – “discretely distinguished tact of discourse”, in turn, the main elements of which are the speaker, the addressee, and the text; 3) a fragment of reality “introduced into consideration in this discourse: the external situation, which is the topic of communication”, the communicative situation; 4) the communicative environment – “the consituation that makes up the subject environment of communicants (in time and space) in the process of

communicative interaction” (Kibrik, 1992). Studying the structure of the communicative act, Kibrik pushed off from the direction of the text formation, that is why, in his conception, one can trace the tendency of functioning the language depending on the context of its use, while extralinguistic factors come to the fore here. But his concept emphasizes the act of the speaker, which makes it difficult to understand the structure of language interaction, which includes not only the act of the speaker but also the act of the listener.

One of the most important factors that determine the adequacy of communication is the presence of a common knowledge fund of communicants, a community of iconic means and a certain community of social experience. The specifics of communication when using a specific national language consists of 1) the specifics of building a speech chain, which is carried out according to the grammatical rules of a given language, and 2) the specificity of images of consciousness that reflect objects of a particular national culture. And to achieve mutual understanding, it is necessary that the communicants possess a community of knowledge about the language used, a community of skills in verbal communication, and a community of knowledge about the world in the form of images of consciousness (Tarasov, 1996).

For adequate communication, the necessary condition is the presence of a common presupposition base among the communicants or, in other terms, a common apperception base. The presupposition is a general fund of knowledge, common experience, a common thesaurus, general preliminary information that communicants possess. The categories of presupposition are the personality of the communicant, his/her life experience, his/her social characteristics. Presupposition serves as a zone of intersection of the cognitive spaces of communicants and is updated in the process of communication.

On the basis of what is put at the forefront, which aspects of communication attract particular attention and are the subject of consideration, various types of communication are distinguished. So, if for the analysis the social or national affiliation of the communicants is not relevant, if we are only interested in the universal in communication, the focus is on interpersonal communication as such. A similar approach is typical, in particular, for psychological research. Thus, interpersonal communication is the communication of communicants outside their membership in a particular social medium, i.e. at pre-national, national or supra-national levels. And if for the analysis of communication, the social or national affiliation of the communicants is important, which largely determines the specifics of communication in a particular language, one has to talk about two main oppositions: 1) monosocial or inter-social communication and 2) mono-ethnic (monocultural) and interethnic (intercultural) communication.

Communication can be represented as communication of “social medium” of different nature – different national-linguo-cultural communities. At this level, monocultural and intercultural communication are distinguished. Monocultural communication is a communication of representatives of one national-linguo-cultural community, and intercultural communication is a communication of different national-linguo-cultural communities, native speakers of different mental-linguistic complexes with different national communicative bases.

In this regard, intercultural communication can be defined as the process of direct interaction of cultures. Moreover, the process of interaction takes place within the framework of completely incompatible or partially coinciding national stereotypes of thinking and behaviour, which significantly affects the mutual understanding of commu-

nication participants. There is much in common between inter-social communication and intercultural communication, but there are significant differences between them.

The main, basic types of communication are intercultural and inter-social. However, each person does not exist by himself/herself, but in society, enters into various societies and functions in the field of one or another national-linguo-cultural community. As a result, these types of communication do not appear in a "pure" form, but are the result of some intersection and interaction, forming the following types of communication: 1) monosocial monocultural communication; 2) inter-social monocultural communication; 3) monosocial intercultural communication; 4) inter-social intercultural communication (Krasnykh, 2001).

Modern communicative models (Komlev, 1996) are characterized by the allocation of poles, which are represented by the consciousness of the speaker (at the "entrance") and the consciousness of the listener (at the "exit"). In these models, communication is seen as a triad: origination – speech – perception, each link of which is equally significant and important. At the center of this triad is speech, which is quite natural, since speech is an activity that is carried out through communication (Vygotskii, 1982; Leontev, 2000; Leontev, 1999).

A fragment of communication, discourse, is a communicative act. At the same time, it is important to clarify the ratio of the communicative and speech act. A speech act is considered a communicative action, a structural unit of language communication. The main core of a speech act is a text that can be presented in monologue, dialogue or polylogue. Each communicative act has two component parts: the situation and discourse, which are the two sides of the same phenomenon. A situation is a fragment of an objectively existing reality, a verbal act of which can also be a part. Discourse is a verbalized speech-cognitive activity, which includes not only linguistic proper but also extralinguistic components.

The last considered concept of the structure of a communicative act is the concept of V.V. Krasnykh. The communicative act here has two structural components: discourse and the situation (the external side of communication, a fragment of real reality). In total, four components and four aspects of each communicative act are distinguished: 1) the extralinguistic aspect, the consituation is the objectively existing extralinguistic situation of communication; the conditions of communication in the broad sense and its participants (i.e. who, what, where, when); 2) the semantic aspect; the context is implicitly or explicitly expressed meanings that are the part of the situation, they are circling in discourse and relevant to the given communicative act; 3) the cognitive aspect; the presupposition is interaction of individual cognitive spaces of communicants, including the communicants' ideas about the consituation; 4) the linguistic aspect proper; speech is a product of direct speech production which communicants produce (Krasnykh, 2001).

The structural component of a communicative act is the discourse, which is a verbalized speech-thinking activity, which is a combination of a process and a result and has both linguistic and extralinguistic (linguo-cognitive) plans. The first one is associated with the language, realizes itself in the used language means and manifests itself in the totality of the generated texts (discourse as a result). The second plan is associated with language consciousness, which determines the choice of language means, affects the origination and perception of texts, manifesting itself in the context and presupposition (discourse as a process).

Many researchers positively answer the question of the existence of different types of discourse, on the one hand, delimiting national discourses, and on the other, within the framework of one national discourse, highlighting, for example, poetic, scientific, aesthetic, political, legal discourse, etc. What concerns the allocation of types (kinds) of discourse, it should be noted that they are not separate isolated types or kinds of discourse, but serve as some “modification” of the latter, which is adapted in a certain way to the sphere in which it functions.

From a linguistic point of view, discourse is a single organism, in which at the same time the most diverse aspects of not only language but also language thinking are realized, because “everywhere ... psychological categories hide behind grammatical and normal categories” (Vygotskii, 1982). The text, as the realization of discourse, is such a unity in which everything is interconnected.

Psycholinguistics studies the processes of production and understanding of the text, the social, communicative conditions for these processes taking into account extra-linguistic factors and the psychological significance of the language means used. The text as a phenomenon of linguistic and extra-linguistic reality is a complex phenomenon that performs various functions: it is a means of communication, a way of storing and transmitting information, and a reflection of the individual’s mental life, and a product of a certain historical epoch, and a form of cultural existence, and a reflection of certain sociocultural traditions. This determines the variety of definitions of the text, the variety of approaches to it. The construction of a psycholinguistic model of text perception should be based on the content and formal characteristics of the text, as well as on the psychological patterns of text perception by various recipients.

Being a unit of discourse, i.e. a component of a communicative act, the text has the basic properties characteristic of a communicative act as such. On this basis, as already noted, there are the aspects that must be taken into account when studying the text. These are: 1) extralinguistic, 2) cognitive, 3) semantic, 4) linguistic aspects proper.

The text as a unit of communication has a special semantic structure, reflecting the content structure of the elements of meaning; a certain logical structure, expressed in the sequence and structure of the presentation of semantic elements in the process of expanding the text; a communicative unity, predetermined by the communicative purposefulness of the text. The text is a certain system of semantic units of varying degrees of complexity, completeness, and significance, may and may not have verbally expressed wording in the text, that is, it may be non-verbalized and verbalized.

The origination and perception of the text, as well as other units of communication, is a psycholinguistic phenomenon in which linguistic and extralinguistic factors interact.

4. CONCLUSIONS

A speaking person acts as a subject of communication, appearing at each moment of their speech activity simultaneously in three parts, as a set of “personality” phenomena – as a personality 1) linguistic, 2) speech and 3) communicative. A speaking person is defined as a person, one of the types of activity of whose is speech activity (covering both the origination and perception of speech works); a linguistic person is a personality who manifests himself/herself in speech activity, having a certain set of knowledge and ideas; a speech person is a person who realizes himself/herself in communication, selects and implements one or another communication strategy and tactics, selects and uses one or

another repertoire of means (both linguistic and extralinguistic proper); a communicative person is a specific participant in a particular communicative act, actually acting in real communication.

As the study has shown, communication lends itself to structuralization. The basic unit of communication is a communicative act, understood as a functionally integral piece of communication, the core of which is a text (a monologue, a dialogue or a polylogue). Each communicative act has two structural components: a situation (understood as a fragment of an objectively existing reality, of which a verbal act can be a part) and a discourse (understood as a verbalized speech-cognitive activity, which appears as a combination of a process and a result, having its own linguistic and linguistic-cognitive plans). In each communicative act, four components are distinguished and, therefore, four aspects: 1) the extra-linguistic aspect is associated with consituation; 2) the semantic aspect is determined by the context, the latter is understood as implicitly or explicitly expressed meanings that actually exist, which are part of the situation, reflected in the discourse and relevant to the given communicative act; 3) the cognitive aspect is directly related to presupposition; 4) the proper linguistic aspect is determined by speech, that is, the product of direct speech production, by what communicants produce.

The text as the main unit of discourse is a verbal and symbolically recorded product of speech-thinking activity, which is a “reaction” to the situation and its indirect reflection, possessing substantial completeness and informational self-sufficiency, as well as thematic, structural and communicative unity, as something objectively existing, material, amenable to fixation with the help of extralinguistic means and the very fact of its existence, it changes the world around us, as a kind of special predicative unit. From the point of view of the formal-informative structure and isolation in the discourse, the text is a speech product that opens with the unit with which verbalization of the speech-thinking flow begins and ends with the last verbally expressed response to the stimulus (verbal or non-verbal). Being the “core” of the communicative act, the text is characterized by the same peculiarities as the communicative act, and when analyzing it, therefore, the same four aspects should be taken into account: extralinguistic, cognitive, semantic, and linguistic proper. Our studies and observations show that having a single motive, a single setting towards the implementation of joint activities, and while implementing such, communicants manage to “create” a single text. If there is no single motive, but there is a setting towards the implementation of joint activities, the text may turn out. However, if there is a unified motive, but there is no indicated setting and joint activity, the communicants do not generate a single text (whatever complex or simple structure of it may be). Thus, if one looks at this situation from the other side, one can conclude that if there is no single text as a result of the speech-thinking activity of the communication participants, then this absence is significant: the communicants have not had an orientation toward joint activity (a single motive to the implementation of this activity may also be absent) or the participants in the communication have not been able (due to any reason) to implement such.

As for the prospects for further study of the phenomenon of the communicative act, the following can be distinguished: further development and refinement of the model of a communicative act; development of a classification of communicative acts; creation of a “descriptive list” of the most relevant, model Ukrainian communication acts.

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DOI: 10.7862/rz.2020.hss.27

The text was submitted to the editorial office: January 2020.

The text was accepted for publication: September 2020.

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THE FUNCTIONING OF *FEMINATIVUM* IN THE POLISH LINGUISTIC REALITY. A CASE STUDY

The subject of this paper is the so-called *Feminativum* issue, which is presented in descriptive terms. The term covers, for instance, female professional names and this paper examines various *Feminativa*, their perception by society, and the way they are perceived in spoken and written language. The paper includes a historical overview and is intended as an introduction to further research. The purpose of the paper is to highlight a problem concerning linguistics and to point out the problematic usage and acceptance of *feminativum* in speech and daily use – even in forms of social media. Stereotypes, not only of the linguistic kind, can function in specific well-established manners that can often turn complex social phenomena into simple and shallow categories, creating a very specific reality. The main aim is to show two areas that *feminativum* can cause areas of contention, one with functioning *feminativum* and one without. Based on a partial analysis, this paper concludes with a number of diagnoses regarding feminization (or lack of it) and a draft of the state of female forms in contemporary general Polish. This leads to the open question of whether we are able to free ourselves from discrimination based on sex. In reality, I believe that there is still no answer to that question.

Keywords: *feminativum*, woman, man, performed profession, social media.

1. INTRODUCTION

Feminativum is an extremely current topic in Polish linguistic discourse, which arouses many intense emotions and frequently causes emotional discussions. The issue is basically related to female naming of occupations, including female titles (Małocha-Krupa, 2013). Additionally, nowadays not only linguists but also ordinary language users are engaged in the dispute.

The relationship between language and gender, which is the topic of the paper, is visible on various levels, with language and gender intensifying each other with different force. The relation is connected to language itself as well as language styles or simply the way of communication.

I will try to introduce and discuss that dependence, and generally the attitude to female profession names, with regard to social background. Additionally, attention will be drawn to how ideologies influence changes in the use female expressions (Woźniak, 2014).

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2. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

At the beginning it should be noted that the issue of feminine names is not a completely new topic. The problem was raised over one hundred years ago and it seems that it will not be resolved soon. In 1931, Ignacy Wieniewski noticed the emergence of the issue of feminine names of professions in the Polish language, and until now, over eighty years later, it still has not been resolved:

The small social revolution which took place in relation to the acquisition by women of positions previously occupied only by men found Polish language completely unprepared. It created a linguistic confusion from which we have not found a way to escape yet (Wieniewski, 1931).

Female name endings – colloquially called formats, which are created by *Feminativum*, are also a topic which is covered by media. For instance, it is worth to recall the heated debate initiated by Izabela Jaruga-Nowacka, who in 2004 used the form *ministra* (Łaziński, 2006). In contrast, I will mention Krystyna Pawłowicz's statement. Referring to the Constitution of the Republic of Poland, she was seriously outraged when others addressed her as "posłanko", claiming that the Constitution mentions only the masculine name for 'deputy' – "poseł", and not "poseł" and the feminine "posłanka" (in an interview with Jarosław Kuźniar, 2013).

In 2011, Katarzyna Hołojda conducted a survey which showed that more than half of female respondents participating in it expressed the following belief: they do not feel the need to use feminine naming of occupations in everyday life². The researcher observes that women found *Feminativum* rather ridiculous and infantile than serious (Hołojda, 2013). In accordance with the Polish language development principles, new words simply have to "settle in" (Markowski, 2005). Katarzyna Hołojda, in her analysis of the research which she made, notes that the issues came from ignorance and uncertainty in the naming creation and additionally were connected with the sense of uncertain linguistic correctness. According to the research, many women also believe that masculine forms of occupation names make them feel higher in the hierarchy:

Many women still do not only accept this state of affairs, but also believe that using masculine naming ennobles them. Anyhow, observing trends in this area, for instance discussions on internet forums, we can see that more and more people is voting for equality in male and female naming forms. Why is this matter relevant? Language does not only reflect reality but also influences it. Since names like prezydent, profesor, inżynier (president, professor, engineer) function only in the masculine, women in these positions are still woman presidents, woman professors- and woman engineers. It is a deviation from the norm but not a norm itself. It is likely that this dispute will continue for many years, but I think the result can be only one (Wierzchoń, see: Satoła-Staškowiak, 2018).

Doubts related to the creation of feminine names of professions appeared at the beginning of the 20th century, and they were summed up by Klemensiewicz (Klemensiewicz, 1957). The language and gender dispute continues. After World War II and the

² <http://www.akademiagender.cba.pl/gm3.html> [access: 3.01.2020].

growth of “masculinization of language thinking” (Karwatowska, Szpyra 2005), the trend started to be reversed. In 1957 the Polish Language Culture Committee PAN was about to resolve the issue of *Feminativum* and the related disputes (Klemensiewicz, 1957). In 1971, the authors of *Kultury języka polskiego* made a statement in relation to feminine names. They wrote:

The usage of male forms for women is permissible and correct in all cases where female naming forms have no tradition and when their creation is impossible or is leading to conflict with stylistic or tradition factors. On the other hand, it is completely wrong and not deserving for normative acceptance to deal in the same way with lexical units that have a long tradition in functioning in the language and replace them with male ones (Buttler, Kurkowska, Satkiewicz, 1971).

The 21st century brings an increased interest in female forms of occupation naming. Marek Łaziński, mentioned earlier, notices the type and gender asymmetry in the Polish language. It is completely not surprising that the language itself and its grammatical form is gender related. The author of the monograph *O panach i paniach. Polskie rzeczowniki tytułowe i ich asymetria rodzajowo-płciowa* analyzes the matter of the so-called universality of the male form and its linguistically gender stereotyping (Łaziński, 2006). Type-gender asymmetry is a pure sexism manifestation – this is a conclusion by the authors of *Lingwistyki płci. Ona i on w języku polskim*. The entire issue is mostly connected with gender stereotypes which show women in a disadvantageous way and in an unfavorable light.

In 2012, the Polish language Council announced in their official statement a view on media discussion around the afore-mentioned feminine form *ministra*. Linguists proposed to avoid controversial forms and use before a male occupation name the TA exponent, like ‘ta premier’, ‘ta socjolog’ (this prime minister, this sociologist)³, finally without giving any specific language guidelines:

However, (...) female forms of occupations and titles are system-wise approved. If for most of particular job names and titles they are not commonly used yet, it is because they cause negative reactions in the case of most people who speak Polish. This matter can be changed if society will be convinced that feminine names of the above-mentioned positions, and the use of them will testify to the equality in the field of services provided and functions held.

Nothing can be imposed on a live language, the adoption of legal regulations in this area will not result in Polish people starting to use forms like *inżyniera* or *inżynierka*, *inżyniera*, *inżynierka*, *ministra* or *ministerka*, *maszynistka pociągu*, *sekretarza stanu* or any other similar ones⁴.

Three years later, in 2015, *Słownik nazw żeńskich polszczyzny* was published. Over 2100 entries were cataloged and stored in it. The authors emphasize the fact that it is only the

³ http://www.rjp.pan.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1359:stanowisko-rady-zyka-polskiego-w-sprawie-eskich-form-nazw-zawodow-i-tytuow [access: 28.12.2019].

⁴ http://www.rjp.pan.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1359:stanowisko-rady-zyka-polskiego-w-sprawie-eskich-form-nazw-zawodow-i-tytuow [access: 28.12.2019].

first edition of it. Anyhow, Łaziński is quite critical to this publication, primarily noting the chaos and lack of masculine basis of word formation.

3. MODERN FUNCTIONING OF THE *FEMINATIVUM* – RESEARCH OVERVIEW

As far as the issues of gender and grammatical gender, there is no denying the fact that the concept of gender in the Polish language is mostly related to the opposition between femininity and masculinity, i.e. a purely biological difference. The grammatical type and its category are connected to the natural type of the described object. In recent years researchers who have questioned the idea of grammatical gender emphasized the conventionality of it, which seems to be reasonable when talking about entities of inanimate nature (Nowosad-Bakalarczyk, 2009). In the case of personal names and animal naming this cannot be accepted.

Usage of female job naming is not a currently dominating tendency. Feminine names, as the above mentioned survey showed, are often associated negatively. They evoke negative and even sexist ideas. *Pilotka* (woman-pilot) is a hat, *bokserka* (woman-boxer) is just a kind of a T-shirt. *sekretarka* (woman-secretary) is an attractive assistant of a boss, on the other hand, *sekretarz* (man-secretary) is a very prestigious clerk. In social media⁵ women themselves admit that some of *Feminativa* sound very artificial and even contemptuously, especially in case of senior kinds of jobs, which they expose⁶. Additionally, the user of the internet, in search of female name counterparts for some profession names created various neologisms, which they found ridiculous and not very serious. Some examples are:

inżynier – inżyniera, inżynielozka, inżynierzycza, marynarz – marynarka, marynolozka, gość – gościni, gościowa, weterynarz – weterynarka, kierowca – kierowczyni, kierownicza, kierownica, stolarz – stolarka, spawacz – spawarka, cukiernik – cukierniczka, żołnierz – żołnierka, kominiarz – kominiarka, blacharz – blacharka, mechanik – mechaniczka, chirurg – chirurga, chirurgzka, chirurgini, grabarz – grabarka, grabarczyni, budowlanec – budowlanka, budownica⁷. However, to fully liberate women, liberation must also appear in the language (Humm, 1993), not only in the media, which are significantly directing our way of thinking about various issues to specific paths (Balczyńska-Kosman, 2010).

Semantic shifts play an important role in the whole process, which Joanna Satół-Staškowiak draws attention to, saying that:

There is often a situation where semantic shifts take place. As a result of that, the male form means something completely different than its formal female counterpart, for instance: *maszynista* (train driver) – *maszynistka* (women who

⁵ Following Facebook profile [facetpo40.pl](https://www.facebook.com/facetpo40)

⁶ Here collected statements of women who took part in the discussion about names of female professions: <https://www.facebook.com/facetpo40.pl/wolne-mysli/psycholozka-lekarka-profesorka-nasi-czytelnicy-zabieraja-glos-w-sprawie-zenskich-form-nazw-zawodow/> [access: 28.12.2019].

⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/facetpo40.pl/wolne-mysli/psycholozka-lekarka-profesorka-nasi-czytelnicy-zabieraja-glos-w-sprawie-zenskich-form-nazw-zawodow/> [access: 28.12.2019].

types a text using a typerwriter), *kominiarz* (chimney-sweep) – *kominiarka* (kind of a hat), *ciężarowiec* (weightlifter) – *ciężarówka* (truck), *dziekan* (dean) – *dziekanka* (type of vacation), *dyplomata* (diplomat) – *dyplomatką* (kind of a bag), *magister* (master) – *magisterka* (master thesis), *marynarz* (sailor) – *marynarka* (jacket) or *pilot* – *pilotka* (kind of a cap), *reżyser* (director) – *reżyserka* (director's cabin).

The semantic difference between male and female forms which relate to a particular profession is decisive in choosing the male form as a neutral and more appropriate one for its designation. It does not happen in Polish that a feminine name is a “neutral” form for an occupation performed by men (Satoła-Staśkowiak, 2018).

An perfect example of the domination of male forms is a doctor's profession⁸. *Lekarz* (doctor) applies to both men and women. Using this male term we refer to either a man or a woman, where the occupation is significantly dominated by men. We very rarely hear the term *lekarzka* (female doctor).

Idziemy do lekarza – we go to a doctor (man), korzystamy z pomocy lekarza – we use doctor's (man's) help, stosujemy się do zaleceń lekarza – we follow the doctor's (man's) instructions. However, the situation is slightly different.

The current data as of 31/10/2019 kept by *Centralny Rejestr lekarzy RP* belonging to *Naczelna Rada Lekarska* present an interesting summary:

Naczelna Izba Strona Lekarska 1 / 1 w Warszawie

Numerical list of doctors and dentists by age, sex and professional title
taking into account the division into practicing and non-practicing doctors

Gender - age range (yearly)	Number of all current members of the chamber				Number of doctors and medicine. practicing dentists			
	Doctors	Dentists	PWZ	TOTAL	Doctors	Dentists	PWZ	TOTAL
Men in age from [no limit] to 25	795	275	0	1070	795	275	0	1070
Men in age from 26 to 30	5724	1179	6	6909	5704	1177	6	6887
Men in age from 31 to 35	5380	1321	13	6714	5350	1313	13	6676
Men in age from 36 to 40	4143	1104	30	5277	4109	1099	29	5237
Men in age from 41 to 45	4664	1072	53	5789	4592	1065	44	5701
Men in age from 46 to 50	6483	1182	53	7718	6320	1178	40	7538
Men in age from 51 to 55	7952	968	63	8983	7723	973	45	8741
Men in age from 56 to 60	6884	717	34	7635	6729	705	24	7458
Men in age from 61 to 65	6944	702	21	7667	6758	682	18	7458
Men in age from 66 to 70	4658	416	17	5091	4383	393	9	4785
Men in age from 71 to [no limit]	8759	816	47	9622	6268	483	25	6776
Men in total:	62386	9752	337	72475	58731	9343	253	68327
Women in age from [no limit] to 25	1269	782	0	2051	1269	781	0	2050
Women in age from 26 to 30	10123	3322	5	13450	10098	3305	5	13408
Women in age from 31 to 35	9090	3244	8	12342	9013	3223	8	12244
Women in age from 36 to 40	7018	2825	24	9867	6953	2801	20	9774
Women in age from 41 to 45	6631	2879	35	9545	6519	2834	33	9386
Women in age from 46 to 50	8029	3188	44	11261	7818	3152	36	11006
Women in age from 51 to 55	8863	3649	46	12558	8664	3613	27	12304
Women in age from 56 to 60	8307	2663	30	11000	8118	2603	22	10743
Women in age from 61 to 65	9093	2503	26	11622	8802	2347	15	11164
Women in age from 66 to 70	6246	2362	21	8629	5670	1904	13	7587
Women in age from 71 to [no limit]	14422	5321	34	19777	8617	2067	15	10699
Women in total:	89091	32738	273	122102	81541	28630	194	110365
	151477	42490	610	194577	140272	37973	447	178692

Nr wersji zestawienia: 1.0.

⁸ This has already been pointed out by dr. Paulina Zagórska, a linguist, whose article on this subject was available on the now-defunct blog LEWOGRAM.

It is not difficult to notice that there are over twice as many women in the doctor profession than men (sic!). Are we then going to start to use the female form *lekarka* rather than *lekarz* (male form). It is very unlikely.

What is additionally important, the profession of a nurse is definitely dominated by women, but in the Polish language there is a male equivalent created a long time ago. Nobody is surprised or disgusted by the fact that there is a male form „pielęgniarsz” (male nurse). The Supreme Chamber of Nurses provides a summary of registered employees with the gender differentiate⁹:

Number of registered nurses and midwives in 2008 – 2017 years							
As of	Number of Nurses		Number of midwives		SUMA	Average age of	
	W	M	W	M		Nurses	Midwives
31-12-2008	263 259	4 756	32 429	45	300 489	44.19	43.23
31-12-2009	266 655	4 569	32 990	36	304 250	44.48	43.96
31-12-2010	269 503	4678	33 477	50	307 708	45.28	44.66
31-12-2011	270 781	4494	33 733	57	309 065	46.05	45.32
31-12-2012	273 666	4830	34 327	60	312 883	46.94	46.09
31-12-2013	275 075	4964	34 750	64	314 853	48.69	47.69
31-12-2014	277 334	5188	35 389	65	317 976	48.43	47.21
31-12-2015	279 861	5515	36 026	69	321 471	50.13	48.72
31-12-2016	282 547	5848	36 737	69	325 201	50.79	49.15
31-12-2017	285 542	6248	37 494	74	329 358	51.43	49.58
31-12-2018	288 774	6707	38 240	75	333 796	52.03	49.98

What is more, it is worth referring to the data collected by the Central Statistical Office. from the report of 2016 reads:

Gender is one of the crucial features used in labour market analysis. Women often work in different professions and industries than those where men do. They have different salaries and working time schedule. That diversity is also conditioned by various factors like education, involvement in family life or even expectations of quality of life. Another root cause is historical conditioning. Initially only men

⁹ <https://nipip.pl/liczba-pielegniarek-poloznych-zarejestrowanych-zatrudnionych/> [access: 28.12.2019].

worked and women started to enter the labour market gradually. Economic development after World War II caused an increase of women's activity in this field. It also took place gradually but with a regular tendency. It is shown by the data regarding the share in the total number of employees in Poland: in 1950 it amounted to around 31%, in the beginning of 70s it exceeded 40%, and finally in 2014 it approached 49%.

The education level of men and women is also a significant factor. Women who with a university degree constitute 42,3% of the total number of women active on the labour market. Among working men vocational education dominates – 32,1% of the total amount¹⁰.

The same issue matter applies to teachers, where both forms of profession (nauczyciel – man teacher, nauczycielka – woman teacher) are equally popular.

Let us now take a look at the university education level¹¹, at which *Feminativa* are not very often and common. We can find terms proposed by the Polish Language Council and mentioned above – pani doktor (a female with a PhD degree), or pani profesor (a female professor). It is difficult not to consider the percentage of working women at universities. According to the *Statistical Office (GUS)*:

From among the total number of academic teachers, women are counted for 45% (42,700 The positions of a professor are occupied by over 6,000 women, which is 28.1% of all staff hired in this position. Among persons occupying the position of *adiunkt* the share of women was at 47.2%, and at the assistant level – 53.2%¹².

As can be seen, the distribution was almost equal, when it comes to hiring men and women at Polish universities (except the male dominated professor position).

The creation of female name counterparts for titles and occupations seems to be necessary.

Professional activation of women and constant increase of education level with care about prestige have given a women new functions for which language remain not sensitive (Jadacka, 2005).

Without any doubts, language functions against the background of intersexual relations. What is more, “relationships between language (both written and spoken) with social live and gender roles (whether content or way of language usage) are very complex and multifaceted”(Wierzchoń za: Satoła-Staškowiak, 2018). It is completely not surprising that female profession names have a male word-formation basis:

Lekarz – lekarka, nauczyciel – nauczycielka, urzędnik and urzędniczka), which is related to their historical backgrounds. Some of these forms are pejorative (prezes

¹⁰ https://stat.gov.pl/files/gfx/portalinformacyjny/pl/defaultaktualnosci/5821/1/6/1/kobiety_i_mezczyzni_2016.pdf [access: 28.12.2019].

¹¹ As at the end of December 2017, 95 thousand were employed in universities (in 2016 – 95.4 thousand) academic teachers (90.9 thousand full-time employees and 4.0 thousand part-time employees converted into full-time positions), including over 2.1 thousand foreigners.. <https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/edukacja/edukacja/szkoly-wyzsze-i-ich-finanse-w-2017-roku,2,14.html> [access: 28.12.2019].

¹² *Ibidem*.

– prezeska, doktor – doktorka, profesor – profesorka, dyrektor – dyrekorka) or not equivalent (sekretarz – sekretarka, położnik – położna). If particular occupation has no male form, it is most often not very prestigious and assigned to women (because most of men consider it to be a not male kind of job) for instance a nanny or a kindergarten teacher (Satoła-Staškowiak, 2018).

With the same concerns names (Wierzchoń, see: Satoła-Staškowiak, 2018). Obviously, language is not about battling to ensure “common equality”. Nowadays, linguists or even average language users are rather trying to prevent discrimination:

When we talk about a doctor, we see a man, when we imagine directors, deputies, professors, our imagination generates images of male representatives. There is very little free space for women but there is no objections to settle by them collective imagination in role of hairdressers, saleswomen or nurses. In such cases female forms are most widespread and even sometimes accepted as the only possible ones (such as a kindergarten teacher) (Wierzchoń 2012; Karwatowska, Szpyra-Kozłowska 2010).

If we want to replace female names of professions by male ones, especially where there are female names found, the so-called andocetism occurs (Satoła-Staškowiak, 2018) or simply a linguistic asymmetry takes place (Krysiak, 2013). At any rate, that problem can occur when men ill desire to work as the above mentioned nanny or kindergarten lady. How to call him properly? (Wierzchoń, see: Satoła-Staškowiak, 2018) In the case of women, language problems such as these do not exist at all. Following universal rules and recommendations of the *Polish Language Council* we can use the form “Ms.” and the name of the profession or we can simply say “Anna jest mechanikiem” (Anna is mechanic). If we move further and fight for women’s rights, mockery occurs, or words simply sound dismissive (Wierzchoń, za: Satoła-Staškowiak, 2018):

Giving of female word-ends process for „gender-neutral” profession (with male name forms) is also an accusation of foolishness and feminism. There is still no agreement between linguists whether the words: *psycholożka*, *socjolożka*, *filolożka*, *pedagożka* are correct or not. Word 2007 accepts the first two of them, and does not accept the latter two. The new dictionary of correct Polish language PWN of 2000 treats them as unacceptable, the universal Polish Dictionary records them as colloquial words, while professor Bralczyk says that they are correct (except *filolożka*) (Wierzchoń, see: Satoła-Staškowiak, 2018).

4. SUMMARY

Is the fight for *Feminativum* a manifestation of a language fashion or already a trend in media or social networking sites? It is very hard to say. The debate is more and more often initiated by ordinary language users. It is raised in various groups and on various levels, not only in the linguistic scientific sphere. Some believe that this vogue will pass like millions of others in the past, others consider this as a significant beginning of some changes – not only linguistic but also social ones. What is a proper order of things? Does language influence changes in society or is it the other way round?

Finally, I will bring up a well known riddle. Father and son were travelling by car. They had an accident. Father died and his seriously wounded son was immediately taken to hospital. In the operating room, the surgeon (*chirurg* – in Polish the word has a male form) looks at him and says: “I can’t operate because he is my son!” How is it possible?¹³

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¹³ Answer: the surgeon is the boy’s mother.

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DOI: 10.7862/rz.2020.hss.28

The text was submitted to the editorial office: February 2020.

The text was accepted for publication: September 2020.

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POLITICAL CRIME IN POLISH SYSTEMIC CONDITIONS IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Political offences are a specific 'set' of prohibited acts listed by the legislator, undertaken by the perpetrator in specific political and normative conditions, and determined by the shape of the state's political system. The legislator in the Penal Code of 1932, 1969 and 1997, as well as numerous non-code criminal law acts (e.g. in 1928, 1934, in the years 1944–1946), distinguished acts directed against a state that have features of criminal acts of a political nature. In the period of the Second Polish Republic, despite changes to systemic conditions in 1926, the state's attitude towards these prohibited acts have yet to be uniformly assessed. The first normative act defining the perpetrator's action against the state was the Regulation of the President of the Republic of Poland against espionage of 1928. After 1944/1945, the term 'counter-revolutionary crime' emerged in the doctrine of communist criminal law. Counter-revolutionary action was explicitly treated as a political crime. Systemic changes in 1956 significantly modified the interpretation of this act prohibited by law enforcement and judicial authorities, but until 1989, the legal status set out in the Criminal Code of 1969 remained. After 1956, the interpretation of political provenance changed, however the code solutions introduced in the system remained in force. Yet, after the turn of 1989, in the new normative and political reality it was necessary to refer the legislator to acts (political) committed under the previous system, consistent with the legal norms of that time but classified in new legal and political circumstances as crimes committed on behalf of state organs or as state crimes. Similarly, it turned out that the legislator had to respond to acts committed in the previous system and considered illegal; however, after the system was changed in 1989, they were already treated as acts directed towards the Polish state. In the Penal Code of 1997, the catalog of acts directed against the state, which are described as political crimes, was stipulated in articles 127–137.

Keywords: political crime, crime against the state, state security.

1. INTRODUCTION

The term 'political offense' does not appear "explicitly" as a specific criminal act in the Polish criminal law system. Both codex and non-codex solutions do not use this term. In Poland in the 20th century, despite the existence of three different political systems: democratic, authoritarian and totalitarian; in each of these systems a codex criminal law solution was adopted, and it was the political conditions that significantly influenced the shape of these solutions, especially in the case of acts directed against the state and its institutions, the legislator did not introduce into the legal system in any criminal law act throughout the 20th century the notion of 'political crime'. Problems with the precise

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definition of this term, the characteristics of a prohibited act, the issue of determining primarily the subjective and objective side, did not favor direct legal regulation of this crime. The recognition that for the occurrence of a 'political crime' it is necessary for two independent social phenomena to occur, namely the form of a criminal act and the occurrence of the political nature of this act, sufficiently complicates reflection on this subject. 'Political crime' belongs to the 'two' independent but yet functionally connected 'worlds' – the 'world of legal sciences' and the 'world of political sciences'. There is no subordination between them: the legal is not more important than the political, and vice versa. Without specific, prohibited actions by the perpetrator, there is no question of a 'crime', while without the potential of politics assigned to the good attacked by the perpetrator, or the motive accompanying the perpetrator, there is no political crime.

I will treat as a political offense an act committed by the perpetrator considered in the context of the theory of these prohibited acts. I assume that it is the legal good under attack, in this case the state, its territorial indivisibility, sovereignty, independence from all internal and external entities, independence in the exercise of authority, internal and external security, the unrestricted functioning of its organs; creating internal social order, independent implementation of foreign policy, constitutional system and functioning of constitutional organs; these are goods with such a great political potential that every act directed against these goods should be treated as a political crime. At the same time, I believe that the interpretation of a political crime based on subjective theory, when the motive, incentive guiding the perpetrator and the purpose of the action, although very useful in the area of scientific inquiry and research (e.g. I believe that acting against state symbols of a Polish state or symbols of a foreign state if, of course, this state ensures reciprocity to Poland in this respect, will constitute a 'political crime' only if the perpetrator of the act is accompanied by a political motive or the purpose of his action is political. Therefore, the determinants of subject theory are dominant here. In another case, when the perpetrator, e.g. steals the flag of the Republic of Poland for the purpose of selling it, for profit, it will be an ordinary criminal act, without political connotation), in the presented analysis it has no dominant significance. Similarly, we should consider the theory of preponderance (assessment of the origin of a crime from the point of view of comparing the importance of political and criminal factors occurring in the procession of a crime) and the theory of civil disobedience (the perpetrator acts consciously "on the border of the law" or exceeds the legal norm, taking into account the penal consequences, he does so at his own risk, but in the name and for the benefit of, in his opinion, the oppressed community, the nation, against despotic, irrational or incompetent power.) In other categories, mixed theory should be assessed, which is a combination of fulfilled conditions relating to subject and object theory (subjective and objective theory) and in the analyzed text it can be treated as a kind of complement to subject theory.

In modern criminal legislation, but also in the Basic Law, terms convergent and related to the concept of political crime have been introduced. Thus, in the Constitution of the Republic of Poland of April 2, 1997 in art. 55 item 2 point 4 the following statement was made: "4. Extradition is prohibited if it concerns a person suspected of committing a non-violent crime for political reasons or its execution will violate human and civil rights and freedoms" (Article 55, Constitution of the Republic of Poland of April 2, 1997 adopted by the National Assembly on April 2, 1997, adopted by the Nation in a constitutional referendum on May 25, 1997, signed by the President of the Republic of Poland on July 16, 1997, Journal of Laws 1997 No. 78, item 483). In the Code of Criminal Procedure of 6 June

1997 in art. 604 § 1 point 8 the following statement was used: “§ 1. The extradition is inadmissible if: [...], 8) relates to a person prosecuted for committing a non-violent crime for political reasons [...]” (Article 604, Act of 6 June 1997 – Code of Criminal Procedure, Journal of Laws 1997 No. 89 item 555); while in § 2 of the CCP, it was indicated: “The extradition may be refused in particular if: 1) the person to whom the application relates has a permanent place of residence in the Republic of Poland; [...] 6) the offense in relation to which extradition is requested is a criminal offense of a military or fiscal nature or of a political nature other than specified in § 1 point 8; [...]” (Ibid.) In turn, in the Executive Penal Code of 1997 in Art. 107, the legislator stated: “§ 1. Convicts for a crime committed for political, religious or ideological reasons are serving the sentence separately from convicts for other offenses; have the right to use their own clothing, underwear and footwear and are not subject to the obligation to work” (art. 107, Act of June 6, 1997 – Executive Penal Code, Journal of Laws 1997 No. 90 item 557). The terms used therefore refer to 'committing a crime without violence, for political reasons' or 'committing a crime of a political nature'. These are synonymous terms; however, the term 'political crime' does not appear in the Polish legislation.

Finally, the concept of 'political crime' should be considered – but fundamentally differently – in the conditions determined by the shape of the political system. Essentially, this crime was treated differently in Poland during the Second Polish Republic, when, despite the democratic system being replaced after 1926 by the authoritarian system, the influence of political factors did not play a fundamental role in this respect. It was obviously significant; however, we do not observe direct political influence on the shape of normative provisions in connection with these acts. The period from 1944/1945 until 1989 in Poland should be treated separately, when criminal law regarding acts directed against the state, therefore political crimes, was simply political criminal law and served as an instrument useful for achieving specific goals: ideological, political, but also particular. In a democratic system, or just moving towards democracy, criminal law within acts directed against the state separated from ideological connotations, but – obviously – it protected a particular political system, in this case a democratic system.

2. DEFINING POLITICAL CRIME IN POLITICAL SYSTEMS – THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The concept of 'political crime' depends on the shape of the political system, so it will be defined differently in a political system of a democratic nature, differently in a totalitarian system, and differently in authoritarianism. In Poland in the 20th century all these systems existed. In the years 1918–1926 we were dealing with a democratic system (the period of building the democratic system), then after the May Coup the authoritarian system began to shape. After 1944/1945 a totalitarian system was introduced, the basic modification of which occurred after 1956 and with various fluctuations, the communist system operated until 1989, when after a period of systemic transformation (it always occurs in the transition from one political system to another, but in different ways, depending on whether we are moving towards democracy – then the process is slow and evolutionary, or from democracy – then the changes take place almost immediately and revolutionary), the democratic system becomes binding again in the country.

When defining the concept of 'political crime' in these systems, on the example of Poland and Polish criminal legislation, several explanatory reservations should be

introduced. First, assuming that a 'political crime' is a kind of vector of the shape of the political system, it determines the shape of criminal law solutions which formally determine what goods (political) connected with the functioning of the state and its institutions and bodies are protected and in what way they introduce the scope of criminalization of individual acts and the intensity of their criminalization; it should be recognized that in the years 1918–1926, at least on the normative level (codex and non-codex), it will not be possible to refer to this concept. The first criminal law solutions criminalizing certain behaviors directed against the state appeared in the system only in the years 1928–1934, therefore after the May coup, that is in the moment when we can talk about the beginning of the construction of the authoritarian system in the state.

Secondly, the May coup itself is widely regarded as a coup d'état. Potentially, because the offenses related to a possible coup d'état were only stipulated by Polish legislation in the penal code of 1932. The May coup could be penalized by Russian legislation in force in the former Russian partition (after changes made already after 1918 by Polish authorities), so by the so-called Tagancew Code of 1903. In this legal act in art. 99 it was stated: "Guilty of an attempt on the life, health or freedom of a person holding the highest state authority in Poland, will be punished by a severe indefinite imprisonment" (Article 99, Penal Code of 1903, taking into account the amendments and additions in force in the Republic of Poland on May 1, 1921), while in art. 100 the following statement was used:

Guilty of an attack on the state system of Poland established by fundamental laws or of the whole of its territory will be punished by a severe indefinite imprisonment. [...] If the purpose of the attempt was to forcefully remove members of the government in power and replace them by other people, after all, without changing the basic state system in Poland, the guilty person would be imprisoned in a heavy prison for 10 to 15 years. The attack will be understood as both the commission of one of the above crimes as well as attempting it" (art. 100, Ibid).

In turn, the Polish Penal Code from 1932 in art. 93 § 2 indicates: "Anyone who attempts to change the system of the Polish State by force of violence shall be punishable by imprisonment for not less than 10 years or for life" (art. 93, Regulation of the President of the Republic of July 11, 1932 – Penal Code, No. 60, item 571), while art. 95 explicitly states:

Whoever attempts to remove by force the Sejm, the Senate, the National Assembly, the Government, the Minister or the Court, or seize their authority, shall be subject to the penalty of the imprisonment for not less than 10 years (Article 95, Ibid).

Considering the solutions of art. 100 in Tagancew Penal Code of 1903 and art. 93 § 2 of the Penal Code from 1932, in these cases we are talking about an attack on the state system – therefore an attack on a fundamental good protected by law. Therefore, such an act should be described simply as an attack on the state. However, referring to the content of art. 99 of the Tagancew Penal Code and art. 95 of the Criminal Code from 1932, the highest offices and institutions of the state were the good protected by law – it is therefore an attack on the constitutional body of the state. The terminology indicating a 'coup d'état'

is not entirely accurate from the legal point of view. However, even using this terminology, it must be pointed out that the May coup is a successful coup – there are no unsuccessful coups, because either there is a coup or there is not. If the coup is unsuccessful, there was no coup, only preparation for it or attempt to do so. The coup has therefore a zero-one form. On the other hand, after a successful coup, the attacker seizes power in the country, consequently, the attributes of the state associated with law enforcement and the law itself become controlled by him. The effect of this is that criminal law does not apply to successful coups.

Thirdly, although the period before 1956 and after the October turn should be treated as two different political systems, the criminal law solutions adopted in 1944–1946, and therefore in the totalitarian system were in force in Poland until the entry into force of the Penal Code of 19 April 1969. The Code in this respect played an essential but not fundamental role. Changing the system – a departure from totalitarianism, and thus from the hyper-discrimination and hyper-penalization of political crimes in favor of procriminalization and propenalization tendencies after 1956, while maintaining criminal law solutions in this respect and only changes in the criminal policy towards ‘political criminals’ causes that the entire period of People’s Poland should be treated homogeneously in this context. The attitude of law enforcement and judicial authorities towards ‘political criminals’ regarding the criminal basis for the act or the sentence imposed changed, but the perception of political crime as a counterrevolutionary act directed against “the gains of the revolution”.

Finally, fourthly, any change in the political system defines certain acts (this issue has already been raised before) that were previously considered to be actions for the benefit of the system, but after its change they are considered directed against the state. It is about settling the past, the so-called ‘backward criminalization of politics’ or the settlement of earlier political crime carried out on behalf of the state. On the other hand, individuals involved in activities directed against the old system “undergo a rehabilitation process”. Acts committed both ‘on one’ and ‘on the other’ side, were and are treated as political crimes in certain circumstances. For obvious reasons, these actions, after changing the system, escape code solutions, and should be considered in relation to special laws.

Thus, when defining the concept of political crime in Poland in the 20th century, we should refer to three periods, to 1926–1939 (and criminal law solutions from 1928, 1932 and 1934), 1944–1989 (criminal law solutions from 1944–1946 and from 1969) and the period after 1989 (and the Penal Code of 1997, or laws dealing with the problem of “settling the past”) and within the political conditions that occur. We should try to specify the dominant determinants affecting the interpretation of ‘political crime’.

In the authoritarian system in Poland, in the years 1926–1939, a political crime – as indicated earlier – was not “explicitly” specified in criminal law solutions, but on the basis of the regulation of the President of the Republic of Poland of February 16, 1928 on espionage and some other crimes against the State, the Regulation of the President of the Republic of July 11, 1932 – The Penal Code (Articles 93–113 – Chapter XVII: State Crimes, Chapter XVIII: Crimes against external interests of the state and international relations) and the Regulation of the President of the Republic of October 24, 1934, on certain crimes against the security of the State, a set of acts was described that should be treated as criminal acts of a political nature directed against the security of the state. In the espionage ordinance of 1928 in various forms and at the level of different stages of committing an act, an espionage offense was defined (art. 1–14, Ordinance of the President of the Republic of

Poland of February 16, 1928 on espionage penalties and some other offenses against the State, Journal of Laws of 1928 No. 18, item 160). However, the penalties provided for this prohibited act were not particularly repressive, e.g. in art. 1 § 1 and 2 referred to the disclosure of documents constituting secrets for the good of the state, also during the war, providing for criminal sanctions, at the maximum level up to 10 years in prison. (Ibid.) A similar scope of criminal sanctions was introduced in the Regulation of 1934 (cf. Article 2, Regulation of the President of the Republic of Poland of 24 October 1934 on certain offenses against the security of the State, Journal of Laws of 1934, item 94, No. 851). In the penal code of 1932, the legislator also did not introduce specific criminal repressions for acts directed against the security of the state. It is true that the death penalty was envisaged for the most serious crimes, such as attempting to deprive the state of its independent existence and detachment of part of its territory, assassination of the President of the Republic and undertaking military actions during the war against the Commonwealth. However, as a rule, the provisions of the Code did not have any special scope of penalization (cf. Articles 93–113, Regulation of the President of the Republic of Poland of July 11, 1932 – Penal Code, Journal of Laws of 1932, item 571, No. 60).

Political, or more broadly social, and consequently normative conditions determined the criminal sanctions and the form of this prohibited act. Therefore, it is particularly important and interesting from a research point of view that both the dangers arising from two powerful totalitarian systems (since 1933 in Germany) and the recently completed process of institutionalization of public organs, completed warfare related to the Polish-Bolshevik war, also newly stabilized state borders, conflicts resulting from historical past a few years earlier (plebiscites, Silesian uprisings and the Greater Poland Uprising, Polish-Ukrainian war), cultural differences, including civilizational in the territories of the three former partitions, also impoverishment of the society, and above all political and party conflicts in the country, which in consequence led to the May coup and the development of undemocratic movements, especially of communist provenance; did not lead to the repression of criminal solutions having a repressive nature into the criminal law system in the country. Despite the unstable situation of the state, facilitated activity – by the sum of the above determinants – for the political opponents of the Polish state (external and internal – communist groups), therefore geopolitical, but also internal circumstances, and all these factors could indicate, however, did not affect the legislator's design of criminal law solutions regarding political crimes with a high degree of repression. The coup d'état and the creation of the authoritarian system could also favor this tendency. However, none of these factors affected the specific treatment of this category of offenses. Treating the state in a special way in authoritarianism and its institutions as carriers of special historical values, but also accepted by society, played a crucial role. Treating the values associated with the state and its institutions as timeless and special was supposed to be a panacea for the political, social and state crisis of that period (Paruch, 2009). It was “[...] the attitude to these political values that became the basic factor shaping competition in public space” (<http://dlibra.umcs.lublin.pl/dlibra/plain-content?id=6049>; as of June 16, 2020).

Therefore, the fundamental issue in Poland in the years 1926–1939 was the concept, never actually questioned, that this state has a fundamental duty to have control over its own territory, over the fate of society. It was the basic determinant. However, this attachment to state institutions, in Pilsudski's thought, was not destructive to potential opponents of that state. His glorification and fight with political opponents occurred at that time, but the sovereign perception through the prism of his (Józef Pilsudski) universal

acceptance and position in society gave this process positive connotations. That is why – above all – action was taken for the benefit of this state and its institutions, not destructively against opponents potentially threatening that state to maintain these institutions. Basically therefore, power decisions were directed differently than in the totalitarian system. This was reflected in criminal law solutions which, in terms of political acts against the state, were not characterized by hyper-discrimination or hyper-penalization.

As it was noted, this process was fundamentally different in the totalitarian system in Poland until 1956 and in 1956–1989. Legislative criminal law acts adopted in 1944–1946, in which the issue of political crimes was addressed, were extremely repressive, characterized by indeterminacy and a rubber form, an unusually wide range of criminal sanctions, and often also of a retroactive nature. Their specificity was that they were constructed in such a way that at the “appropriate” political moment they could be used as a tool for political struggle, but also directed at physical destruction against the enemies of the system. Their most important function, apart from the repressive function, was to intimidate the society, political opponents, but also potential political opponents. Their capacity and indeterminacy enabled them to be extremely easy to apply in practice by law enforcement and judicial authorities. The most important criminal law acts of this nature include: Decree of August 31, 1944 punishing fascist-Nazi criminals guilty of homicide and mistreatment of civilians and prisoners of war as well as traitors to the Polish Nation (Journal of Laws of 1944, No. 9, item 377); Decree of the Polish Committee of National Liberation of September 23, 1944 – Criminal Code of the Polish Army (Journal of Laws of 1944 No. 6, item 27); Decree of the Polish Committee of National Liberation of October 30, 1944 on the protection of the state (Journal of Laws of 1944, No. 10, item 50); Decree on particularly dangerous crimes during the rebuilding of the State of June 13, 1946 (Journal of Laws of 1946, No. 30, item 192); Decree of the Polish Committee of National Liberation of 30 October 1944 on the protection of the state (Journal of Laws of 1944, No. 10, item 50); Decree on responsibility for the September defeat and Nazification of state life of January 22, 1946 (Journal of Laws of 1946, No. 5, item 46).

The political purpose of these legal acts was obvious. They were an ideological tool in the brutal political struggle against political opponents. Criminal law of this period was simply a representation of the political system of the state. The political system was totalitarian and criminal law was totalitarian. This statement is valid primarily for political crimes.

Political offenses (criminal law provisions) included in the penal code of 1969, in the chapter entitled *Offenses against the political and economic interests of the Polish People's Republic* in art. 122–135, are no longer retaliatory. The catalog of these offenses was sorted out, but the political potential of the provisions related to these behaviors was still quite high. I am talking here first and foremost about the protection of the political activist defined in art. 126 of the Penal Code (Article 126, Act of 19 April 1969 – Penal Code, item 13, No. 94). For individual acts, after 1956 a different criminal law basis was used than before October 1956, or a different (lower) penalty was imposed, but the nature of criminal law solutions regarding political offenses, both from 1944–1946, and those punished in the Penal Code of April 19, 1969 was similar. Undoubtedly, the hypercriminalization and hyperpenalization characteristic of the post-war years were separated at that time, however, the codex solutions are also indefinite, they are quite capacious in interpretation, the scope of criminal sanction was broadly defined. These provisions primarily protect a specific ideology, not a constitutional system, but the ideology of communism. Prohibited acts

directed against the state, stipulated in the code and referred to as political offenses, are somehow a reflection of the social relations and the political system as a whole at the time. The system became 'slightly civilized', so the normative notion of political crime was 'civilized' as well.

Basically, the period after 1989 should be treated differently as first a systemic transformation, then building of a democratic system, unconsolidated and finally consolidated democracy. As mentioned in the first part of the text, in this case the concept of political crime was associated with normative acts settling positively or negatively the past. In this case we can refer to, among others, the Act of 18 December 1998 on the Institute of National Remembrance - Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation, (Journal of Laws 1998 No. 155 item 1016) and the Act of 23 February 1991 on recognition of invalid decisions issued against persons repressed for activities for the sake of the independent existence of the Polish State (Journal of Laws 1991 No. 34 item 149).

However, enumerated prohibited acts recognized as political offenses under the theory of crime were specified in the penal code of June 6, 1997. The legislator listed here the entire catalog of prohibited acts directed against the internal and external security of the state, against its system, territory, constitutional organs of the state, state symbols, etc. Conditions characteristic for a democratic system meant that these provisions were not directed against specific social groups, against opponents of the political system, despite the fact that they protect political institutions operating in this (democratic) system and protect the shape of this system, but they separate from ideological content. These provisions are much more specific or casuistic, the scope of criminal penalties has been significantly reduced, and excessive repressiveness has been abandoned. Very 'legally limited' provisions protecting political activists or penalizing the crime of the betrayal of the motherland were also abandoned. At the same time, the nature of individual provisions was adapted to the requirements of modern times, especially in the area of espionage.

Political conditions of the democratic system, therefore, are guided by normative provisions regarding political crimes. Criminal law in the analyzed area becomes a democratic criminal law, thus the concept of 'political crime' has also become democratized. If we consider that criminal law in the field of offenses directed against the state is a mapping of the shape of the political system in force in a given country, it is irrelevant in this case whether the system is totalitarian or democratic. In any case, criminal law solutions in the field of political offenses are almost inherent to this system.

3. POLITICAL CRIME AS A CRIMINAL LAW CATEGORY

When treating a political crime as a specific criminal law category, this term should be used as a criminal act related to the sphere of politics, with a variable juridical description, depending on the political conditions determining the form of the crime, and in particular the political crime, an act that reflects the functioning of the political system, at a given time and on a given territory, determining the interpretation and orientation of this concept. Finally, the act can be taken by the perpetrator as a result of a specific motive or motive of a political nature, however, this is not – according to the Author, and this is also indicated by supporters of the theory of the political crime in question – an obligatory determinant. However, it must be oriented towards the good that is protected by law and has a political character. That good will be the state, its territorial integrity, independent existence and sovereignty, constitutional system, independence from all external and internal

international and supranational entities, external and internal security of the state, internal political and social order as well as independent and stable functioning of constitutional organs of the state. These may also be organs of a foreign state, if this state ensures reciprocity in this respect, also state signs and symbols, and here also, signs and symbols of foreign states, if these states ensure reciprocity in this respect.

Such a description of the concept of political crime, in the author's opinion, is relatively exhaustive and is adapted to the requirements of modern times. By introducing the concept of 'supranational entities', also the term 'possibly' should be treated in such a way that if the perpetrator attacks a specific good, which is the flag, national emblem, although the political aspect of this good is obvious, the attack on this good is of a completely different nature than, among others, attack on the life of the President, constitutional system of the state or its external security. In these cases, it is difficult to compare the scale of the attack on these goods attributed to the state. Therefore, I consider that in the case of 'minor attacks' it is necessary for the perpetrator to have a political motive with a simultaneous attack on this minor interest having a political nature. Therefore, in this case I give up using only subject theory to classify political crimes, in favor of using a mixed theory (subject-object, or subjective-objective). Because if the perpetrator, for example, stole the Polish flag, without a political motive (for sale), it seems that it is difficult to treat such an act as a political crime. However, if he did it for the purpose of desecration, due to his preferred ideology or political views, this act should be treated as a political offense. I accept a similar caveat in the event of an attack on representatives of a foreign country, but only 'formalized', accredited (consul, ambassador, governor, legitimate representative), only if it is the country that ensures the reciprocity to the Republic of Poland. Thus, if the Polish representative will be similarly protected by criminal law solutions of a foreign country on its territory. This is not about the analogous scope of criminal sanction, but rather about the form of the act being punished and its juridical description. I accept a similar reservation in the case of foreign state emblems, state signs and symbols.

When assessing the form of a 'political crime' in Poland in various political systems, several conditions should be pointed out, which fundamentally require a specific interpretation of this act, depending on the conditions in the given political system. Thus, in the period 1926-1939, taking into account the formal and legal provisions resulting from the president's ordinances of 1928 and 1934 and codex solutions from 1932, it should be noted that in the Code the legislator did not refer to the crime of espionage at all as a basic political crime, as it was in a way standard and commonly found in criminal codes. However, it is both of the President's ordinances (1928, 1934) that relate to this prohibited act and should be treated as legal acts almost immanent and genetically related and complementing the code solution. In the criminal code, in turn, the legislator referred to political crimes in art. 93-102, art. 104 and art. 106-113. So in art. 93 the protected good was the independent existence of the Polish state, the territory of the Republic of Poland and the state system. (Article 93, Regulation of the President of the Republic of Poland of July 11, 1932 – Penal Code, Journal of Laws of 1932, No. 60, item 571). It must be stated for the clarification that the attempt to attack these goods should be treated as an accomplishment in this case, because the attempt becomes conceptually excluded (Makarewicz, 1935). In further parts of the code, the life and health of the President of the Republic of Poland was protected, as well as official activities performed by him. (art. 94, Regulation of the President of the Republic of July 11, 1932 – Penal Code). The president representing the highest state body is a representative of a political body, and the attack on

this good must at the same time be a political crime. Similarly, Art. 95, in which reference was made to attempts to remove by force or seize the powers of the constitutional organs of the Republic of Poland: the Sejm, the Senate, the National Assembly, the Government, the Minister and the Courts (Article 95, *Ibid.*). Articles 96–98 describe the preparation and conclusion of an agreement in order to commit the above-mentioned acts. (Articles 96–98, *Ibid.*) Entering into an agreement with a representative of a foreign country for this purpose, undertaking warfare against the Republic of Poland, disseminating information directed against the Polish state, acting against the Republic of Poland by an authorized person (mandate), counterfeiting, altering, damaging, hiding documents to the detriment of the state, taking actions aimed at deterioration of Polish diplomatic relations and the exposure of the state to danger, dissemination of false information to the detriment of the state, acting against Poland's neutrality, assault on a representative of an (accredited) foreign state, insults or damage to the symbol of a foreign state, and incitement to an offensive war, and therefore actions directed at external security of the Republic of Poland, have been characterized in art. 99–113 of the Penal Code (See Articles 99–113, *Ibid.*).

During the period of the Second Polish Republic, political crime was relatively comprehensively typified, taking into account the solutions of the penal code and two non-codex legal acts. The goods protected by law were relatively precisely defined, thus both the subjective and objective side of individual acts. The scope of the criminal sanction is not particularly repressive, and their range was clearly defined. The deeds were also quite precisely defined, which prevented their free interpretation and the goods protected by law were also relatively precisely defined. In the cases of solutions from 1928 and 1934 (espionage crimes and acts related to this crime), it was the external security of the Republic of Poland, similarly in the case of art. 99–113 of the Penal Code. In addition, constitutional bodies were indicated: the Sejm, the Senate, the National Assembly, the Government, the Ministers and the courts, and the President of the Republic of Poland was listed separately. Finally, the good protected by law was the independent existence of the Polish state, its constitutional system and territorial integrity. Given that all of the abovementioned legal acts were adopted in Poland under the rule of the authoritarian system, attention should be paid to the lack of repressiveness of criminal sanctions in connection with these acts, the relative specificity of individual criminal acts, and the elimination of unspecified provisions enabling their free interpretation. In addition, despite the unstable geopolitical situation of the state, there was no special focus on the crime of espionage, and crimes related directly or indirectly to this act.

Political acts classified as crimes directed against state institutions should be treated in a fundamentally different way, i.e. political crimes marked in the so-called clearing decrees adopted in 1944–1946. They defined various forms of betrayal of the homeland (art. 1–2, Decree of 31 August 1944 in terms of punishment for fascist-Nazi criminals guilty of murder and abuse of civilians and prisoners of war and traitors of the Polish Nation), an attack on the state and an attack on the constitutional body of the state, as well as stadium forms related to the possibility of committing these acts and various forms of espionage (Articles 85–90, Decree of the Polish Committee of National Liberation of 23 September 1944 – Criminal Code of the Polish Army). The attack on the system of the state was typified, the crime of sabotage and influencing the activities of state institutions or bodies (Articles 1, 3, 5–7, Decree of the Polish Committee of National Liberation of 30 October 1944 on the protection of the state), an attack on the Polish armed forces, on a state or political official and other political crimes related to the betrayal of the homeland and

espionage (Articles 1–18, Decree on particularly dangerous crimes during the rebuilding of the State of June 13, 1946) and acts related – as defined – to the betrayal of the nation, exerting illegal influence on the shape of the state's system and dissemination of false information in order to commit a criminal act directed at legal goods related to the functioning of the state (Articles 1–3, 6, Decree on responsibility for the September defeat and Nazification of state life of January 22, 1946).

The listed normative acts were characterized by outstanding flexibility, inaccuracy, imprecision, and the phrases used enabled the prosecution of offenders to a very wide extent. The scope of the criminal sanction used was on the one hand extremely wide, often indefinite, and on the other, it had a particularly repressive nature. They were retaliatory acts aimed at settling political opponents. Referring to the nature of these legal acts, the Decree of 30 October 1944 on the protection of the state can be presented as an example (other decrees from 1944–1946 can be treated in similar categories), which was distinguished by specific features. Piotr Kłodoczny conducted a detailed analysis and pointing out to

the incredible severity of the law, which was to be a recipe for the effectiveness of law and was the result of the view about the omnipotence of the state. This last idea is also connected (with the impossibility of actually enforcing the prohibition) with going to the forefront of the act and prohibiting acts that were neutral in normal conditions. The use of sanctions with the widest possible range of limits (sometimes an indefinite sanction), which was to facilitate disposable judges to pass arbitrary judgments. As far as possible blurring the subjective side of the crime in question by promoting value and indeterminate features and referring regulations, due to which the law completely lost its warranty function. The dominant role of the subjective side of the crime, which often determined the legal classification of the act with the same objective side, proving the appropriate type of guilt, in the presence of available judges was often very simple. Introduction to the category of offenses against the state of types of offenses that protected the economic and social system of the communist state (something previously unknown in Polish legislation); modeling, and often copying Soviet solutions, which strengthened the non-sovereignty of the state. A tendency to equalize in terms of criminal sanction and placing in one criminal law regulation acts having nothing in common in terms of traits, whether it is the subjective or the objective side, in order to achieve a certain social engineering effect, e.g. to disdain the activities of patriotic and non-conformist people; equating such persons in one act or decree with the perpetrators of criminal offenses was to draw an odium on the former (Kłodoczny, 1998).

However, the basic concept determining the form of a political crime, both in the totalitarian period and after 1956, was a counterrevolutionary crime. Every act directed against the institution of the state, against public and political entities, and thus against the political goods of the state, consequently constituted an action against the proletarian revolution, thanks to which it constituted the 'new socialist state'. Therefore, any such act against the socialist state was a political crime. As pointed out by J. Feldman:

[...] the criminal legislation of the People's Poland in its content not only does not constitute a continuation of the capitalist-territorial Polish legislation, but is quite the opposite [...]. Counter-revolutionary activity often manifests itself in the form of a whole chain of related homogeneous acts, such as, for example, the successive collection and transmission to imperialist intelligence of messages constituting a state secret, the systematic dissemination of hostile propaganda and others, or various, such as participation in a counter-revolutionary organization and carrying out acts of terror, storing firearms, more or less advanced preparations for espionage etc. [...] Therefore, if we weigh the homogeneity of the subject of counterrevolutionary offenses, homogeneity of their subject (intentions and counterrevolutionary motives), homogeneity of their subject (enemy of People's Poland), it should be concluded that the difference between individual forms of counterrevolutionary offenses is primarily determined by their objective side and sometimes also some elements of the subject (counter-revolutionary purpose) or direct subject of the crime" (Feldman, 1954). The Polish interpretation of the counterrevolutionary crime was a mapping and extension of the Soviet provision contained in Art. 58, after the amendment in 1926, of the Penal Code of 1922, concerning counterrevolutionary crimes in the Stalinist period (Bosiacki, 1998).

The concept of 'counter-revolutionary crime' dominated the category of 'political crime' in the period after 1944/1945 in Poland. This interpretation also influenced the characteristics of acts directed against political and economic interests in the Penal Code of 1969. The legislator within chapter XIX of the Penal Code distinguished the crimes of betrayal of the homeland, an attack on the state, espionage, an attack on a public official and a political activist, sabotage and damage, stadium forms in connection with the acts specified in art. 122–127, diplomatic betrayal, intelligence misinformation, establishing an agreement with a person acting for the benefit of a foreign state in order to cause damage to the Polish state, also calling for acts directed against allied unity, the great economic scandal, and in art. 135 – a great foreign currency scandal (art. 122–135, Act of 19 April 1969 Penal Code, Journal of Laws of 1969 No. 13 item 94). As pointed out by A. Krukowski, the nature of the offenses against the political and economic interests of the state should be treated in an integral way, because the deciding factor here is:

[...] the dialectical unity of political and socio-economic interests, characteristic of states with a socialist system. Each attack on the external security of the People's Republic of Poland threatens the systemic achievements of the working masses, just like the attacks on the systemic foundations (political or socio-economic) pose a danger to the existence of independent Poland (Krukowski, 1969).

Therefore, the acts stipulated in the penal code were associated with a specific ideology (the attack on the state was a political attack and an action against the dominant ideology on which 'working people of cities and villages' based their functioning). Thus, the concept of counterrevolutionary crime as an act directed against the socialist state – as a political crime – was sustained. In turn, if this type of crime was particularly severe for the functioning of this country, then in order to 'effectively enable' law enforcement and

judicial authorities to prosecute the perpetrators of these acts, their juridical description consisting of vagueness and generality enabling (or not – in this way as in the case of settlement decrees) any interpretation was maintained. Criminal law in this regard was a tool supporting the state system and public (political) authorities. Thanks to it, in the majesty of law, individuals with a different mind were discriminated against. Thus, totalitarian ideology must have resulted in the fundamental repressive nature of criminal law in this regard (Lityński, 2005 and 2002).

Fundamentally, the form of ‘political crime’ should be treated differently in the systemic conditions in force in the country after 1989. The system is in the ‘gray zone’ (see Antoszewski, Herbut, 2004) and then moving towards democracy was based on completely different principles than its predecessor before 1989 (Antoszewski, 2012). In this case, ‘political crime’ should be interpreted from the perspective of the past, as a negative or positive act related to previous activities – analogically – pro-system or anti-system activity, as well as in classical conditions resulting from the code solutions. In the first case, acts directed against the totalitarian system and at the same time for the existence of an independent Polish state should be considered as political (see Act of 23 February 1991 on recognition as invalid of judgments issued against persons repressed for activities for the independent existence of the Polish State, Journal of Laws 1991 No. 34 item 149; Kauba 1995, Wilk 1993). Whereas ‘negative political offenses’ should be typified in connection with the previous criminal activity of state organs or individuals acting on behalf of these organs (see Act of 18 December 1998 on the Institute of National Remembrance – Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation, Journal of Laws 1998 No. 155 item 1016).

In the classical sense – codex, the legislator in the penal code of June 6, 1997 in chapter XVI entitled *Offenses against the Republic of Poland* enumerated the following prohibited acts which, according to subject theory (art. 127–130, art. 132–135), supplemented with a mixed theory (art. 136–137), should be considered political crimes: 1) in art. 127 of the Penal Code it is an “attack on the state”; 2) in art. 128, “an attack on a constitutional organ of state”; 3) in art. 129 – diplomatic betrayal; 4) in art. 130 – espionage; 5) in art. 132 – intelligence misinformation; 6) in art. 133 – insulting the Nation or Polish state; 7) in art. 134 – assassination of the President of the Republic of Poland; 8) assault and insult of the President of the Republic of Poland is typified by art. 135; 9) assault and insults of a representative of a foreign state are defined in art. 136, 10) insult of Polish state symbols and symbols of a foreign state are indicated in art. 137. (see Articles 127–130, 132–137, Act of 6 June 1997 – Penal Code, Journal of Laws 1997 No. 88, item 553).

The new Penal Code was based on democratic values, therefore criminal law in this respect is no longer a tool to fight political opponents, while the concept of ‘political crime’ is not related to the concept of counter-revolutionary act. The legislator also separates from ideological connotations, although the law in this respect protects – obviously – a particular political system, in this case a democratic system. The provisions are, however, relatively precise, if possible specific. Vague provisions have been abandoned, specific criminal repression has been waived, the criminal act has a specific character, the scope of individual criminal sanctions has been clarified and reduced. The provisions of Chapter XVI protect basic political goods related to the state, such as independence, sovereign existence, territorial integrity, external and internal security of the state, constitutional system, functioning of constitutional organs of the state, etc. However, these provisions are not used in any way in the political struggle against specific individuals, social groups or society as

such. The legislator resigned from acts related to economic turnover within the crimes against the Republic of Poland, from the crime of treason of the homeland as a doubtful act in modern 'borderless' Europe (in favor of an extensive form of espionage), specifying the juridical description of individual prohibited acts indicating that, e.g. there is a constitutional system of the state, not simply a system. It was pointed out that individual acts were punishable, but provided that they were directed against the Republic of Poland, and not only by the fact of their occurrence.

To sum up, if we are dealing with the interpretation of the notion of political crime in a democratic system, this should be done within democratic political conditions. Therefore, if the system is democratic, then also criminal law regarding these acts is of such nature. It fulfills the warranty and protective role. At the same time, this group of prohibited acts does not include, even if they are politically motivated: "war crimes, genocide and other crimes against groups of the population, as well as terrorist attacks involving human casualties or posing such a threat" (Wojciechowska, 1999).

4. SUMMARY

Political crime, its form and normative interpretation, usually not explicitly specified in criminal law solutions, both codex and non-codex, depends to a large extent on political conditions. It is the shape of the political system that determines the form of political crime. In addition to the classic forms of this offense, defined in criminal law solutions (generally comprehensively in criminal codes), such as an attack on the state and its constitutional organs, and goods attributed to the state itself: the constitutional system, independence from external entities, and state security; in political systems, after changing these systems (it does not matter if democratic or undemocratic), there are tendencies to settle the past. This is a negative settlement, 'traitors of the nation', 'responsible for the defeat of the state', 'troublemakers' (e.g. "criminal liability of the traitors of the Nation are governed by the following provisions: 1. Art. 100 of the Penal Code of 1932, 2. Art. 100 and 185 of the Polish Penal Code, 3. Decree of 31 August 1944 on punishment for fascist-Nazi criminals guilty of murder and abuse of civilians and prisoners of war and traitors of the Polish Nation, 4. Decree of November 4, 1944 on protective measures towards the traitors of the Nation" – Sawicki, Chojnowski, 1945), as in Poland after 1944/45 (settlement decrees). It is also accounting for the past by attempting to prosecute, possibly politically, persons responsible for the implementation of previous state crime, or crime carried out on behalf of the state or under state supervision (e.g. Act of 18 December 1998 on the Institute of National Remembrance – Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against Polish Nationality, Journal of Laws 1998 No. 155 item 1016). But after the system change, there is also a tendency to settle 'positive' political crimes consisting in restoring dignity and rehabilitation to individuals previously working for the independence of the state, against the system of e.g. totalitarian and totalitarian state (e.g. Act of February 23, 1991 on declaring invalid the judgments issued against persons repressed for their activities for the sake of the independent existence of the Polish State (Journal of Laws 1991 No. 34 item 149)).

Summing up, the shape of the political system determines the interpretation of a political crime and the shape of criminal law provisions defining this prohibited act. The more the system moves away from the democratic equivalent, the more vague the juridical description of this crime is, the features of the act are of an assessment nature, the scope of

the criminal sanction is very wide, and the punishment itself is extremely repressive, sometimes indefinite. The act may be subject to free interpretation by law enforcement agencies and judicial authorities, which makes it possible to use this part of criminal law as a tool to fight political, real and imaginary opponents and to intimidate society. On the contrary, in a democratic system, the juridical description of a prohibited act is much more specific, precise, devoid of judgmental values, the scope of sanctions is precisely defined, and usually there is a departure from hyper-discrimination of these acts. Of course, a 'set of goods' of a political nature is protected, that is, a certain shaped political system, however democratic, and the provisions are devoid – in principle – of ideological connotations.

Finally, the form of political crime can be considered from the perspective of various scientific theories: subjective, objective, mixed, preponderance and civil disobedience. According to the author, the most useful for the analyzed research problem in Polish systemic conditions (nowadays) will be the use of object theory, when only the form and nature of the attacked good protected by the law will have a high level of political nature (goods inherently belonging to the state), then the act should be defined as a political crime. In the case when these goods have less significance (emblems, signs and symbols, protection of representatives of foreign countries), it seems necessary to use a mixed theory, ordering the occurrence of specific factors on the side of the perpetrator (political motive), supplemented by the political nature of the attacked good.

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DOI: 10.7862/rz.2020.hss.29

The text was submitted to the editorial office: May 2020.

The text was accepted for publication: September 2020.

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ANALYSIS OF THE MANAGEMENT SKILLS REQUIRED OF LEADERS OF PROJECT TEAMS USING THE ANALYTIC HIERARCHY PROCESS METHOD (AHP)

This paper, based on a master's thesis, provides a definition, description and the importance of effective leadership within project management. The paper describes the principles for effective leadership within project management, the function of leadership and contrasts different leadership theories, as well as the effects of the different types of leaders in organizations. The paper provides an analysis of theories that dictate the effectiveness of leadership and how effective leadership in project teams influences a range of other variables. The paper utilizes the AHP method (hierarchical analysis process) to show the priority of management skills within a project management domain.

Keywords: analysis of the management skills, leaders of project teams, AHP method (hierarchical analysis process).

1. INTRODUCTION

In the course of history, leaders who are able to persuade, guide, transform and motivate others to achieve objectives of common interest have emerged. However, in the 20th century, formal leadership studies began, mainly for people in leadership positions.

A person can act as a leader of a group without being a manager, however, it will be difficult to be an effective directive if he is not, at the same time, a leader of his team and of the people he manages (Palomo, 2000). Leaders are necessary in any group of people, there must always be someone who sets correct guidelines formally or informally, or else the objectives that have been set may not be met or responsibilities may be avoided. For this reason, the need to continue studying and analysing this concept is still evident today, as leadership has become a key element in the economic development of society.

According to Warren Bennis (Bennis, 2003) it is necessary that any group of people be led by someone who guides, motivates and facilitates the execution of the tasks. Therefore, leaders must know how to interact effectively with their environment, increasing the chances of successfully managing the projects they lead.

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People, as social beings, need to interact with others to achieve their goals. So, we need to work in a team. Teamwork has many advantages for both the organization and the individual:

Advantages of teamwork in the organization (Vera, José, 2011):

- Higher level of productivity.
- More effective communication.
- Greater commitment.
- Better work environment.
- Easier to carry out complex tasks.
- Facilitates the direction, supervision and control of tasks.
- Facilitates integration.
- Facilitates internal and external coordination.
- Greater satisfaction.

Advantages of teamwork in the individual (Vera, José, 2011):

- Need for affiliation.
- Personal security.
- Personal and professional development.
- Stimulation for creativity.

Although teamwork can also lead to problems at work. Sometimes it can be more time-consuming, and one individual or subgroup can control or manipulate the rest. There are also processes that negatively affect the quality of group work with the diffusion of responsibilities and *group thinking*. So, there may be a rejection of certain team members and sometimes lead to lower productivity.

Therefore, this process requires a good handling of the positive and/or negative feelings that may arise, so that they do not intervene in the achievement of the objectives proposed by the project. This requires a good leader.

In the development of a project, in a team led, conflicts arise that lead to decisions that positively or negatively affect the relationship between team members, productivity, quality of work and customer service. Conflict resolution depends largely on the type of leadership exercised on the project.

Leading a group of people requires special skills. Not all people have the same capacity to be leaders and contribute to the development of the organization. That is why there are people dedicated to being project leaders.

The success of an organization is strengthened by the right behaviour of both managers and employees. Leadership can transform a simple worker into a valuable team member. The leader's ability can change an employee's mindset into an owner's one. Employees who believe that they have a direct relationship with the organization generally find ways to improve their attitude and productivity to get the best results.

Leadership and human talent management are of paramount importance to organizations. This depends largely on their effectiveness and productivity. The talent gathered in a company must work in a synchronized, proactive, intelligent and adding value and innovation. In this document, we will show the most relevant ones in terms of leadership, from its definition, through types of talents, characteristics of a good leader and other aspects that, in my opinion, are valid for the development of this research topic.

In order to understand the importance of this position, it is significant to know how to define it. Leadership is the influence exerted on people to encourage them to work

enthusiastically for a common goal. (<https://definicion.de/liderazgo>) The leader is a person who stands out from the rest and is able to make good decisions for the group, team or organization he or she leads, inspiring the rest of the members of that group to reach a common goal. It is also important to define human talent management. It is understood as the space that companies provide to attract, motivate, retain and develop the most competent, capable and committed professionals and, above all, with the ability to convert individual talent, through a project. This talent is a committed professional to put into practice his abilities to obtain superior results in a determined environment and organization. There are different types of talents: commercial talent, managerial talent, leading talent, technical talent, administrative talent, among others. The innovator and the entrepreneur are added, which is the one that adds the greatest value to the company.

To adapt to the constant change in the world, leaders must be prepared to innovate. For this, organizational leadership is essential, the leader's ability to guide in all areas, the achievement of objectives and the satisfaction of the company's needs.

The true leader must have the ability to inspire passion and enthusiasm, control his own emotions and enhance positive feelings in the teams. The role that leaders play is valued today more than ever, as the direct influence on the performance and results of organizations can be measured and proven. A good leader must know what his strengths and weaknesses are, know what he wants, why he wants it and how to communicate it to others. Leadership skills are necessary to establish motivating work environments that allow employees to grow and develop (Thomson, 2012).

According to a study conducted by senior executives and subject matter experts from ESI International, one of the key aspects in any methodology, whatever its nature, is leadership.

A successful company needs good leadership. The company must establish a clear vision of the projects, know how to communicate it to the participants, and have a correct way to resolve conflicts. Nowadays, organizations are looking for good managers who also have the ability to motivate employees. A company's survival depends on the leader's ability to carry out the proposed objectives. The organization can create good planning, but a lack of leadership can cause it to succumb, and even if the organization lacks planning, a good leader can do it. If the organization wants to achieve high levels of productivity of human capital, the development and strengthening of leadership is essential.

2. MAIN CHALANGES OF THE CONTEMPORARY PROJECT MANAGEMENT

For the correct functioning of the management of a project, the project teams are characterized by the definition of clear objectives, shared by all its members, which serve as a guide for action. This is a fundamental difference from a working group, in which the common objective does not always exist. This common objective determines a common final destination for the project team, so that all team members feel responsible, to a greater or lesser extent, for the success or failure of the project.

According to the Project Management Institute (PMI) a project is “a project is a temporary effort that is carried out to create a unique product, service or result”; it is a planning that consists of a set of activities that are interrelated and coordinated.

The project management division can be divided into four distinct phases: (The 4 Phases of the Project Management Life Cycle, Posted by Lucidchart Content Team, August 28, 2017) Initiation phase, planning phase, execution phase and closure phase. In the first phase

the activities to be carried out will be those of the search for new ideas and opportunities, the search for external contacts and support in new ideas. In the second phase of analysis we should finish the tasks and consult the critical and impartial judgment on the different options and opportunities. In addition, we should avoid being overly critical and not get carried away by group thinking. In the third phase of action, you must correctly design the different points to be made. The whole team has to participate and get involved. In this phase, we must avoid forgetting the main objective, inefficiency, and we must not implement plans that are not completely elaborated. The final phase of a project will aim to verify that the work done has been adjusted to what was planned. The reflection demanded by the closing will also serve to draw conclusions to learn, in such a way that it will allow to highlight successes and errors. This knowledge will be very important for future projects.

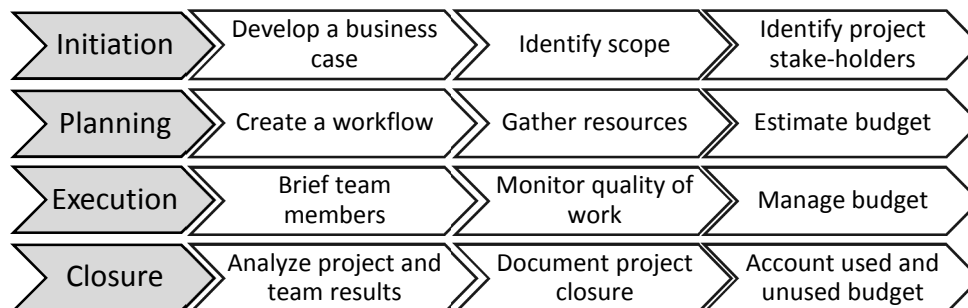


Fig. 1. The 4 Phases of the Project Management Life Cycle. Posted by Lucidchart Content Team, August 28, 2017

One of the main challenges of good project management is that everyone involved in the project is motivated. This is a key element for the development of a project. Motivation refers to the forces that cause a person to engage in work-related behaviour and that determine the form, the direction, the intensity and the duration of the efforts. This motivation can occur in two ways, intrinsically: derived from the task itself or from a sense of duty, or extrinsically: derived from the reward to be obtained.

For the challenges faced in managing a project to be done properly, an effective team led by a good leader is needed. This leader will lead an effective team characterized by (McGregor, Douglas, 1960):

- An informal, comfortable and relaxed atmosphere.
- If there is a discussion, the whole team participates. Only if this discussion is relevant to the task.
- The task or objective of the team is understood and accepted by the team members, although they may come to agreements where a whole discussion process has been necessary. It should be formulated in such a way that the whole team can be involved.
- The people who make up the team listen to each other. No one should be afraid to make a proposal, even if it may be extravagant.
- There are disagreements. These are examined from different points of view and the team tries to resolve the discrepancies.

- Most decisions must be made by consensus. Voting is only done in special circumstances. The team should not accept a simple majority as a basis for action.
- Criticism is common, but there are no personal or covert attacks.
- People should feel free to express their ideas and opinions.
- Tasks must be clearly defined
- The leader does not dominate the team.

Then the leaders must be able to motivate and convince their team about the object and purpose of the project and can reduce the natural deviations and known uncertainties that occur. A common mistake is to take as project leaders' people with a deep scientific knowledge, but with a lack of business vision.

The key success factors of a project team for proper management are when project teams are properly led by a good leader. Increasing the motivation of its members, improving productivity and achieving more effective solutions to problems.

Here are some features that are repeated in the winning project teams (Chiocchio, François, Kelloway, Brian Hobbs, 2015):

- These teams know what they're doing, and their members agree with the goals they set.
- Individual team members act freely and creatively, talking when they disagree or asking when they don't understand something, without feeling it is a personal matter.
- Team members bring different knowledge and share it with the group.
- There is a feeling of belonging to the team that engenders mutual trust and support among its members.
- The team's standards and rules are transparent and clear so that all team members understand them and decision-making in the team is participatory.
- They regularly spend time checking the "health" of the team, taking inventory and asking themselves "how are we doing?"

It is important to say that the way in which the team is led sets the tone for all project activities. Therefore, the way to manage each of the six aspects mentioned previously will contribute to strengthen or destroy the team. Therefore, the fundamental task of project managers is not only to manage the effort of their team, but to lead its members to achieve the success of the venture.

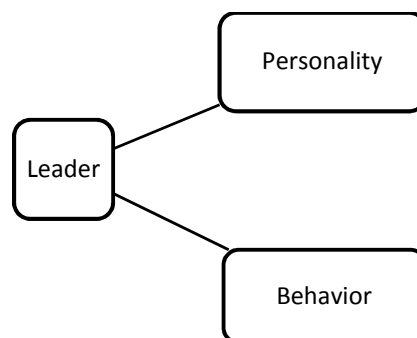


Fig. 2. Good leader (own creation)

Some theories claim that leaders can be recognized by their personality and base this claim on the belief that leaders are born and not made, so the ability to lead is an innate characteristic of the individual. According to this research, leaders tend to be intelligent, flexible and self-confident people. But they are also characterized by their knowledge of the exact tasks they perform, the energy of work they demonstrate and their ability to motivate others.

However, other theories, like a new study from the University of Illinois that supports the idea that leaders, not born, are made; and that leadership development follows a specific progression. So hold the opposite position to the previous one and proclaim that leaders are not born but made. Starting from this premise, they concentrate on the study of leaders behaviours and their influence on the performance of their followers.

3. ELEMENTS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO FORM AN EXCELLENT ORGANIZATIONAL LEADER

Its main objective is to guide the will of the team members, optimizing the results at the group level. The leader must know each of the members and guide them towards achieving the objectives of the proposed group; encouraging communication between them, detecting their strengths and weaknesses, identifying opportunities for improvement in the short and long term. For this, the leader must put into practice his or her social skills, which allow him or her to communicate effectively with his or her team. He must be empathetic and ensure that employees do not work individually, but for the welfare of the group and the organization.

Strategic human talent management requires leaders to have accurate information about what each member of their team can contribute and the commitment of the rest of the team members to the business project. Therefore, leaders can develop efficient management styles, collaborative strategies and internal communication.

In the modern field of business, organizational psychology has implemented the Theory of the Enneagram (or personality map) (Reynolds, 2007) that offers nine types of personalities or neotypes, to identify each member of the team and know why each person reacts and interprets reality differently. This is used for the application of leadership styles and preparing teams related to the strengths of each leader. Just as there are people who react negatively, there are also people who argue positively and do not allow language to become aggressive or violent. However, the most common behaviour is that people prefer to react with silence, for fear of losing their job or creating uncomfortable situations in the near future. However, this attitude motivates the superior to repeat the behaviour and become an alternative for management to work. Calling attention is, besides a skill, an opportunity to improve management and develop a better working relationship and make the employee a person capable of assuming the consequences of his actions without fear of feeling disqualified in front of his colleagues.

Personal conversation is best, in a climate of closeness and trust, in private, so that the other party can be heard. This theory of the Enneagram allows us to predict which situations can cause stress to each personality type, how to compensate for it and how to function under working conditions under pressure to achieve maximum performance. This tool makes it easier for leaders to strategically manage their teams based on their deepest knowledge.

The leader must know how to attract attention and not affect the work environment negatively. This capacity is not easy to develop, and even less so if it occurs in the heat of circumstances that require urgent intervention and must be corrected urgently. Calls for attention are part of the management process. Part of the credibility, respect and trust towards the leader is born precisely from the way in which corrections and calls for attention are made.

In a private meeting a good leader must avoid conflict, clarify misunderstandings and give the opportunity to accept or rectify the action that motivates the call for attention. However, precautions must be taken, as leadership can have a negative impact on company performance. Leaders who are too dominant or obsessed with some objectives may ignore some details in the organization. It may also be that managers and/or employees are unwilling to help dominant or extremely critical leaders, the boss who shouts and insults is creating all the conditions for poor results.

Just as there are factors that facilitate teamwork, there are also factors that hinder it (Ignacio Martínez, Blog.):

- Ignorance of teamwork.
- Lack of time.
- High sanitary pressure.
- Ignorance of roles and functions.
- Ignorance of the organization's mission, objectives and goals.
- On the part of the leader being dominant, with an attitude of superiority towards the group.
- Not being able to maintain the interest and adherence of the group.
- Team members who do not participate. They stagnate, do not grow and therefore do not support their colleagues and the leader.
- Existence of a systematic opponent.
- The formation of subgroups; when they interfere with the functioning of the team.
- Failure to recognize the leader as such.
- Very incomplete team.
- In many teams, the low commitment of some sectors or departments.

A leader needs collaboration at all levels; he or she must have enough support to get results. The leader must be aware that the impact of his or her decisions can be successes or mistakes that can damage trust and, therefore, the aspirations for growth.

A leader needs collaboration at all levels; he must have enough support to get results. The leader must be aware that the impact of his or her decisions can be successes or mistakes that can damage trust and, therefore, the aspirations for growth. To avoid making some mistakes, it is important to identify them and take steps to correct them.

Some of these mistakes are:

1. *Self-critical leadership*. In certain cases, if people are not willing to collaborate, a firm leader is needed, but if people are willing to help, this self-critical attitude affects the leader's management, creating an atmosphere of discomfort and pessimism and of carrying out the activities to be carried out. Some cases in which the leader's attitude affects the process, can be positive and negative feelings must be handled properly so that they do not interfere with the desired results. The interaction between co-workers is not always the desired one. This can lead to positive or negative decisions that affect productivity and quality of work.

- Ask for the opinion of experts and knowledgeable people and do not take them into account when applying them.
 - Keep all information on what is to be done and keep staff in line, it can mean lost opportunities and staff remaining in a permanent comfort zone.
2. *Human talent management is wasted.* The leader is so dedicated to the task and results that human talent development is neglected.
 - The staff needs to be heard, can give ideas and / or have information that is relevant to project development.
 - Focus only on mistakes and neglect other activities that lead to the achievement of objectives.
 3. *Paralysis to change, to innovate.* Sometimes, if something went well before, it would be worth repeating.
 4. *Unilateral decision making.* Limiting the formation of future leaders. People need to know how to do their job and make decisions.
 5. *Communication failures.* The leader assumes that the messages given were understood by everyone. In stages of change and/or crisis, the “radio pallet” is created, that is, the information is not clear enough because it creates alternative communication that causes confusion and alters the work environment.
 6. *Immediate results.* Lack of long-term focus. The faster the results are obtained, the less stress there is and the better it is for the organization, but this should not allow the leader to lose his or her long-term focus. This allows the leader to know more about the market, the business and help the company grow.
 7. *Training as a non-priority activity.* The leader must be constantly updated, must be an example for the staff that promotes its own growth.

A leader is under constant pressure, whether by objectives, customers, problems, crisis, government policies, etc. To be a leader is to learn, change, grow constantly to keep up to date and think about how it will be better in the long term. A good leader produces many positive effects. Then we can see the benefits associated with it as:

- It promotes and increases the level of communication that exists in a work group. A dynamic communication between the members of a group allows the successful completion of activities, scheduled or not. This group communication is essential to face and solve unexpected situations.
- Productivity improvement by objectives: continuous dialogue and regular meetings with each member, individually and in groups, greatly improve the achievement of expected results.
- Greater resolution of internal conflicts: it is natural that in any human team unexpected problems arise between the members and those related to the activities carried out. To neutralize them, the leader must make an interpersonal communication, listening actively to the approach of each worker.
- Optimization of the work environment: as a result of the presence, development and promotion of the previous points, the result will be to be able to carry out the daily tasks in a pleasant and suitable environment. Therefore, objectives can be achieved more effectively and efficiently.
- Higher level of work participation: with a positive leadership, an increase in the work activity of each member of the work team will be achieved.

- A large number of people with leadership qualities are found and exercise that leadership in different ways, therefore, leadership is classified according to the method used to lead a certain group of people.

Another topic I would like to mention and that will be very useful in the process of hierarchization is that for John C. Maxwell (1999). A leader must have 21 characteristics to improve quality:

1. *Character*: makes him stronger. However, sometimes it has negative consequences.
2. *Charisma*: ability to attract people to himself. If he does not have it, he can develop it.
3. *Commitment*: To accomplish no matter what may come: illness, poverty or disaster, you must not take your eyes off the target.
4. *Communication*: sharing knowledge and ideas. People will not follow if they do not know what they want or where they are going.
5. *Capacity*: it is the leader's ability to say it, plan it and do it in such a way that others know that you know how to do it.
6. *Courage*: It is easy to see heroes in war, but courage is also present in all great leaders in business, government and church.
7. *Discernment*: can be described as the ability to find the root of a problem and is based on intuition and rational thought. To know which half to believe in.
8. *Concentration*: the key is priorities and focus. If you have concentration, but no priorities, you have excellence without progress.
9. *Generosity*: nothing speaks louder or serves others more than the generosity of a leader.
10. *Initiative*: successful people are active. They must always look for opportunities and be ready for action.
11. *Listening*: A good leader encourages others to tell you what you need to know, not what you want to hear. And you learn that by listening.
12. *Passion*: Experts spend a lot of time trying to figure out what makes people successful, but more than anything else, passion makes a difference.
13. *Positive attitude*: Most people who achieve lasting success in their respective professions almost always have a positive outlook on life.
14. *Problem solving*: No matter what field a leader is in, he will face problems. They are inevitable for three reasons. First, because we live in a world of increasing complexity and diversity. Second, because we interact with people. And third, because we cannot control every situation that arises.
15. *Relationships*: The ability to work with people and develop relationships is absolutely indispensable for an effective leader.
16. *Responsibility*: good leaders never adopt the victim's mentality.
17. *Safety*: no one can live on a level that is inconsistent with the way you see yourself.
18. *Self-discipline*: without it, no one achieves or maintains success. It doesn't matter how talented a leader is.
19. *Service*: the concept of servitude does not refer to positions or skills. It is about attitude.
20. *Learning*: If you want the organization to grow, you must continue to learn
21. *Vision*: For a leader, vision is everything. It is what guides him. It is the one who scores the goal.

Although the level of leadership required will depend on both the project to be developed and the organizational structure of the entity, they must be able to develop projects with technical and economic viability, effective marketing and dissemination so that the results and benefits generated can be used by stakeholders and beneficiaries. In addition, project leaders must know aspects related to markets, operations, financing, and personnel management, which implies having a gift for people and empathy, since in most projects the work team is made up of personnel with great cultural differences.

4. TYPES OF LEADERSHIP IN PROJECT MANAGEMENT

The leader must know each of the members and orient them towards the scope of the proposed group objectives; encouraging communication between them, detecting their strengths and weaknesses, identifying opportunities to improve in the short and long term.

For this, the leader must put into practice his social skills, which allow him to communicate effectively with his work team. You must be empathetic and ensure that employees do not work individually, but rather for the welfare of the group and the organization (Essay *Impact of Human Talent Leaders in the Organization Paula Alejandra Castro Castillo*). The types of Leadership in Project Management are:

- *Business leadership*: Exercised by the person responsible within the company, forming a link with the workers and the company's objective, its main function is to make the company function perfectly in all areas, in search of success.
- *Autocratic leadership*: One person is responsible for responsibilities and decision making. Power is focused on one person and subordinates are not taken into account when making decisions.
- *Democratic leadership*: Carried out by one person, who takes into account the participation of all the people who make up the organization, accepts ideas and criticism for improvement, responds to any concerns of the people in his charge, and this creates trust among his subordinates, which encourages teamwork in the search for the achievement of the proposed objectives.
- *Laissez faire leadership*: An expression of French origin whose translation into Spanish is "let do", therefore, it is a very liberal concept; the leader is a passive figure.
- *Higher level of labour participation*: With positive leadership, you will achieve an increase in the labour activity of each member of the work team. The people in charge have total control of what is being done. They are given all the information and tools necessary to carry out the work and the leader only intervenes if the subordinate asks for help.
- *Parental leadership*: The leader takes full responsibility for guiding and ensuring the well-being of his subordinates. Use incentives with workers, offering rewards if the work is done successfully. That is why it is called paternalistic leadership, because as a parent in the home, he assumes this role in the company to generate better results at work.
- *Charismatic leadership*: The leader has the capacity to captivate and generate enthusiasm in the people he leads, a lot of communication with the people in charge, to give their maximum effort, to achieve the established objectives.
- *Lateral leadership*: Based on the belief that "any person is capable of leading a certain group of people", this type of leadership is carried out, based on experience, within a group of employees of the same level.

- *Situational leadership*: Type of leadership that the boss must adopt with respect to the level of development of the employees and the situation in which they find themselves. It is quite effective, as it is exercised by the most appropriate employee with respect to the situation in which the team finds itself.

5. METHODOLOGY OF THE MULTI-CRITERIA ASSESEMENT OF SIGNIFICENCE OF THE MANAGEMENT SKILLS SUPPORTING PROJECT LEADERSHIP

Decision-making is the process by which one or more decisions are obtained as a result with the purpose of solving a situation.

Nowadays, in organizations, decisions are made at a strategic and tactical level, which are increasingly made by a group of people and not by individuals. Therefore, the opinion of a single person in the decision-making process is considered insufficient when analysing complex problems, especially those problems where the solution may affect many other people. In these cases there are usually several criteria that may be in conflict with each other and that require the application of Multicriteria Decision Analysis Methods (MDAM). MCDAs describe a collection of concepts, methods, and techniques that are intended to help individuals or groups make decisions involving different conflicting viewpoints and multiple stakeholders (Rodriguez, 2009). Among the MDAMs, the Hierarchical Analytical Process (HAP) developed by mathematician Thomas Saaty (1980) is noteworthy. It was designed to solve complex problems with multiple criteria and has had a wide range of successful applications in assisting business and government decision making. Moreover, this method is easy to understand and robust enough to analyse the complexities of real problems.

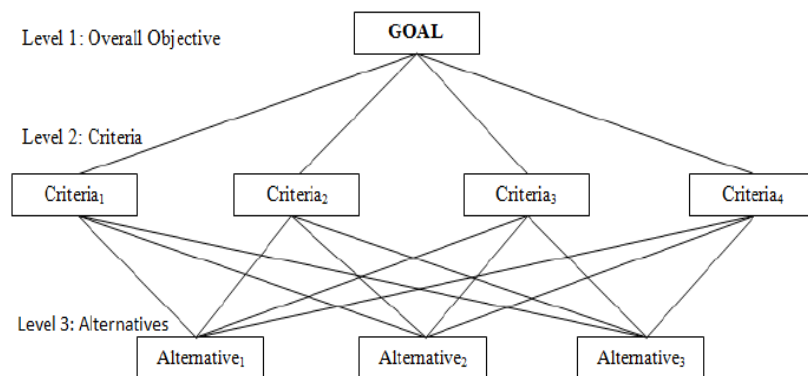


Fig. 3. Hierarchical structure in the analytic hierarch process (AHP) method. Academic notes in the subject of Decision Making in the Master of Project Management at the Polytechnic University of Valencia

This method allows for the analysis of both qualitative and quantitative factors and requires that judgments be made about the relative importance of each criterion and preferences about each decision alternative (Anderson et al., 1999). The main drawback of decision making on complex problems is finding the best solution among a set of alternatives, which are evaluated by multiple conflicting criteria and in which multiple

decision makers participate. Thomas Saaty purpose of solving this type of problem starting from a hierarchical model of it. This model allows to divide a complex decision into a set of simple decisions, facilitating the understanding and solution of the complex problem under consideration. Figure 1 shows a generic scheme of hierarchy in which it can be seen that the superior element is the Objective or goal to be achieved. The elements of the lower level represent the various Alternatives proposed as possible solutions to the problem posed. While the intermediate levels represent the Criteria and sub-criteria (this level being optional depending on the characteristics of the problem to be analysed) through which each of the proposed Alternatives will be evaluated.

The AHP technique is essentially composed of three stages:

1. Analysis and modelling of the problem to be solved by means of a hierarchical structure in which its main elements are defined, such as the objective to be achieved by applying the AHP technique, the criteria and sub-criteria (optional) to be used for evaluating the various alternatives proposed as feasible solutions to the problem
2. Expert judgement through pair-wise comparisons These judgements reflect the relative importance, measured according to the scale (Table 1) proposed by Saaty (1980), which for the expert represents the elements of a lower level with respect to the elements of the higher level. These judgements are collected in a series of matrices of comparisons by pairs from which the local priorities of each element in the hierarchy are obtained.
3. Prioritization and synthesis. At this stage, using prioritisation procedures, global priorities are obtained for each of the alternatives identified in the hierarchical structure. This allows us to establish a ranking of the alternatives from which to confirm which of these alternatives is the best to solve the problem posed.

Scales	Degree of preference	Explanation
1	Equally	Two activities contribute equally to the objective
3	Moderately	Experience and judgment slightly to moderately favor one activity over another
5	Strongly	Experience and judgment strongly or essentially favor one activity over another
7	Very strongly	An activity is strongly favored over another and its dominance is showed in practice
9	Extremely	The evidence of favoring one activity over another is of the highest degree possible of an affirmation
2, 4, 6, 8	Intermediate values	Used to represent compromises between the preferences in weights 1, 3, 5, 7, and 9
Reciprocals	Opposites	Used for inverse comparison

Fig. 4. Points AHP. Academic notes in the subject of Decision Making in the Master of Project Management at the Polytechnic University of Valencia

Since the appearance of the AHP technique, there have been multiple areas such as: Personal, Social, Production, Policy and Management, among others. Likewise, it has been used in various applications (Selection, evaluation, assignment etc.) due to the ease of representing certain complex problems through a hierarchical structure. Another advantage

that has facilitated its use is that it allows both quantitative and qualitative criteria to be handled at the same time.

In the area of study relating to Intellectual Capital, the application of the AHP technique is recent and few in number, as can be seen from the review of the literature. However, due to the potential of this technique, its use is expected to increase. The main applications focus on prioritizing the indicators to be used to measure various elements considered in Intellectual Capital. Since the definition and prioritization of the indicators used to measure any important business activity promotes to companies a guide of where to focus their efforts to achieve success (Bozbura 2007). Another application for which the AHP technique has been used is to determine the impact of certain intangibles on the creation of value for the company.

6. ASSESSMENT OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MANAGEMENT SKILLS SUPPORTING PROJECT LEADERSHIP. HIERARCHY OF CHARACTERISTICS OF A GOOD LEADER WITH THE AHP METHOD

In this study on leadership, many variables or attributes have been identified that can characterize these leaderships in the aforementioned contexts. For this research, in order to identify and prioritize the most relevant variables as personal characteristics of a good project leader, informants from the Valencia Polytechnic University were consulted who were asked: what are the most important characteristics (attributes) that must be present in the project leaders. From the above, 7 variables were obtained as a result:

Table 1. Skills for the determination of study attributes

Good leader skills
<i>Adaptability:</i> The ability to adaptability is about having ready access to different ways of thinking, enabling leaders to shift and experiment as things change. Having an elastic cognitive approach allows leaders to use different thinking strategies and mental frameworks.
<i>Ability to lead.</i> The ability lead is when the leader knows how to lead and delegate.
<i>Ability to solve problems.</i> The ability to solve problem can be defined as efficiency and agility in finding solutions to the problems that have arisen. Those people with high capacity for problem solving are able to act proactively, without wasting time, and finding the most appropriate solutions for each case, always thinking about the repercussions that they may have in the long term.
<i>Strategic and negotiation capacity.</i> The ability of strategic and negotiation capacity is when the leader must know how to reach a compromise or agreement while avoiding challenges and disputes. Ability to seek mutual benefit through strategies and maintaining a relationship.
<i>Team-Work capacity.</i> The ability of team-work capacity is the ability to actively participate in the execution of a common collective goal.
<i>Charisma</i> The ability of charisma is a method of encouraging particular behaviour's in others by way of eloquent communication, persuasion and force of personality. Charismatic leaders motivate followers to get things done or improve the way certain things are done.
<i>Empathy</i> The ability of empathy means being able to understand the needs of other team members and stakeholders.

Source: Own creation.

From these 7 variables the hierarchical structure that corresponds to establish through the AHP method the prioritization of attributes or qualities associated with leadership has been defined.



Fig. 5. AHP structure of the priority study

Source: Own creation.

To make the pairwise comparison, an expert group of 3 participants was defined. To obtain this peer comparison, the experts responded individually to a questionnaire, where: Where:

- C1 is Adaptability
- C2 is Ability to lead.
- C3 is Ability to solve problems.
- C4 is Strategic and negotiation capacity.
- C5 is Team-Work capacity.
- C6 is Charisma.
- C7 is Empathy.

Table 2. Example format for peer comparison

	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
C1									x									C2
C1									x									C3
C1				x														C4
C1					x													C5
C1								x										C6
C1									x									C7
C2										x								C3
C2								x										C4
C2									x									C5
C2								x										C6
C2									x									C7
C3					x													C4
C3								x										C5
C3									x									C6
C3										x								C7
C4											x							C5
C4											x							C6
C4									x									C7
C5					x													C6
C5									x									C7
C6								x										C7

Source: Own creation.

Where:

C1 is Adaptability

C2 is Ability to lead.

C3 is Ability to solve problems.

C4 is Strategic and negotiation capacity.

C5 is Team-Work capacity.

C6 is Charisma.

And C7 is Empathy.

Once the answers of the experts in the questionnaires attached to this document in the annex have been obtained, we have proceeded with the help of the SuperDecisions software.

The SuperDecisions is used for decision-making with dependence and feedback. This software provides tools to create and manage AHP and ANP models, enter your judgements, get results and perform sensitivity analysis on the results. It also provides support for complex, multilevel BOCR models (www.superdecisions.com).

For this they have moved their responses to the program. Including the different levels first and then including their scores.

After obtaining the individual judgments, the aggregation of group or group judgments was made using the geometric average method, obtaining the aggregate matrix. After this matrix you will calculate the relative weights of each skill and according to the result of the weights the priorities of these skills are determined. These calculations are also found in the annex.

Table 3. Final results where C1 is Adaptability , C2 is Ability to lead, C3 is Ability to solve problems, C4 is Strategic and negotiation capacity, C5 is Team-work capacity, C6 is Charisma and C7 is Empathy

	Expert 1	Expert 2	Expert 3	Geometric Mean
C1	0,08301	0,08377	0,05881	0,07423
C2	0,06596	0,26183	0,13599	0,13292
C3	0,36945	0,22508	0,10195	0,20390
C4	0,21755	0,17298	0,14087	0,17436
C5	0,13368	0,13041	0,18616	0,14805
C6	0,07509	0,09068	0,29553	0,12625
C7	0,05527	0,08068	0,03525	0,05397
				CR<0,10

Source: Own creation.

In table 3 we can see that the ability to solve problems would be the most important thing to consider in a good leader, since he has obtained the highest score, following the strategic and negotiation capacity and the team-work capacity. What has become less relevant, although all these characteristics are important in a good project team leader, is adaptability and empathy.

7. CONCLUSIONS

After the entire research process and the calculation process to establish a hierarchy, it is observed, as we have seen in the previous point, that the ability to solve problems is the most important characteristic that we must have in mind in a good project leader. And they follow the following qualities being the last empathy.

All these qualities are important in a good project leader. It is important to remember that in this document the most important qualities have been identified and within them their hierarchy.

The order of these qualities is as follows:

- First place: Ability to solve problems.
- Second place: Strategic and negotiation capacity.
- Third place: Team-work capacity.
- Fourth place: Ability to lead.
- Fifth place: Charisma.
- Sixth place: Adaptability.
- Seventh place: Empathy.

It makes sense that the result of the study has been in first place one of the basic skills of the leader who is his ability to solve problems. Problems are part of the dynamics and daily life of organizations and leaders need to know how to deal with them and what decisions to make to solve them. This is a very practical aspect of leadership; problems are part of the situations that the leader has to manage.

The key to handling problems when they arise is having the right perspective. They can be seen as a threat or as an opportunity. So, when a leader sees difficulties, he not only thinks about problems, he must also think about opportunities.

But it is important to distinguish when faced with a problem or an opportunity. It is not always clear, and this is very important for the management of the leader

Peter F. Drucker, *What Makes An Effective Executive*, Harvard Business Review (2004) says that "Solving a problem simply restores normalcy, but progress necessarily comes from exploiting opportunities" and the aforementioned author adds: A problem is that which jeopardizes the organization's ability to achieve its objectives, and when they appear, they must be resolved; but the opportunity is that which offers the possibility of exceeding the objectives. Another important aspect when solving problems is the support and participation of the work team. In some work contexts the leader is seen as fixing everything. But not all decisions in response to problems must correspond to the leader.

The leader needs to prioritize what problems require more attention. This will help your decisions focus on the core of the real problems and needs, concentrating your energy, attention and time to solve the problems, instead of diluting yourself in many problems at once. In addition, there is no leader with the ability to effectively manage all the problems that occur in your organization. The leader needs to identify real crises, potential crises or major opportunities. On the other hand, by allowing others to take the decision to solve a problem, the commitment of those who accompany the leader is strengthened and also learn to take responsibility for the results, whether they are successes or failures. It is necessary to always keep in mind that leaders have the responsibility to enable others to develop their potential, and to consolidate the necessary skills to solve problems.

Another aspect that needs to be emphasized in relation to problem solving is that problem solving requires a strategic approach. This is an essential aspect of the leader's

effectiveness: his strategic sense in solving problems. The idea is to anticipate the problems and not to surprise the leader. Leaders need to be proactive and learn to identify potential problems and anticipate their resolution even before problems appear.

In this regard, Joel Barker comments, in *Five regions of the future: The new paradigm for understanding technology*, 2005: "The success of management lies in the ability to conduct an adequate strategic exploration, which is achieved by rejecting the attitude of taking decisions as a reaction to present problems to engage in anticipation of future problems". Therefore, the leader needs to analyse:

If it is proactive, the change can mean an opportunity,
but if it is reactive, the change can
Become a tremendous threat.

On the other hand, it should be mentioned that problem solving, adaptation and strategy are three intrinsic skills to any leader and should not be lacking in a project manager. Quoting scientist Stephen Hawking, "intelligence is the ability to adapt to change". During the execution of a project, there are many circumstances that can change, many adverse circumstances that may arise, many problems that must be resolved. A good leader demonstrates his intelligence by being flexible, adapting to the moment and finding different solutions depending on the context.

Another of the most important qualities that have emerged in the investigation is that of negotiating, dealing with stakeholders, that is, with all the figures interested in the project and that, in one way or another, can influence its correct development. Within this group are, in addition to customers, partners, sponsors, investors, suppliers and even the company's employees and directors. The list of groups can be increased depending on the type of projects. Occasionally, unions, associations or even the government itself can become stakeholders of a project. Mediating with all these types of groups is not easy. Each of them has a series of specific characteristics that the leader must know to reach agreements with each of them and achieve the planned objectives. An inefficient negotiation can be the cause of the failure of the project. Negotiating is synonymous with listening, talking, proposing solutions to the conflict of interests and agreeing. An effective negotiation must offer options for both stakeholders to win. That is the difficulty of negotiating. The Project Manager must therefore be a versatile negotiator, capable of adapting to any situation and with essential skills to face the various situations that he will face.

In relation to the result obtained in this area of project management, it would be interesting to review whether it is exactly related to what is stated in the existing literature.

The results are reasonable and adjusted to what experience may indicate, therefore, it is hoped that now being quantified these can become a recommendation for entrepreneurs or project leaders in search of the "ideal" leader.

We can also point out that from the point of view of the methodology used based on the AHP technique, it is possible to have a versatile tool to prioritize attributes, beyond what it means in project leadership, as in this case, also, for example, in the case of education or work, when it comes to generic and specific competencies, often because of their number, time and physical and economic limitations, it is not possible to address and develop in totality, and consequently, it is necessary to prioritize them based on the specific function that a person develops.

In conclusion the Project Leader is one of the essential figures for business projects to come to fruition. This professional assumes a series of key functions among which is to develop the project plan and the strategies to carry it out, coordinate the work team, deal with customers and suppliers, manage risks or continuously evaluate the project with the project. In order to ensure its effective development. In order to perform all the functions assigned to the project manager, it is necessary that throughout his professional career he develops certain skills. And, in addition to the technical knowledge, essential to be able to manage a project effectively, the Project Manager needs to enhance its ability for the organization, its leadership capacity, its communication skills and its negotiation skills.

Finally, leading any kind of activity is not easy, the leader must involve and motivate employees to achieve objectives, inspire confidence in employees, without losing authority. A good leader must be committed in the development of their work to reach the goal set, share knowledge with their employees and learn from them by their experiences.

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DOI: 10.7862/rz.2020.hss.30

The text was submitted to the editorial office: May2020.

The text was accepted for publication: September 2020.

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ORGANIZATION OF THE OIL INDUSTRY IN SOUTH-EASTERN POLAND IN THE YEARS 1944–1989

This article provides an outline of the basic organizational structure of the oil industry in south-eastern Poland in the years 1944–1989 from the perspective of national levels of management and the conditions of the Polish People's Republic. The paper begins with an exploration of the current state of research, describing the previous principles of functioning of the industry in Galician times and the period of the Second Republic of Poland. Particular attention is given to the transformation to the socialist model of oil industry management after WWII, its national and territorial organization, and the functioning of branches of central institutions in companies located in the territory of the contemporary Podkarpackie. The paper then examines changes to the organizational structure of local extraction plants and refineries. In conclusion, the article states that frequent and poorly justified (at least financially) structural changes demonstrate a lack of comprehensive and long-term management of this branch of economy in the economic plans of People's Poland.

Keywords: oil industry, industry organization, organizational changes, oil industry in the Polish People's Republic.

1. INTRODUCTION

Oil industry, intensively developing since mid-19th century, constituted an important branch of the Polish economy not only in the inter-war period but also later during the existence of the Polish People's Republic. In this time it underwent organisational transformations which were aimed to enhance governmental management over the whole sector, to monitor oil extraction and processing and to control the final product supplied to particular recipients. In this respect still the old so-called western oil basin (located in the south-east region of post-war Poland, i.e. in the territory of the contemporary the Podkarpackie Voivodeship) played a major role. That is why it is essential to track organisational changes in oil industry in this region in the years 1944-1989, which, undoubtedly, is more often analysed in the economic historiography from the perspective of the whole country. When researching this issue documents in Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw proved to be especially valuable as well as those contained in the State Archives in Rzeszów, the Sanok Branch. Search query of the archive documentation allowed better insight into the process of structural transformations in

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managing this branch of economy. Also articles published in specialist journals proved to be helpful in this analysis.

2. CURRENT STATE OF RESEARCH

Questions of organization of oil industry in the years 1944–1989 have so far been researched in a satisfactory way. After 1989 a few works were published in relation to this topic. For instance, Andrzej Chabrzyk in *Organizacja kopalnictwa naftowego* discussed the order of functioning of oil industry in the 19th century and in the 20 years' inter-war period, still also considerably focusing on its organisation within 1944–1989 (Chabrzyk, 1995). The work of Mining Offices and their tasks were presented by Karol Jahoda in *Urzędy Górnicze i ich kompetencje*, where he traced the functioning of these institutions since the 19th century till the period of the Polish People's Republic (Jahoda, 1995).

The manner in which oil industry operates was also discussed by Kazimierz Kachlik in *Organizacja przemysłu rafineryjnego*. Like the above mentioned researchers, he analysed management of oil refinery industry since the 19th century from the period of the Polish People's Republic. He described oil industry organisations which were created before 1939 and managing bodies of oil industry after 1945 (Kachlik, 1995). A similar article was also written by Ryszard Cygan and Józef Dorynek: *Centralne zarządzanie polskim przemysłem rafineryjnym w okresie gospodarki planowej w latach 1944–1981* (Cygan, Dorynek, 2018). The managing structures of the gas pipeline network in the inter-war period and during the existence of the Polish People's Republic were depicted by Kazimierz Nycz in his elaboration *80 lat Zakładu Gazowniczego w Jaśle* (Nycz, 2000), while the functioning of central authorities of oil industry from 1944 to 1955 was described by Jolanta Golonkiewicz-Rybska (Golonkiewicz-Rybska, 2006a). The same author in her article *Kopalnictwo naftowe w latach 1944–1949* outlined its functioning and organisational changes in the years 1947, 1948, 1949 (Golonkiewicz-Rybska, 2006b). Finally Jan Sęp in his article *Prawo i nadzór naftowy* showed the legal body of judicial decisions since the 19th century, through the inter-war period until 2011 (Sęp, 2013). The functioning of the District Mining Office in Krosno was presented by Jan Omachel in his article *Okręgowy Urząd Górniczy w Krośnie* (Omachel, 1998). Bartłomiej Skrzypek depicted in a synthetic manner the organisation of the whole sector in the years 1944–1989 in his work *Przemysł naftowy i rafineryjny w PRL* (Skrzypek, 2014).

3. ORGANIZATION OF OIL INDUSTRY IN THE TERRITORY OF POLAND UNTIL WWII

In order to evaluate the organisational structure of oil industry in the post-war Podkarpackie region, it is important to mention several facts concerning previous decades. The first legal act regulating the functioning of oil industry in this region was passed in 1884, while another one – in 1886. They were in force solely in the territory of Galicia and Bukowina. In the territory of the whole Austro-Hungarian Empire, the act passed in 1854 (the so-called common mining act) was valid. The rapid development of this sector led to subsequent regulations, introduced on the 22nd of March in 1908 which were necessary as in the period before the outbreak of WWI in the territory of western oil basin there were many companies dealing with oil extraction. The first one was established by Ignacy Łukasiewicz, Karol Klobassa and Tytus Trzeciecki in 1854. The biggest companies operating before WWI were as follows: Vacuum Oil Company, Galician Carpathian

Petroleum Joint-stock Company Bergheim&Mac Garvey and the First Galician Petroleum Company (Chabrzyk, 1995). In the 19th century the first attempt at uniting refineries operating in the territory of Galicia was the National Oil Association for Care and Development of Oil Industry and Mining in Galicia, established in 1879, based in Gorlice. Another step in the consolidation of the existing processing plants was the creation of the "Oil" cartel in 1897.

Upon regaining independence, the question of efficient organisation of oil industry became an important task for the new authorities. Already in 1918 in Cracow the Office of Polish Oil Refineries "Polraf" was established. The new organisation included the processing plant in Limanowa, Trzebinia, Ustrzyki and Czechowice. Later the headquarters was moved to Warsaw, where the Office was transformed into the Syndicate of Polish Oil Industry "Polnaft". In 1921 the State Oil Council as an advisory body to the ministry started to operate after the Ministry of Industry and Commerce approved its articles of association. In the same year a new company was created, i.e. the National Sales of Polish Refineries "Krajnafta", based in Warsaw. The new enterprise included the refineries of the company "Polmin", e.g. Jasło, Krosno, Glinik Mariampolski, but also "Fanto" Jedlicze (Kachlik, 1995).

In 1927 Stanisław Pilat's initiative led to the decision to create the Oil Industry Syndicate, which was supposed to cover all existing refineries in Poland. The subject of its operation was, among other things, to systematise and centralise export, to allocate resources for exploratory drilling, to stabilise prices of raw materials and to introduce the wholesale of oil products (Kachlik, 1995).

The last attempt at unification of oil companies in the inter-war period in 1933 was the creation of the organisation of "Polish Oil Export" by the Minister of Industry and Commerce. Its main aim was to regulate quotas sold domestically and abroad as well as to eliminate the debilitating competition between companies. Members of this organisation were all oil refinery and gas pipeline enterprises located in the territory of Poland. One of their main duties was to control enterprises in the scope of performing tasks assigned in the articles of association and to collect contributions for the Oil Drilling Support Fund. Until the outbreak of WWII there were no more major changes in this sector of industry (Gajl, 1938; Kawalla, 2015; Morawski, 2016). As can be concluded from the above overview, both Austrian authorities and the reborn Polish state strove to centralise management of oil industry, realising the importance of this sector for the economy of the country and its defence capabilities.

4 CREATION OF NATIONWIDE STRUCTURES AFTER LIBERATION

As most of the Polish industry, oil sector also sustained material losses during WWII. Oil refineries were destroyed, resources from the existing boreholes were depleted due to wasteful exploitation. Moreover, the eastern oil basin was cut off the country. What is worse, the end of WWII did not lead to an end in hostilities in the territory of the western oil basin. The region of mines in the Bieszczady was attacked by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). The situation improved only after the "Vistula" operation was implemented.

Liberation from German occupation and the introduction of people's government caused that the existing mines and refineries were seized by the state (Podsiadło, 1966; Struś, 1996; Struś, 2004; Wieliczko, 2001). Supervision over plants in Podkarpacie was provided by the Higher Mining Office in Cracow and its local office, i.e. Regional Mining

Office in Krosno, where in 1945 the Regional Mining Office was transferred from Jasło. The reason for the decision was the destruction of the Jasło office along with the documentation and equipment as no replacement facilities were available. The territorial scope of the Krosno office encompassed the area of the previous Jasło agency. As the documentation was lost or destroyed, the Regional Mining Office in Krosno in 1945 requested specific information about particular mining plants from sectors of oil and natural gas mines: Gorlice, Krosno-Jasło and Sanok, with regard to detailed statistics of extraction from particular boreholes in mines and statistics concerning accidents (Sęp, 2013)².

Since 1951 there was only one Higher Mining Office based in Katowice. It supervised 14 Regional Mining Offices, including the office in Krosno. In 1953 a new mining law was introduced since until that time the mining law from 1930 still remained in force, while in case of oil industry – legal regulations from Austro-Hungarian times. The new regulations concerned the already nationalised mining sector along with oil and natural gas exploration. It was also decided that all minerals belong to the state. In 1954 the Higher Mining Office became the central office which was directly subordinated to the President of the Council of Ministers. In 1961 a decree concerning mining offices was passed, regulating their competences and the scope of duties (Jahoda, 1995; Ochamel, 1998; Sęp, 2013).

The first institution which dealt with repossessing oil infrastructure after the frontline receded was the Oil Products Central Office. Its origins can be traced to July 1944 when a group of five oilmen gathered to present a project of establishing the enterprise to the president of the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN). On the 14th of August 1944 PKWN issued an official document determining the name of the company: “Polski Monopol Naftowy”/Polish Oil Monopoly (PMN), soon (February 1945) changed to “Centrala Produktów Naftowych”/Oil Products Central Office (CPN), which was subject to the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. The first composition of CPN was established in Lublin, while its branches were located in Rzeszów and Białystok. Early years of operation (1944-1946) were directed towards military and peaceful economic activity. Rolling stock was mostly destroyed, oil products came from small German supplies and military support. The only producer for this enterprise was Jedlicze Refinery, which in this period manufactured several dozen tonnes of oil products per month. In the same year the headquarters of CPN was transferred from Cracow to Warsaw. In 1947 many matters were finally arranged, e.g. full state control was abolished and prices of oil products were stabilised. In the same year CPN was separated from the Central Board of Industry of Liquid Fuels and subordinated to the Department of Trade in Industrial Articles of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. In 1948 an autonomous state enterprise “Centrala Produktów Naftowych”/Oil Products Central Office was established. According to the provisions of the act, the subject of its operation was purchase, sale of bituminous materials home and abroad, as well as oil products manufactured from them (liquid fuels, greases, paraffins, etc.) (Zarządzenie Ministra Przemysłu i Handlu..., 1948, nr 46, poz. 233). In the same year

² State Archives in Rzeszów, local office in Sanok (APR-S), *Regional Mining Office in Krosno* (OUGwK), *OUG Resolutions and circulars 1945 – 1948*, No. 27. *Resolution of the 8th of October adopted by the Minister of Industry determining the headquarters and territorial ownership of Regional Mining Offices*, “*Journal of Laws*”, 1946, no 55, item 314. Based on the resolution by the Minister of Industry adopted on the 8th of October 1946, the territory of operation of the office was determined to cover the Rzeszowskie Voivodeship and the following poviats: dąbrowski, tarnowski, brzeski, nowosądecki, limanowski, nowotarski and myślenicki from the Krakowskie Voivodeship.

(the 15th of October 1948) by means of a resolution by the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers, Polish State Railways transferred the whole rolling stock of railway cisterns to CPN (Małyska, 2014; Skrzypek, 2014; Zieliński, 2002).

One year later the company was subordinated to the Ministry of Internal Trade. In 1950 according to the resolution by the Council of Ministers, CPN was acquired by the State Committee of Economic Planning (Uchwała Rady Ministrów..., 1950, nr 129, poz. 1609). Two years later through another transformation, CPN was subordinated to the Ministry of Mining. In the years 1955–1957 CPN was supervised by the Central Oil Office. Upon the liquidation of the Central Oil Office the supervision over the enterprise was handed back to the Ministry of Mining and Energy. The last change occurred one year later when the supervision over the Central Office of Oil Products was taken over by the Minister of Chemical Industry until the end of existence of this Ministry.

5. OTHER CENTRAL UNITS OF OIL INDUSTRY AND THEIR BRANCHES IN SOUTH-EASTERN POLAND

In July 1944 PKWN established the State Oil Office (PUN) based in Rzeszów. The office supervised two sectors: the mining and the refinery ones. Within the office also a gas branch was created. Plants which provided support for the oil sector were also brought under control. The sale of oil and its domestic and imported products was controlled by the State Office of Sales based in Lublin. In the following months a branch of PUN was also established in Krosno. This office supervised oil mines, gasoline plants and workshops, located in the vicinity of Sanok and Krosno, and the refinery in Jedlicz. This institution also exercised supervision over the Oil Institute in Krosno, created in 1944. In 1945 the headquarters of the State Oil Office was transferred from Rzeszów to Krosno. In the same year the Refinery Board of was created in PUN, which covered all refineries and grease manufacturing plants. This autonomous office supervised and managed the activities of oil companies. In the managing structure of PUN, the highest unit in the organisational structure of a mining area was a sector, which, in turn, covered sections, which included mines (Chabrzyk, 1995; Golonkiewicz-Rybska, 2006a).

In 1945 the name of the State Oil office was changed to the Central Board of the Liquid Fuels Industry, which includes three associations: Oil Industry Association, Natural Gas Association and Synthetic Fuels Industry Association (the first two were soon combined into the Oil Industry and Natural Gas Association). The Central Board of the Liquid Fuels Industry was subordinated to the Ministry of Industry and Commerce and in 1946 it included, among others, Oil Exploration, Oil Mining, Oil Refineries, Natural Gas, Oil Products Central Office, Oil Institute, Ceramic Plants Board in Polanka near Krosno and the Factory of Drilling Machines and Tools in Gorlice (Chabrzyk, 1995; Kachlik, 1995; *Organizacja...*, 1963; Sęp, 2013)³.

The organisational scheme of the Central Board of the Liquid Fuels Industry in the following years underwent further transformations. For instance, on the 30th of September a resolution was adopted which abolished *the existing administrative divisions of Oil Mining Enterprises into Sectors of Mines as territorial organisational units of managing and controlling nature*. As a result, sectors were eliminated and in their place executive

³ Archive of Modern Records (AAN), Ministry of Industry and Commerce, no. 368, *Organization of Central Board of Industry of Liquid Fuels and subordinate units. Employment arrangement schemes and others 1945-1949*. AAN, Ministry of Industry and Commerce, No. 4015, *State Oil Office*.

cells were established: branches of the Oil Mining Board (*operational units (drilling-manufacturing) called Sections of mines*). *Operational Oil Mining units were reorganised, accumulating all mines in 15 Sections instead of the existing 21*. Subsequently, branches (regional offices of the Mining Board) were established in Sanok and Gorlice. In 1947 the Board of Unification of Oil Industry was transferred from Cracow to Libusza. One year later the headquarters was finally transferred to Krosno (Golonkiewicz-Rybska, 2006a; Golonkiewicz-Rybska, 2006b)⁴.

By means of the decree of the 18th of April 1955 the Central Oil Office (CUN) was created, directly subordinate to the President of the Council of Ministers. The main competences of CUN included *matters of looking for oil and natural gas and their extraction, processing these fossils and distribution of resources and derivative products*. Subsequent tasks entailed coordination of geological works, production of machines and exploration and extraction equipment, investment and mining construction, technological development, research and development works, human resources, employment and vocational training. The head of the office was the President who was appointed and removed, along with vice-presidents, by the President of the Council of Ministers (*Dekret...*, 1955, nr 18, poz. 106; Cygan, Dorynek, 2018)⁵.

CUN was liquidated already in 1957 and included into the Ministry of Mining and Energy, where the Department of Geology and oil was created. In 1958, in turn, oil refineries were separated from the Ministry of Mining and Energy and subordinated to the Ministry of Chemistry⁶.

6. OIL MINING COMPANIES IN SOUTH-EASTERN POLAND

Oil extraction in the south-eastern region was initiated in 1948 by the activity of the state enterprise “Kopalnictwo Naftowe”/Oil Mining based in Krosno. According to the regulation, the subject of its activity was oil and natural gas extraction, oil degassing and natural gas processing in gasoline plants and other facilities which could be used for this purpose. The company was subordinated to the Central Board of Oil Industry based in Cracow. The main tasks of this central office were to coordinate the supervision, to control and to manage the economic activity of state enterprises of the whole industry. State control over the company was in the hands of the Minister of Industry and Commerce. It was managed by the Board which supervised 16 Mining Sections. Each section, in turn, was divided into mines. In the mines particular boreholes (shafts) were distinguished: ones for

⁴ APR-S, Oil Mining State Enterprise, Board of Mines in Krosno (PPKNDKwK), No. 152, Report from operation of oil industry for 1947. No. 537, Reports and balances for 1948. PPKNDKwK, No. 72, *Organizacja of central management of oil industry in 1948*, pp. 70-71. Situation in oil industry in this period was described in detail by Mieczysław Krazek in „Sprawozdanie obejmujące akcję likwidacyjną Sektorów i reorganizację Kopalnictwa Naftowego na dzień 15 I 1948”, PPKNDKwK, No. 197, *Sprawozdania wynikowe techniczno-produkcyjne*.

⁵ APR-S, Oil Refinery Jasło State Enterprise in Jasło (PPRNJwJ), no. 396, *Organisational matters of oil industry*, p. 27. *Dekret z dnia 18 kwietnia 1955 r. o Centralnym Urzędzie Naftowym* (Dz.U. 1955, nr 18, poz. 106).

⁶ APR-S, Oil Mining Potok State Enterprise (PPKNP), *Regulations and circulars of the Ministry of Mining and the Central Board of Oil Industry*, No. 4.

drilling, exploration, deepening or liquidation (Zarządzenie Ministra Przemysłu i Handlu..., 1948, nr 47, poz. 256; Golonkiewicz-Rybska, 2006b)⁷.

The Central Board of Oil Industry supervised the following enterprises:

- Exploratory Drilling – a separate state enterprise based in Cracow,
- Oli Mining – a separate state enterprise based in Krosno,
- Natural Gas – a separate state enterprise based in Tarnów,
- Central Office of Oil Industry Procurement – a state enterprise based in Cracow (Zarządzenie Ministra Przemysłu i Handlu..., 1948, nr 47, poz. 256; Golonkiewicz-Rybska, 2006a)⁸.

At the end of 1948 the Central Board of Oil Industry decided to introduce organisational changes in Oil Mining in the following year. It turned out that it was difficult to manage an excessive number of units as this type of functioning, according to the board, did not guarantee an efficient management of subordinate units. Supervision, control and coordination of particular plants posed increased difficulties. In December 1948 three companies of equal status were formed. In the next year oil industry was subordinated to the Ministry of Mining and Energy. This board included the following units: Exploratory Drilling in Cracow, Sanok Oil Mining, Krosno Oil Mining, Gorlice Oil Mining, United Oil Refineries, Natural Gas in Tarnów, Central Office of Oil Industry Procurement in Cracow and Central Office of Projects of Oil Industry in Cracow (Chabrzyk, 1995)⁹.

In 1949 the Minister of Industry and Commerce introduced three regulations important for the history of oil industry in the south-eastern region of Poland. All three were passed on the 4th of March 1949 and are related to the institutional reinforcement of the regional nature of the companies. The first regulation was adopted in agreement with the Minister of Treasury and the President of the Central Planning Office and concerned a partial amendment to the regulation of the Minister of Industry and Commerce of the 21st of April 1948 about the creation of the company “Kopalnictwo Naftowe”. The amendment consisted in the insertion in the name the wording “Krośnieńskie Kopalnictwo Naftowe”/Krosno Oil Mining instead of “Kopalnictwo Naftowe”/Oil Mining. The second regulation concerned the creation of a state enterprise “Gorlickie Kopalnictwo Naftowe”/Gorlice Oil Mining based in Gorlice, while the third one referred to the establishment of a state enterprise “Sanockie Kopalnictwo Naftowe”/Sanok Oil Mining based in Sanok. For instance, five sections were separated within the Krosno Oli Mining: Iwonicz, Równe, Krosno, Roztoki and Dębowiec-Śląski (Zarządzenie Ministra Przemysłu i Handlu..., 1949, nr 22, poz. 350, 351, 352; Sęp, 2009; Golonkiewicz-Rybska, 2006b)¹⁰.

In 1951 also Ustrzyki Oil Mining was established. The Wańkowa Section, previously a part of the Sanok Oil Mining, was included in it. Finally, in 1973 the Ustrzyki Oil Mining was combined with the Natural Gas Mining Company in Sanok. In Ustrzyki first a branch

⁷ ANN, Ministry of Industry and Commerce, No. 33, The Central Board of Liquid Fuels Industry. APR-S, PPKNDKwK, No. 60, *Circulars of the Central Board of Oil fuels*.

⁸ APR-S, PPKNDKwK, No. 60, *Circulars of the Central Board of Oil fuels*.

⁹ APR-S, PPKNDKwK, No. 537, Reports and balances for 1948. No. 60, *Circulars of the Central Board of Oil Fuels*. PPRNJwJ, No. 396, *Organisational matters of oil industry*.

¹⁰ APR-S, Gorlice Oil Industry Enterprise (PKNG), No. 511, *Balance for the economic year 19507*. APR-S, Krosno State Enterprise, Oil Mining in Krosno (PPKKNwK), No. 251, *Organization of Krosno Oil Mining created in 1949 and its further reorganisation [organisational schemes, resolutions, correspondence]*.

was established, and then the Centre of Mines. Moreover, according to the resolution of the Minister of Mining, organisational changes were introduced. The name "Sections" was changed into "A complex of Mines" (Chabrzyk, 1995; Czajka, 2004; Sęp, 2009; Wais, 2014).

By means of the resolution of the presidium of the government no 80/56 of the 4th of February 1956 the Board of "Karpaty" Oil Mining was established, the main aim of which was to manage the activity of subordinated organisational in the scope of extraction of oil and natural gas and gas degazolination. The head of the company was a director subordinated to the Central Oil office. Oil Mining Ustrzyki, Sanok, Krosno, Jasło, Gorlice were also included in the enterprise¹¹.

Subsequent changes on the management level led to the creation in 1958 the Association of Oil Industry with its main office in Warsaw. Two plants were subordinated to it: the State Enterprise of Oil exploration in Cracow and the State Enterprise of Oil Mining in Krosno. The Krosno Mining, in turn, included plants in Gorlice, Krosno, Sanok, Ustrzyki Dolne and Mielec. The existing mining enterprises were then transformed into "extraction plants". According to the provisions of the act, the extraction plants were to function on the basis of the principles of internal economic account settling. The above mentioned plants bore also the cost of maintenance of the Association of Oil Industry in Warsaw. In 1959 the Board of Oil Mining "Karpaty" was transformed into the State Enterprise of Oil Mining. The headquarters was located still in Krosno. The existing Mining enterprises were transformed into the above mentioned extraction plants (Ustrzyki, Sanok, Krosno, Jasło and Gorlice) (Chabrzyk, 1995)¹².

As a result of the discovery of new areas containing resources of oil and natural gas in Partynia, Podborze and Swarzów, there were difficulties with regard to the management of these resources. Consequently, the Association of Oil Industry in Warsaw was requested to liquidate the Extraction Plant in Jasło and to create a new plant in Partynia. Such organisational changes were supposed to ensure efficient management of new areas where the extraction took place. Mines which previously became a part of the extraction plant in Jasło (Osobnica, Harkłowa, Folusz, Pielgrzymka, Mrukowa, Świerchowa) were taken over by the Gorlice Extraction Plant. By means of the Resolution no 118 of the 11th of November 1966 of the Minister of Mining and Energy, the Natural Gas Enterprise in Sanok was established¹³.

Subsequent changes were introduced in 1967, when in place of the Krosno Extraction Plant, the authorities established the Krosno Oil Mining Enterprise which was subordinated to the Oil Mining Association (formerly Oil Industry Association). Also the Extraction Plant Partynia was transformed into Oil Mining Mielec.

In 1973 Oil Mining Krosno acquired Oil Mining Enterprise Gorlice. In the same year the oil Mining Enterprise Ustrzyki in Ustrzyki Dolne was combined with the Natural Gas Mining Enterprise in Sanok. In Ustrzyki Dolne a branch was established which later was transformed into the Centre of Mines. Subsequent important changes were introduced in

¹¹ APR-S, PPRNJwJ, No. 396, Organisational matters of oil industry.

¹² APR-S, Polish Oil and Natural Gas Mining, Krosno Oil and Gas Mining Plant (PGNiG KZGNiGwK), No. 859, *Comprehensive analysis of the activity for 1960*. PPKKNwK, No. 1519, *Comprehensive technical and economic analysis of Oil Mining in Krosno for 1959*.

¹³ APR-S, PPKKNwK, No. 1519, *Comprehensive technical and economic analysis of Oil Mining in Krosno for 1959*.

1975. According to the resolution of the Council of Ministers a new Association of Oil and Natural Gas was created. The main reason for the changes was the desire to simplify the organisational structure, to introduce a fast flow of information and to consolidate two scientific institutes – the Oil Institute and the Natural Gas Institute. The aim of the new organisation was to focus on the search for oil and natural gas resources, their extraction, technological processes and to provide gas for industrial plants and the citizens. As a consequence, on the 31st of December 1975, the Ministry of Mining and Energy passed a new resolution; no 66 concerning the establishment of a State Enterprise, Oil and Gas Mining in Sanok. Also the Oil Mining Enterprise in Krosno and Natural Gas Mining Enterprise in Sanok were combined, which led to the creation of the Sanok Oil and Gas Mining Enterprise. In 1982 on the basis of the resolution of the Minister of Mining and Energy in place of the existing Oil Mining and Gas Association, the authorities created the Polish Oil and Gas Company, existing until the present day. Organisational changes took place also on the regional level. The enterprise in Sanok was transformed into the Sanok Plant of Oil and Gas Mining. In the organisational structure of PGNiG (Polish Oil and Natural Gas Mining), the Krosno Plant of Oil and Gas Mining was retained (Zarządzenie, „Nafta”, 1976; Bezucha, Koenig, 1969; Mnich, 1959; Owsik, 1975; Ogrodnik, 1973; Sęp, 2009; Wais, 2013; Wojnar, 2013).

7. REFINERIES IN PODKARPACIE IN THE NATIONAL MANAGEMENT STRUCTURES

The organisational structure of the branch of oil refineries also underwent frequent changes, the aim of which was to adjust the enterprise to the current economic challenges. These changes clearly concerned the functioning of production facilities in south-eastern Poland. Refineries in Podkarpacie in the early stage of the Polish People's Republic belonged, among others, to the Association of Oil Refineries (until 1951), and later on the Central Board of Oil Industry (until 1956). The company which cooperated with refineries was also the Central Office of Oil Industry Procurement in Cracow (Zarządzenie Ministra Przemysłu i Handlu..., 1948, nr 47, poz. 259; *Organizacja...*, „Nafta”, 1963)¹⁴.

In 1971 by means of the resolution of the Council of Ministers, the Association of Oil Refineries was transformed into “Petrochemia” Association, which included the south-eastern plants in Gorlice, Jasło and Jedlicz, but also in Trzebinia, Czechowice, Płock, Gdańsk, Blachownia (also plants not related to oil processing such as the Chemical Plant in Oświęcim, Nitrogen Plant “Chorzów” or Nitrogen Plant in Włocławek). The reason for creation of such a big enterprise was the launch of the Combine of Mazowieckie Refinery and Petrochemistry Plants in Płock (Kachlik, 1995).

In 1976 an important, however an unsuccessful attempt at consolidating refineries in Podkarpacie was the combination of the refineries in Gorlice, Jasło and Jedlicze into one enterprise “Podkarpackie Refinery Plant named after Ignacy Łukasiewicz” based in Jasło. This enterprise operated only till 1981, when it was divided into three autonomous refineries. (a similar experiment was conducted when the refinery in Trzebinia and the refinery in Czechowice were combined in order to create the Silesian Refinery Plant based

¹⁴ APR-S, PPKNDKwK, No. 60, *Circulars of the Central Board of Oil Fuels*, p. 422-423, 424-425. PPRNJwJ, No. 388, Zarządzenie MPiH z dnia 21 IV 1948 r. o utworzeniu p.p. Zjednoczone Rafinerie Nafty w Krakowie.

in Czechowice, liquidated also in 1981) (Uchwała nr 242 Rady Ministrów..., 1981, nr 32, poz. 286; *Integracja...*, „Nafta”, 1976).

In the same year “Petrochemia” Association was also liquidated. In place of the previous association, the voluntary “Petrochemia” union was created, with its main office in Cracow. This organisation included all refineries and plants which previously belonged to the “Petrochemia” Association, however without the Gdańsk refinery. In 1983 also Mazowieckie Refinery and Petrochemistry Plants in Płock resigned from participation in this union. This organisational arrangement lasted until the end of the Polish People’s Republic (Kachlik, 1995).

8. CONCLUSION

The organisation of oil industry in the south-eastern region of post-war Poland was the reflection of the economic presumptions of People’s Poland and its centralised economy. The pre-war oil mines and oil processing plants were nationalised and included into central structures, which led to irrational management, underinvestment of plants and lack of consideration for economic results. Mines and refineries of south-eastern Poland still played an important role in the development of this branch of industry, although not a leading one. Lack of stability in the organisational structure and management of oil industry in the Polish People’s Republic undoubtedly did not support its growth.

It is worth mentioning that oil industry in the years 1944–1989 underwent particularly frequent organisational changes. The creation of national managing units in the first years after the war, e.g. State Oil Office or the Central Board of Liquid Fuels Industry aimed at facilitating the reconstruction of nationalised mines and processing plants and at determining directions of distribution of final products. In the period after the post-war reconstruction more changes were introduced as the Central Board of Oil Industry was established. The distribution of oil products was managed by the Central Office of Oil Products. In the subsequent years particular mining enterprises were established for a given area, including the Podkarpacki Region. However, these changes did not last for a long time as other transformations were implemented in the following years.

Undoubtedly, organisational transformations did not support better management of this branch of industry. They constituted a specific element of the centrally planned economy, i.e. subordinated not to the principles of economics but to the ideological vision of the state. Frequent organisational changes led to chaos and made it difficult for the companies to work properly. It is difficult to state unequivocally why such frequent transformations were implemented. On the one hand, they might have provided better supervision over this branch of economy. However, on the other, they could have offered better control over the office employees who did not act according to the precepts of the state. An example of such failed transformation could be the establishment of the Podkarpackie Refinery Plants named after Łukasiewicz (plants in Jasło, Gorlice and Jedlicze), which in this organisational form existed only for a short time, i.e. in the years 1976–1981. This holding was dissolved as a result of protests by the employees of plants in Jedlicze and Gorlice who argued that the facilities were inefficient economically and that they were treated unfairly with regard to the dominant Jasło refinery (Dorynek, 1998; Kamiński, 1981) It can be clearly stated that excessively frequent and not always economically justified structural changes in the organisation of oil industry during the People’s Republic of Poland in the south-eastern

region prove that there was no comprehensive and long-term vision of management of this branch of economy.

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- Dekret z dnia 18 kwietnia 1955 r. o Centralnym Urzędzie Naftowym (Dz.U. z 1955 r., nr 18, poz. 106).
- Rozporządzenie Ministra Przemysłu z dnia 8 października 1946 r. o ustaleniu siedzib i własności terytorialnej Okręgowych Urzędów Górniczych (Dz.U. z 1946 r., nr 55, poz. 314).
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- Uchwała Rady Ministrów z dnia 29 listopada 1950 r. w sprawie zmiany podporządkowania Centrali Produktów Naftowych oraz zmiany spisu przedsiębiorstw podległych Państwowej Komisji Planowania Gospodarczego i Ministrowi Handlu Wewnętrznego (M.P. nr 129, poz. 1609).
- Zarządzenie Ministra Przemysłu i Handlu z dnia 21 kwietnia 1948 r. wydane w porozumieniu z Ministrem Skarbu i Prezesem Centralnego Urzędu Planowania o utworzeniu Centralnego Zarządu Przemysłu Naftowego (M.P. z 1948 r., nr 47, poz. 256).
- Zarządzenie Ministra Przemysłu i Handlu z dnia 21 kwietnia 1948 r., wydane w porozumieniu z Ministrem Skarbu i Prezesem Centralnego Urzędu Planowania o utworzeniu przedsiębiorstwa państwowego pod nazwą „Kopalnictwo Naftowe” (M.P. z 1948 r., nr 47, poz. 258).

Zarządzenie Ministra Przemysłu i Handlu z dnia 22 kwietnia 1948 r. wydane w porozumieniu z Ministrem Skarbu i Prezesem Centralnego Urzędu Planowania o utworzeniu przedsiębiorstwa państwowego pod nazwą „Centrala Produktów Naftowych” (M.P. z 1948 r., nr 46, poz. 233).

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Polskie Górnictwo Nafty i Gazu Krośnieński Zakład Górnictwa Nafty i Gazu w Krośnie

Przedsiębiorstwo Kopalnictwo Naftowego Gorlice

Przedsiębiorstwo Państwowe Kopalnictwo Naftowe Potok

Przedsiębiorstwo Państwowe Krośnieńskie Kopalnictwo Naftowe w Krośnie

Przedsiębiorstwo Państwowe Rafineria Nafty „Jasło” w Jasle

DOI: 10.7862/rz.2020.hss.31

The text was submitted to the editorial office: March 2020.

The text was accepted for publication: September 2020.

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DISSOLVING ASSEMBLIES TO GUARANTEE SECURITY

This paper discusses the possibilities provided by the provisions of the Polish law to dissolve an assembly in order to guarantee security. The author analyzes the provisions of the Polish normative system that defines the essence and scope of the right to freedom of an assembly, and which sets the limits of this freedom. The paper presents the types of assemblies and the typical features of individual assemblies, entities authorized to issue a decision to dissolve an assembly, as well as the premises legalizing the possibility of dissolving each assembly and the differences between these premises. The author also raises the problem of the legal form of the decision to dissolve an assembly, the procedure for issuing it, and the problems associated with determining the appropriate appeal procedure against the decision to terminate the spontaneous assembly.

Keywords: assemblies, security, dissolution of an assembly, freedom of an assembly, a decision to dissolve the assembly.

1. INTRODUCTION

An intention of the project of the law in force, which regulates the principles and procedures for organizing, holding and dissolving assemblies, was to create such conditions for organizing and holding assemblies that on the one hand would allow full and effective exercise by citizens and other entities of the constitutionally guaranteed freedom to organize peaceful assemblies and the right to participate in them, on the other one, which would guarantee safety and health protection for the participants of the assembly and the third-parties, as well as protect public order and the freedoms and rights of others.

In the Polish normative system, freedom of assembly was placed first among the freedoms and rights covered by subsection of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland (Journal of Laws 1997 No. 78, item 483, as amended, hereinafter: the Constitution of the Republic of Poland) entitled: "Freedoms and political rights". According to the content of art. 57 of the Polish Constitution, the freedom to organize peaceful assemblies and the right to participate in them is guaranteed to everyone, i.e. – as the Constitutional Court emphasizes in the justification to the judgment of 10 November 2004 (OTK-A 2004/10/105) – an indefinite, anonymous participant who intends to attend an assembly having an occasional and peaceful nature and which was convened for a specific purpose, which means that the exercise of the right to freedom of assembly depends primarily on the free decision and activity of the persons concerned.

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Bearing in mind the possibility provided for by the provisions of Polish law for the dissolution of the assembly in order to protect its security, one should pay attention to two aspects of this problem. First, the constitutional norms regulating the issue designate a sphere free from interference by public authorities, which authority was prohibited from unreasonably interfering with the constitutionally defined sphere of individual activity. Secondly, these norms at the same time constitute for both the participants of these assemblies and their holders the right to demand from the public authority a certain activity which aims primarily at the adequate protection of security of those peaceful assemblies (Sokolewicz, Wojtyczek, 2016). This way of perceiving the right to freedom of assembly may mean the need to simultaneously protect two interests that are legitimately honored and may conflict with each other, i.e. the freedom of assembly and the security of these assemblies.

2. TYPES OF ASSEMBLIES

Until the entry into force of the provisions of the Act of 13 December 2016 amending the Act on Assemblies (hereinafter referred to as a.o.a.), only two basic types of assemblies were distinguished.

The first type means an assembly being a grouping of persons in an open space, accessible to unspecified persons in a specific place for joint deliberations, or for the purpose of jointly expressing a position on public matters. This assembly may be organized in the ordinary mode or organized in a simplified mode, which is possible in the event that the holder of the assembly decides that the planned assembly will not cause difficulties in road traffic, and in particular cause changes in its organization (art. 21 a.o.a.).

The second type of an assembly, called a spontaneous assembly, means a gathering that would take place in connection with the occurrence of a sudden and unpredictable event related to the public sphere, whose holding at another time would be pointless or of little importance from the point of view of debate public (art. 3 a.o.a.).

The third type of an assembly was introduced into our legal order by the provisions of the 2016 Amending Act. This new type of assembly is a cyclically organized assembly, which differs from the other two in both the organization procedure and the purpose for which it is conducted. In accordance with the intention of the legislator, cyclical assemblies are defined as assemblies organized by the same holder in the same place, or on the same route, at least 4 times a year, according to a developed schedule, or at least once a year on state and national holidays and when events took place in the last 3 years, even if not in the form of assemblies and were intended in particular to commemorate events significant for the history of the Republic of Poland (art. 26a (1) a.o.a.).

The amendment to the Act on Assemblies, introducing a new type of assemblies, which are cyclically organized ones, granted them a special status, which is also associated with a kind of protection for these assemblies. If the municipality body received a notification about the intention to organize in the same place (at a distance of less than 100m) and at the same time two or more assemblies, and when holding these assemblies is not possible in such a way that their course threatened the lives or health of people or property of considerable size, then the priority of choosing the place and time of the meeting is determined by the order where such a notification was made. However, when one of these conflicting assemblies is a cyclical assembly, it will take precedence over the others (art. 12 (1) a.o.a.).

3. PREREQUISITES FOR THE ASSEMBLY DISSOLUTION

Depending on the type of an assembly, the legislator indicated the entities authorized to dissolve this assembly and established appropriate premises legalizing a possibility of dissolving the assembly, whose holding constitutes the implementation of political rights and freedoms guaranteed to the citizen at the level of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland.

The power to dissolve the public assembly was granted to four entities. The first one is the chairman of the meeting (art. 19 par. 6, a.o.a., art. 26e a.o.a.), the second is the holder of the meeting (art. 24 a.o.a.), the third a representative of the municipality body (art. 20 par. 1 a.o.a., art. 25 par. 1 a.o.a. and art. 26e a.o.a.), and the fourth is the officer managing the Police (art. 28 (1) a.o.a.). The chairman of the meeting was granted the right to dissolve the meeting organized in the ordinary mode and the cyclical meeting. The holder of the meeting has the right to dissolve the ordinary meeting, organized in a simplified mode. A representative of the municipality body may result in the dissolution of the ordinary assembly, irrespective of the mode in which it was organized and the cyclical assembly. On the other hand, a spontaneous assembly can be dissolved only by an officer managing the Police.

The prerequisites legalizing the dissolution of an assembly were also determined by the legislator in various ways, depending on which type of assembly is concerned, and which of the authorized entities undertakes to dissolve it.

In case of ordinary meetings organized in the basic mode, the chairman of the meeting dissolves the meeting if its participants do not comply with the instructions, or if the course of this meeting violates the provisions of the Act on assemblies or criminal provisions (art. 19 (6) a.o.a.). The premises for dissolution of the assembly, which are presented in this way by the legislator, should be considered as vague and difficult to determine whether, for instance, each case of one of the premises of dissolution of the assembly obliges to dissolve it. The legislator left the chairman of the meeting the freedom to decide whether the intensity of subordination of participants is so important that it should entail the necessity to dissolve the meeting, or whether due to the final nature of this measure it should be used with the utmost moderation (Mamak, 2014). According to P. Suski, the situation which can be managed by other means than the final ones does not justify the dissolution of the assembly (Suski, 2010).

In turn, the premises legalizing the dissolution of the assembly and concerning the violation by its participants of the provisions of the Act on Assemblies and criminal provisions undoubtedly relate to cases in which this assembly, understood as a phenomenon in public space, violates the provisions of the act constituting the basis of its organization. In turn, the violation of criminal provisions may mean the occurrence of collective behavior, whose type and nature indicate the likelihood of their repetition in the further course of the meeting. First of all, it may be behavior committed using violence, posing a threat to the life or health of persons or having the character of a violent assassination attempt (Suski, 2010). The legislator's lack of specification of the phrase "violation of penal provisions" means that it should be understood broadly. Therefore, it may mean all acts endangered by punishment, described in the Penal Code, Penal Fiscal Code, Code of Offenses, special acts containing criminal provisions – in the form of crimes, fiscal offenses or offenses (Rzetecka-Gil, 2019).

A slightly different group of premises was specified by the legislator for the situation of dissolving an ordinary assembly in the event that it is resolved by a representative of the municipal body. They can dissolve the meeting in a situation where the course of the meeting, or if the course of the meeting violates the provisions of the Act on Assemblies or criminal provisions, and the chairman of the meeting, warned by a representative of the municipality body about the need to dissolve the meeting, does not solve it (art. 20 par. 1 a.o.a.). First of all, it should be noted that the power to dissolve the meeting by a representative of the municipality body is derived from the obligation of the chairman to dissolve the meeting. This means that only if the chairman does not dissolve the meeting in accordance with the procedure specified in art. 19 a.o.a., after prior notification of the need to terminate it by a representative of the municipal body, this representative may do so. However, the condition for obtaining the right to dissolve the meeting by a representative of the municipal body is prior notice to the chairman that he should do so pursuant to art. 19 par. 6 a.o.a. (Makowski, 2015). Secondly, in this case, in addition to the premises of the participants of the meeting already discussed above, violations of the provisions of the Act on Assemblies and criminal provisions, in this case additional conditions must be met, i.e. the meeting must pose a threat to the life and health of people or property of considerable size.

These premises should refer to situations in which the way of holding the meeting, in particular its size, collective behavior of participants, their interactions with various elements of the space where it takes place, can realistically cause the death of a person participating in the meeting or the third-party, or cause on their side damage to health or property of considerable size". A specific state of assessment of the threat to property of significant size should also be made not only with reference to their material, but also public utilities, historical, historic, and natural values (Suski, 2010).

In the event of the above-mentioned premises, a police officer may request the dissolution of an assembly. In this situation he has the right to ask a representative of the municipality body to dissolve an assembly.

In case of ordinary meetings, organized in a simplified mode, the meeting holder also has the right to terminate such meeting in the event that its participants do not comply with their instructions, or if the course of the meeting violates the provisions of the Act on Assemblies or criminal provisions. Similarly to ordinary assemblies organized in the basic mode, also these assemblies, held in the simplified mode, may be dissolved by a representative of the municipality body if their course threatens the life or health of people, or property of considerable size. In addition, due to the simplified, i.e. specific mode of organization of this type of ordinary assembly, the legislator defined additional premises, whose fulfillment legalizes the dissolution of such an assembly, thus clearly expanding the catalog of cases where this type of assembly can be resolved. When an ordinary assembly organized in a simplified mode causes a significant threat to the safety or order of road traffic on public roads, the representative of the municipality body may also be dissolved. In this case, a police officer may request that the assembly be dissolved (art. 25 par. 1–2 a.o.a.)

In accordance with the position adopted in the doctrine, it should be assumed that the premise of "a significant threat to the safety or order of road traffic on public roads" refers to a situation where the way of the assembly may disturb the normal scope of access to it, resulting from the adopted road geometry, located on signs, traffic lights and road safety devices, rules of their operation and legal regulations, the course of road traffic in a given

place (Jakubowski, Gajewski, 2017; Rzetecka-Gil, 2019). The literature also indicates that one will encounter such a situation when there is a negative premise that makes it impossible to hold an assembly under the simplified procedure, i.e. its influence on road traffic issues (Makowski, 2015).

In the case of premises justifying the dissolution of an assembly organized cyclically, the legislator recommended the use of the same premises as specified for ordinary assemblies organized in a standard way, i.e. the dissolution of such an assembly will justify behavior threatening the life and health of people, or property in large sizes, or violating the provisions of the Act of Assemblies or criminal regulations.

In turn, a spontaneous assembly may be dissolved when the course of such an assembly threatens the life, health of people, property, when it causes a serious threat to public safety or order, a threat to the safety or order of road traffic on public roads, when it violates the provisions of the Act on Assemblies, or penal provisions, or when it interferes with the course of a parallel ordinary assembly, organized in an ordinary or simplified mode, or an assembly organized cyclically (art. 28 a.o.a.), and the right to dissolve this type of assembly is vested in the officer in charge of the activities of the Police.

In the case of spontaneous assemblies, this additional premise legalizing the dissolution of this type of assembly results directly from the nature of the spontaneous assembly and the fact that it is not subject to notification and, consequently, that it is not protected by state organs to the same extent as ordinary assemblies organized under the procedure ordinary and simplified as well as meetings organized cyclically. Establishing an extended catalog of premises justifying the dissolution of a spontaneous assembly also results from the fact that holding a spontaneous assembly means the inability to prepare public authorities in advance to ensure the safety of participants in such an assembly, as well as to ensure public order during its duration (Rzetecka-Gil, 2019).

4. FORM OF A DECISION TO DISSOLVE AN ASSEMBLY

Due to the specific nature of the action, which is the dissolution of an already ongoing assembly and the circumstances accompanying the decision, the form that this decision will take will be oral, subject to immediate execution. In the event of dissolution of the assembly by a representative of a municipality authority, the regulations additionally require the decision to be delivered to the holder of the assembly in writing within 72 hours of its adoption. Such rules of issuing decisions to dissolve an assembly mean a double system of issuing decisions - oral and written. The doctrine emphasizes that the preparation of a written decision after the announcement is only a method of its recording in writing, taking into account all the elements of the decision specified in the provisions of the Code of Administrative Procedure (hereinafter referred to as: the Code of Administrative Procedure; Art. 107 of the Code of Administrative Procedure). However, it does not have any impact on the binding of the authority and its entry into legal circulation, as these effects occur – pursuant to Art. 110 of the Code of Civil Procedure - upon announcement of such an act orally. Therefore, it should be emphasized that the letter reflecting the verdict announced orally, is not a separate administrative decision (Jakubowski, Gajewski, 2017; Rzetecka-Gil, 2019).

Of course, the holder of the meeting has the right to appeal against the decision to dissolve the assembly to the district court competent for the seat of the commune authority within 7 days from the date of dissolution of the assembly. In turn, the decision of the district

court may be appealed to the court of appeal within 5 days from the date of delivery of the decision. On the other hand, the decision of the court of appeal is no longer subject to a cassation appeal (art. 19 (6) a.o.a., art. 20 a.o.a., art. 24 a.o.a. art. 25 a.o.a., art. 26e a.o.a.).

The above-mentioned double decision-making system was included by the legislator in the procedure of dissolving an ordinary assembly, organized in the ordinary and simplified mode, and the assembly organized cyclically. In the case of a spontaneous assembly, which may be dissolved by an officer in charge of the Police's activities by issuing an oral decision, subject to immediate execution, preceded by a two-time warning of the participants of the spontaneous assembly about the possibility of its dissolution, and then publicly announced to the participants of the assembly, the consequences of the need to prepare the already announced decision in a written form was not provided for by law. The legislator did not express this obligation directly, nor did they refer to other provisions that impose such an obligation on the entity dissolving the meeting. In this case, the legislator did not formulate any guidelines as to the procedure and time limits for appealing against the decision dissolving a spontaneous meeting.

This form of regulations on the dissolution of spontaneous assemblies may lead to the conclusion that in the event of dissolution of such assemblies, the legislator did not provide for any appeal procedure against the decision to dissolve the assembly. Since it is difficult to find a justification for such a position, it is undoubtedly necessary to introduce the *de lege ferenda* postulate to clarify and supplement the provisions of the Act on Assemblies and, consequently, to regulate the need for a written confirmation of an orally issued decision to dissolve a spontaneous assembly, if requested by interested entities, and to specify the appropriate appeal procedure against a decision to dissolve such an assembly.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Ensuring public order and security of citizens is an important element of the policy of functioning of almost every country in the world. The state, burdened with an obligation to implement the above demands, should set first and foremost the creation of precise normative foundations, and on their background appropriate structures that will enable citizens on the one hand to protect their rights and freedoms, and on the other one which will give an opportunity to secure their implementation and not only during daily functioning, but also during unusual events, such as speeches, assemblies of citizens aimed at expressing support, protest or simply expressing opinions.

As already mentioned, one of the basic criteria conditioning the implementation of constitutionally defined freedom of an assembly is the premise of their peaceful intentions. Undoubtedly, the peaceful nature of the assembly is expressed in the safety of its participants, i.e. the objective state of no threat felt subjectively by individuals or groups taking part in that assembly. Ensuring this objectively and subjectively perceived lack of danger is the role of public authorities, which are obliged to take actions to prevent the risk of unwanted damage that may have a source both in the actions of the participants of the assembly or in the actions of third parties. As noticed by J. Zabłocki, it is the duty of public administration bodies not only to formulate suppositions regarding possible threats arising from the planned assembly, but also to identify and thoroughly identify the negative aspects of the assembly against the specific circumstances of the case (Zabłocki, 2017). In addition, it should be added that public administration bodies are also responsible for reacting as it is a natural response to identified threats. As a result, formulation of assumptions and

identifying a threat can mean (finding both normative and actual grounds) the need to dissolve the assembly to protect its security.

In line with the spirit of the Act on Assemblies, all possibilities of dissolving an assembly provided for in the provisions of the Act should constitute an exceptional measure resulting from the occurrence of extraordinary circumstances. As a rule, the end of the assembly should be the moment of its closure by the chairman, not the moment of its dissolution. As noted by the Constitutional Tribunal, not only the prohibition of assembly, but also its dissolution, constitute the most restrictive measures restricting freedom of assembly. Each of these measures, preventing the exercise of constitutional freedoms, may be issued on the basis of an assessment and as a result of adopting a motion with a high probability of a threat to the peaceful nature of the assembly, i.e. a threat to the values specified in Art. 31 section 3 of the Polish Constitution, such as security, public order, environmental protection, health and public morality, as well as the freedom and rights of other people. The Constitutional Tribunal also emphasized that the decision to dissolve a public assembly should be treated as a last resort and adequate for a situation in which the application of other, less severe measures would be insufficient, because the possibility of organizing public assemblies and participating in them is a constitutional freedom that everyone is entitled to (OTK- A, 2004, No. 10, item 105.).

However, the right to freedom must be considered together with the individual's right to security and, as a rule, the analyzed provisions of the Act on Assemblies constitute an appropriate response to this relationship. However, it is necessary for the legislator to refine the provisions constituting the basis for the verification of the decision to dissolve a spontaneous assembly and to specify the appropriate appeal procedure against the decision to dissolve this type of assembly. The dissolution of this type of assembly, although it does not have the character of a notified assembly, undoubtedly constitutes an interference by public authority in the sphere of civil rights and freedoms, and the possibility of assessing the degree of this interference and whether it pursued a legitimate aim is a necessary element to assess the proper functioning of a democratic state.

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DOI: 10.7862/rz.2020.hss.32

The text was submitted to the editorial office: January 2020.

The text was accepted for publication: September 2020.

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SPACE DIPLOMACY – FUTURE PERSPECTIVE²

Space is a new area for diplomacy. Diplomacy plays an important role in all domains from culture, science, and technology, and is a field that focuses on international relations between states. It facilitates communication and exchange of knowledge between states, and is a discipline that has evolved. A new type of diplomacy that has emerged in recent years is “space diplomacy”, which is responsible for arms control and maintaining the “peaceful uses of outer space”. Weaponization and the militarization of space are important and sensitive policy issues for states. The defense of space, and using space for defense, are issues that are now being discussed between diplomats worldwide. Many issues are also being negotiated by international space organizations. This article presents the new discipline of space diplomacy and examines its future by analyzing legal documents negotiated by the international community. The article is relevant to debates on the legal and political aspect of space security and the peaceful use of space for commercial purposes.

Keywords: space diplomacy, negotiations, international law, organization, militarization of space.

1. INTRODUCTION

Space is discussed worldwide, not only bilaterally, but mostly internationally. Not only at international conferences or symposias, but mostly at the diplomatic meeting organized by international space organizations. There are new initiatives referring to peaceful uses of space and cooperation between states in space. There is also some legislative examples in Europe and some ideas of space diplomacy. The Author presents some of them about safety and security or defense and shows how the space diplomacy is important today for international community.

2. SPACE DIPLOMACY – DEFINITION

Professor Kai-Uwe Schrögl, a well-known space researcher, claims that diplomacy, understood as dialogue between sovereign states, was the beginning of space law in the 1960s. Since then, diplomacy has played an important role in the process of creating space

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² This publication is financed under the project implemented in the Research Grant Program of the Ministry of National Defense Republic of Poland.

law and overseeing its implementation. The application and enforcement of international space law and regulations can be divided into three groups: fundamental problems, other existing problems and problems already on the horizon. Beginning with the fundamental problems, it is clear that at the time of negotiating basic space law in the 1960s and 1970s, neither time was mature nor the confrontation of forces was able to establish mechanisms to enforce space law. Moreover, States are reluctant to refer space law issues to the International Court of Justice and the concept of “space police” is rarely used. In fact, few minor issues have emerged so far in relation to the application of international space law. Among them is the careless registration of space objects, but this does not destroy the foundations of space law. Neither astronauts have been stuck on the ground, nor have objects that have fallen to the ground been returned to them, if they have been identified and demanded. It could be argued that the involvement of diplomacy on the activities of the satellites could be reduced to consultations in order to eliminate their harmful actions against other users of the Space. Does this mean that space law does not have to be enforced now or in the future? While this question is a rhetorical one, since the beginning of the UN, the development and monitoring of the implementation of international treaties on space has been a contentious issue (<https://www.iislweb.org/website/docs/201keynote.pdf>). The first step towards solving these problems was the decision of the UN in 1958 to establish the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Space COPUOS (UN COPUOS); at the same time, this date is considered the beginning of space diplomacy.

3. SPACE ORGANIZATION

COPUOS initially consisted of 18 member states and was intended to coordinate the work of specialised agencies and other international bodies related to the peaceful use of space. This work was intended to facilitate their cooperation within the United Nations and to address legal issues that might arise in space exploration programmes. One year later, the UN General Assembly established COPUOS as a permanent body with 24 members and confirmed its mandate in Resolution 1472 (XIV). Since then, COPUOS has served as a focal point for international cooperation in the peaceful exploration and use of space, maintaining close contacts with governmental and non-governmental organisations involved in space activities, ensuring the exchange of information and assisting in the analysis of measures to promote international cooperation in these activities.

Two subcommittees, the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee and the Legal Subcommittee, which met for the first time in Geneva in 1962 and now meet regularly each year in Vienna, assist COPUOS in its work. Since 1959, the number of members of COPUOS has been growing steadily, and today it is one of the largest committees in the United Nations. Apart from states, it has a number of international organisations, including intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations; others have observer status in COPUOS and its subcommittees. The United Nations Office for Space (UNOOSA) provides technical support for COPUOS and its two subcommittees ([www://unoosa.org/oosa/en/ourwork/copuos/index.htm/](http://www.unoosa.org/oosa/en/ourwork/copuos/index.htm/)).

UNOOSA is also responsible for promoting international cooperation in the peaceful uses of space and for discharging the UN Secretary-General's responsibilities under international space law and for maintaining a register of objects fired into space. The key to understanding the activities of COPUOS is that it is primarily diplomatic in nature (<http://www.unoosa.org/oosa/audio/v2/meetings.jsp?lng=en>). The participants are

representatives of permanent missions to the UN and not the heads of space agencies. As a result, the talks are more political than technical and often very slow (<https://www.carthage-edu/model-united-nation/points/rules>). Space diplomacy is also used by states, international governmental and non-governmental organisations, often drawing on the opinions of experts, including eminent scientists.

4. SPACE SECURITY

Space diplomacy has been and continues to be an important element of security and development for the international community. On the one hand, this diplomacy implements practical initiatives that can turn various divergent interests of countries in space into cooperation, beneficial to all countries concerned. On the other hand, it is the art of negotiating for peaceful purposes for the benefit of future generations.

For decades, space diplomacy has been an instrument that has allowed the establishment of important regulations to prevent threats from space (natural and man-made). Nowadays, for the international community to be secure, diplomacy should be more active and willing to seek new solutions than ever. Space diplomacy activities must be prudent and should not be seen as an intention to restrict the freedom to conduct research and implement programmes, provided that they are geared towards peaceful and lawful purposes (Chanock, 2013)

During the “Cold War” period, only two states of the USA and the USSR were active in space; however, international cooperation is now more difficult, as other states have also taken an interest in space. This resulted, among other things, in congestion of the lowest space orbit – therefore, the initiative of states and cooperation of diplomacy to develop its joint management (STM – *Space Traffic Management*) was necessary. Mechanisms such as multilateral space treaties did not work, which is why diplomacy has now engaged in the process of creating the so-called “soft” law, which is non-binding but requires states to have good will and understand the situation.

COPUOS undertook a series of research for sustainable development of space, using new technologies, including the so-called space mining (Ramirez de Arellano y Haro, 2016). Thus, COPUOS diplomacy appears not only as a mechanism for negotiations, but also as a guarantee for sustainable access and achievement of specific benefits from the “space economy” (Chanock, 2019).

As already mentioned, since the end of the 20th century, space law has faced new challenges, including the North-South conflict, uneven economic development, increased space communication and the threat of appropriation of space. In this situation, UNCOUOS has created multilateral space diplomacy to replace bipolar diplomacy. The disadvantage of this “new diplomacy” was that its products were either “soft” law (e.g. resolutions of the UN General Assembly) or not found much recognition (Moon Agreement). On the other hand, acting separately (outside UNCOUOS), the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) reached an agreement on equal access to space for all at conferences in 1985 and 1988.

Thanks to the efforts of COPUOS to develop a soft space law, there has been some convergence of countries on disputed space issues. In addition, a number of UN General Assembly Resolutions have been adopted, including on the registration of space equipment and the reduction of space debris. In contrast, diplomatic conferences on the prevention of an arms race in space (PAROS) have failed. Such failures result, among other things, from

the fact that even now during the negotiations, diplomacy is based on the basic conventions of space law adopted in the sixties and seventies, which, as at that time, were a major achievement, but now do not respond to the challenges of today. Despite this, it has been possible for years to draw the line between the peaceful and non-peaceful use of space, thanks to the OST treaty, which included provisions on arms control. However, diplomacy has not taken up many controversial or unexplained issues, such as the stationing of weapons in space.

However, most of the space law created outside UNCOPUOS was developed by the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), these are provisions of the Radio Regulations, which are themselves international law. Space law can also be dealt with by the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO). Already in 2005. The ICAO Council has expressed interest in the subject of space traffic management, and in 2015 it organised a 'learning group' on civilian space travel. Regional organisations such as the European Aviation Safety Agency (EASA) are also interested in private communication in space, as in the US, the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA).

COPUOS and CD (Diplomatic Conferences) have been separated by the Member States and are still operating separately today; in addition, there is a lack of contact between the COPUOS Legal Sub-Committee and the International Organization for Standardization (ISO), which deals, among other things, with the problem of space debris. Surveillance and even review of the situation in the field of space law by COPUOS seems to be lost. However, the biggest challenge for a uniform and coherent international space law from national space legislation comes. Previously, the impression emerged that countries are not really interested in the coherence and uniform development of international space law – a situation which seems convenient, practical or simply in their own interest. What kind of diplomacy is required to change or rectify this? Why has it not been possible to create a coherent and uniform system of space law, while international maritime, aviation and telecommunications agreements work perfectly. Space law has been moving in the opposite direction for some time (<https://www.iislweb.org/website/docs/201keynote.pdf>). Similar opinions to the International Space Law Institute are expressed by other NGOs (non-governmental organizations – Suzuki, 2010).

Less critical of COPUOS is the Stimson Center, which states that five decades of space diplomacy have resulted in agreements that form the basis of an international legal regime that promotes the peaceful use of space (<https://www.Stimson.org/content/space-diplomacy>). The breakthrough agreement of this regime is the Treaty on Space, finalised in 1967. This treaty states, inter alia, that space is to be used for peaceful purposes, that space and celestial bodies are not and cannot become sovereign territory of any nation and that it is illegal to place weapons of mass destruction in orbit. Space diplomacy has also established several important standards, including the non-use of weapons of mass destruction in space and the protection of satellites used to monitor the compliance of treaties with intentional harmful interference. However, there are glaring weaknesses in the existing standards promoting the peaceful use of space. For example, the testing and use of destructive methods against satellites is not prohibited by any treaty, even though such tests can produce large fields of rubbish that undoubtedly threaten satellites and other space operations for many decades (Caselli, 2003).

In spite of these criticisms, or perhaps thanks to them, COPUOS has managed to adopt a “soft” code in 2019: “guidelines for the long-term sustainability of space operations” (on which I'll go on) (www.unoosa.org). Technically developed states are already almost

entirely dependent on space for communication facilities (civil and military) to transmit, among other things, meteorological data and information on the position of aircraft, ships and space objects. Hitting these systems means not only blinding the army but also paralysing entire countries. The process of militarisation of the Space continues (Petras, 2001).

On the other hand, trends towards space protection are increasing. This space security is supposed to provide safe and permanent access to the space and at the same time reduce possible threats coming from this direction (space-based). It seems that the best way to do this is through mutual agreement between states. Therefore, space diplomacy has become an indispensable element of efforts to ensure peace and security in Space and on Earth (Genk, 2010).

5. UE SPACE DIPLOMACY

New space activities also present some challenges for the international community. More satellites, more exploration and more space debris make space congested and dangerous for users. The European External Action Service (EEAS) is launching work to promote the need for sustainable space operations. This initiative is called: “Safety, security and sustainable development of space (3 SOS)” will promote “ethical behaviour” in space. For the time being, no compulsory regulation is foreseen – but operators must cooperate. (Clayes, 2019).

European Space Agency (ESA), for its part, is proposing an automatic risk assessment and mitigation initiative, as part of its space security activities. This will provide and demonstrate the types of technology needed to automate the collision avoidance process, speeding up the whole process of machine-generated, coordinated and non-conflicting manoeuvring decisions – which is vital to protect the necessary space infrastructure in the coming years. Three SOS concepts (also adopted by the International Astronaut Federation (IAF)) have been addressed to governments in anticipation of their assistance (https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/economic-relations-connectivity-innovation/67538/sos-sos-sos-eu-calls-ethical-conduct-space-avoid-collision-and-orbital-debris_en); 2019 https://www.esa.int/Safety_Security/ESA_spacecraft_dodges_large_constellation 2019). This project was endorsed by the UN General Assembly in June 2019.

The 2007 Lisbon Treaty in its Article 189 concerns the promotion of scientific and technological development, industrial competences, implementation of space policy, etc. The EU is equipped (under the Treaty) with the legal competence to address all space policy issues related to human activities, satellite applications or international cooperation. However, the EU still shares competence in defining European space policy with Member States and their diplomacy. The principle of subsidiarity still applies here (the EU can only act if it does something more effectively than the Member States). The exception is cooperation for research, technological development and space. Shared competence of a parallel nature (cumulatively) does not block national activities. Under the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union TFEU (Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union) of 2012, which codified the Union's competence in the field of space, the European space policy has become an area of so-called shared competence, between, with one Member State and the ESA, and with

the European Council, the European Parliament and the European Commission). (Słomczyńska 2017).

The three main sets of sources of EU/EC space law are:

1. 12 international space law instruments adopted under the UN systems implemented in the EU/EC system;
2. 31 acts in the form of EU/EC institutional regulations, i.e. regulations, directives and decisions and 237 agreements of Member States with international organisations;
3. 28 regulations concerning the participation of EU Member States in specialised international space cooperation programmes such as Ariane or International Space Stations (Łukaszuk, 2011).

The EU/EC law regulates space policy (satellite techniques, market relations) and the EU economy (satellites, space infrastructure, space launch systems), encourages countries to implement ITU recommendations and regulations and to adopt Space Debris Mitigation Guidelines (developed by UNCOPUOS). Space law therefore applies in the institutional sphere (policies, operational activities, agendas, ESA, the Space Council, the EU Satellite Centre, the European Space Law Centre of ESA). One can also point to the spheres subordinate to the former pillars: scientific, technical and economic issues, GALLILEO, GMES – Global Monitoring for Environment and Security and tasks for the EU Common Foreign, Security and Defence Policy, cooperation outside the EU.

EU space law is evolving. Attention should be paid to the new elements of regulatory areas that have just been shaped in the EU (analogy with aviation law) and the significant role of international organisations (regional cooperation) i.e. ESA, ITU or ISS. European space law is facing new trends (technical and market realities, liberalisation, globalisation, privatisation and cooperation with the private sector). ESA has acquired a broad competence to coordinate Member States' space policies. Therefore, as European space law is rich in normative content (attempts to introduce new legislation, e.g. on intellectual property), there is a need to harmonise activities in different areas and to strengthen cooperation between space law and universal environmental law.

The 2013 Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions states, *inter alia*, that

Space is not only a technical challenge. It has, and will continue to have, a strong political dimension which has not yet been sufficiently developed at European level.

The driving force behind the political dimension of space has been those European countries which have carried out the most active activities in space in recent decades. However, the political power of these countries may not be sufficient to cope with future challenges in the face of increasing competition from other countries expanding their activities in space. A common EU space policy is therefore necessary. At the same time, EU intervention could provide a stronger political impetus to space policy, for example by putting in place appropriate framework conditions to sustain and support European space activities and the competitiveness of European companies on the global market.

Some consider that the EU should become a member of COPUOS. European and international cooperation on the International Code of Conduct for Outer Space Activities is important (Wouters, Hansen, 2014). In the face of the stagnation of disarmament of

diplomatic conferences and the US opposition to new space treaties, the European Union states have been looking for another way to ensure the improvement of international security in space. One of the sources used by the EU was an initiative of the American NGO Stimson Center, where the idea of a code of conduct in space was developed.

In 2010, the EU amended this draft and drafted its version of the Code. The EU Code proposes that states voluntarily become parties to it, promoting safe use of space and security principles (consensual norms) – just like club members, agree to respect certain rules. These principles of the EU Code contain provisions on non-interference in operations of other space objects, minimising activities. These principles of the EU Code contain provisions on non-interference in the operations of other space objects, measures to minimise the possibility of satellite collisions and the possibility of their debris escaping into space, participation in the establishment of common electronic bases and consultations. Some principles of the Code reiterate and strengthen certain elements of the OST (Outer Space Treaty) and other previous agreements, bringing them together as if in a single document with an emphasis on all measures to protect space from possible conflict (Jakhu, Sgobba, Dempsey, 2014). In fact, however, in the face of US opposition, this code has not entered into force. Nevertheless, this initiative has not been forgotten and has been reborn in a similar form in 2019 and has been adopted thanks to the activities of COPUOS and the support of a number of countries (including the USA).

New achievements of space policy

The work of COPUOS has accelerated in recent years: in June 2016. The Committee agreed on a first set of guidelines for the long-term sustainability of space activities (A/71/20, Annex). In 2018, agreement was reached on the preamble and nine additional guidelines (A/AC.105/1167, Annex III and A/73/20). Although the Working Group could not agree on its final report for quite some time, the 62nd COPUOS Session on 21 June 2019 adopted a preamble and 21 guidelines on “the long-term sustainability of space activities” (LTS). These documents contain programmes on policy and regulatory framework for action in space. This is the result of more than 8 years of work by a working group set up by COPUOS and supported by the United Nations Office for the External Space (UNOOSA). Their work has focused on the sustainable use of space. The Committee called on states and international organisations to take appropriate measures to implement the guidelines adopted on 21 June (<https://undocs.org/pdf?symbol=en/A/AC.105/C.1/L.366>). Today UNCOUOS is working on implementation of those guidelines into national systems.

6. CONCLUSION

Space diplomacy is needed today in case to find solutions and consensus on how to use and protect outer space. This initiative is not an easy task, due to the fact, that states are not willing to negotiate long treaties like in sixties. Today only good negotiators and politicians can discuss soft law solutions and find acceptable provisions for all. The future will show if last achievement of space diplomats, such as SOS or LTS will be successful for next generations. The political will of states play here an important factor of this success.

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DOI: 10.7862/rz.2020.hss.33

The text was submitted to the editorial office: May 2020.

The text was accepted for publication: September 2020.

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POSSIBILITIES OF RESOLVING THE DILEMMA 'POWER-KNOWLEDGE' IN THE PROCESS OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY FORMATION IN UKRAINE

This article deals with the possible search for a solution to the “power-knowledge” dilemma in the context of the formation of a civil society in Ukraine. The article examines the causes and the need for carrying out constructive reforms in education, in order to overcome the alienated nature of the power-to-education relationship. The problem is viewed alongside current research on reforming national education, including by contemporary theorists of educational philosophy such as Jose Ortega-i-Gasset, Marek Queck, Andy Greene, Karl Popper, and Paulo Freire. We argue that it is the critical consciousness in the field of pedagogical activity that shapes the creative approach to modern education and science. In the Ukraine, it is possible to obtain positive results in educational reform through the democratization of educational activity. Only through overcoming the contradiction of “power-knowledge” – and other forms of alienation of education from power can one gain a positive constructive in the field of educational activity.

Keywords: dilemma, power, knowledge, civil society, educational reforms, philosophy of education, democracy of education, globalization, nation-state, educational institutions, regulatory idea of education, rationality, spiritual culture, subject-subject relations, new paradigm of education, critical consciousness, practice of freedom.

1. INTRODUCTION

An important feature of nowadays is the extraordinary transience of radical changes taking place in society, many of which are radical in nature. In a short historical time, the political face of many countries around the world, and in particular, Ukrainian society, has changed significantly.

In the reality of sovereign Ukraine, a new person has grown and formed, or rather a person with a “national-patriotic character”. Proof of this are modern socio-political events related to the European choice of Ukrainians and the practical implementation of the government's program of action to bring Ukrainian society closer to the civilized spiritual and cultural world values.

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This process clearly demonstrates the new level of development of national consciousness of citizens and the formation of a qualitatively new democratic character of the Ukrainian people, which emerged and formed during the years of independence of our state, as one of the necessary foundations for civil society in Ukraine.

The purpose of the article is to clarify the possibility of overcoming the alienation in relation to “power-education” under the condition of constructive reforms in the educational field.

In the historical context, reforms in society and education are constantly ongoing. They take place in different socio-cultural epochs, inherent in almost every century or even decades now, and differ depending on the acceptance of the overall goal, idea, construct of national education and its practical implementation.

The processes of educational reforming cannot be temporary, accidental, isolated, and even worse, imitation or falsification of the necessary objective changes. The reasons for reforming educational and scientific activities relate not only to improving the content of education, the introduction of new pedagogical technologies and appropriate psychological support, but above all, a radical change in the whole set of social relations of the relevant type of socio-political reality.

2. PROBLEM DISCUSSION

Reform is always the creation of a new order. Thus, according to the Spanish philosopher-educator of the XX century Jose Ortego-i-Gasset, the need for educational reform arises for two main reasons: “either because of violations in the literal sense of the word, i.e. because of isolated cases of misapplication of good rules”, or because that “abuses happen so often or constantly, they become so common or even approved that they can no longer even be called abuses” (Jose Ortego-i-Gasset, 2002).

Therefore, qualitative radical changes need to be directed against the latest violations. However, the process of reforming education should have sufficient basis, find practical implementation and general approval in the case of objective and true definition of the common mission, the idea of educational institution and solving the problem of national and civil relations, contradictions “power-knowledge” in the democratic society in Ukraine.

For modern Ukrainian education it is important to find its own answer to the questions constantly asked by modern philosophers-educators: how to preserve the historical national tradition, not to lose past positive achievements and at the same time direct all creative energy to the development of future education, or, in the other words, democratic basis of education and full entry into the Western European educational space? Solving this problem is the most important task in the process of radical reform of higher education in Ukraine.

In the current era of globalization, education is undergoing a qualitative transformation, with a weakening of the role of the nation state in this process. According to Marek Queck, a modern Polish sociologist of education, the most pressing antagonisms of late modernism were “international integration” or “national disintegration”, “globalization” or “internal social stability”. The question of reducing the role of the nation state resonates with the question of the “socio-humanitarian consequences of globalization”, the end of modernism, the “end of history”, the “death of the intellectual” and the disappearance of national educational institutions (Kwiek, 2002).

The completion of the socio-cultural, political project of modernity affects both sides of the “power-knowledge” relationship, because both knowledge and power of the modern

nation-state change their configuration. The formation of national education in Western Europe coincides in time with a significant revival of national movements, the growing importance of the nation-state, promoting the formation of nationally conscious individuals – citizens of sovereign nation-states.

On this basis, there is a well-known alliance between modern scientific knowledge, education and modern government, which is embodied in educational institutions, especially the national universities of the late Middle Ages and the Western European Renaissance. In the current conditions of globalization of the late XX-early XXI centuries, the role of the nation state as a socio-political and cultural-educational project is significantly weakened; there is a real tectonic shift in relations between “government and education”.

The regulatory idea of the Enlightenment was rationality, logic, and later in the philosophical and educational treatises of Friedrich Schleiermacher and Wilhelm von Humboldt it became spiritual culture, education that is constantly self-cultivated in the person of the subject of the nation-state. After two centuries of domination in the culture field, the traditional social mission of the educational institution as a continuation of the development of the nation-state suddenly lost its previous constructive significance and became the subject of sharp scientific and public discussions.

An important cultural and educational project of the modern era is step by step pushing out its own potential. The question arises again: what should the regulatory idea of educational activity focus on? Again, scientists and pedagogical communities stopped in search of a modern principle, a regulatory idea of the existence of postmodern education.

Prominent English philosopher of the twentieth century Karl Popper, author of the world-famous work “Open Society and its enemies” noted that “the mind, like science, develops through mutual criticism”. Its development is aimed at improving the institutions that “stand guard over free criticism, i.e. free thought” (Popper, 1994).

By adapting the principles of critical consciousness to teaching, Karl Popper argues that the teacher should not impose his measure of “higher” values on students, but should try to arouse their interest in those values. He must take care of the souls of his students. (Popper, 1994). The foundations of a critical worldview as a sufficient basis certainly contribute to the formation of an open civil society and the preliminary solution of the controversial dilemma of the relationship “power-education”.

Critical thinking forms, first of all, a creative approach to any practical human activity. Creative creativity encourages the democratic foundations of human communication. Therefore, the teacher, to whom the community has entrusted the formation of active purposeful individuals, must take into account the principles of cooperation, dialogue, tolerance. “We must not harm in the first place” – this should be recognized as the main educational activity.

Do no harm, and therefore, “give young people what they feel an urgent need to become independent of us and able to make their choices – this would be a very useful goal for our educational system” (Popper, 1994). Thus, the formation of critical consciousness in the education system directs the activities of mentors to the education of creativity, full dialogue, understanding and constructive cooperation.

On the way to democratization of all levels of educational activity in Ukraine, including radical, qualitative changes in socio-political life, development of a scientifically sound goal of educational work, it is possible to achieve the desired positive results of the process of

education reform. Only by overcoming the contradiction “power-knowledge” and various forms of alienation of power from education can we get the appropriate paradigm.

According to the Brazilian philosopher-educator of the twentieth century Paulo Freire, critical consciousness is formed in the process of formation of the subjectivity of the individual within the development of socio-historical practice and the process of human life. Men and women as subjects in the process of cognition (and not the recipients of “knowledge” that others give or impose on them) move to the essence of reality. Reality step by step, more and more shows them the world of demands and opportunities, determinism and freedom, denial and assertion of their humanity, permanence and transformation, values and devaluation, expectations in the hope of search and expectations without hope of fatal inaction (Freire, 2003).

Paulo Freire's education method is a practice of freedom, because it frees the teacher, no less than his students, from the double slavery of contemplative silence and monologue. Both partners self-liberate when they begin to learn: one – to know himself as a worthy person, and the other – to achieve the ability to creative dialogue.

At the turn of the millennium, political scientist Andy Greene argues that in the “postnational era” national education system becomes “dead, anachronistic, inappropriate, suddenly loses its meaning” (Kwiek, 2002). Modern problems of education go much deeper, affecting the problems of the public sector of society. Today, the revision of the “power-knowledge” relationship takes place in two spheres: in terms of the functioning of a modern independent nation-state and a modern welfare state within the framework of civil society development.

In the case of higher education, the general direction of the reforms identified by the governments of the globalized world with the overwhelming support of supranational organizations in the context of the spread of libertarianism is aimed at introducing lifelong learning for all, the widest possible access to knowledge for a reasonable fee, intensive training in institutions that are financially independent and constantly market-oriented. This trend of development today is obvious everywhere and corresponds to the relationship “power-knowledge”, i.e. the relationship between the modern nation-state and the modern University (Kwiek, 2002). Harmony between the nation-state and previous educational institutions lasted as long as modern “forms of power and knowledge” were in balance.

The ruthless logic of consumerism, pragmatism, bureaucracy, formalism, and selfishness, which gave rise to the idea of “brilliant education” in the shortest possible time, bordering on the constant facts of corruption and bribery in educational institutions, has become a terrible phenomenon in the process of alienating power from education in modern conditions. The purpose of such “education”: to supply an attractive product at a reasonable price, to provide society with “good goods” for his money. Thus, in such conditions, national self-consciousness will no longer play a major role in the social life of information-developed countries, and national identity will not be the main dominant factor for the society of the late modern era.

The spiritual and cultural life of the citizens of a rational nation-state becomes unconditionally subject to the principles of subjective pragmatism, consumption, selfishness and constant manifestations of formalism and bureaucracy in various spheres of educational and scientific activity. In the current conditions of the predominance of postmodern values, the universalism of rationality and spiritual culture lose their relevance, being replaced by “postmodern sociology of pluralization, relativization, deconstruction of

the modern knowledge system, devalued by the erosion of postmodern science" (Tancher, 2006).

The search for a new paradigm of future education and its practical institutions is undoubtedly linked to the ideals of building civil society, but how to make a difficult transition from national to civic ideals in the current socio-political situation? Polish researcher Marek Queck states that "the future silhouette of the University was in the process of formation. It is extremely interesting to watch him, it is more useful, however, to understand him, and the most useful thing is to try to influence him" (Kwiek, 2002). This should be the constructivism of modern pedagogical action and its ideological and methodological understanding and practical implementation of the conceptual foundations of the philosophy of education.

It is a well-known fact that any knowledge has a pronounced socio-practical character, and knowledge about society is special, because social relations are studied by the subjects of these relations. Socio-humanitarian knowledge always depends on the conditions created for scientists and the interest of the authorities. Sociology, first of all, reflects the qualitative characteristics of the development of national societies. An important task for the socio-humanitarian sciences is not only the description and generalization of the facts of social life, the disclosure of significant development trends, but first of all, the explanation of the meanings of various social phenomena, the definition of values and forecasting the basic meanings of social life and the construction of the social world.

According to the Ukrainian sociologist Viktor Tancher, these two approaches to the tasks of sociological knowledge can be conditionally called "pragmatic-positivist" and "activist-humanizing", which will become indispensable attributes of sociological activity (Tancher, 2006).

Authoritarian regimes are more sympathetic to the service functions of sociology, and democratic – to the critical-cognitive, human-humanizing, perspective-predictive analytical developments in the fields of socio-humanitarian knowledge. A striking example of the contradictory relationship between sociology and power are the turbulent events in the American sociological community in the late 60's – early 70's of the twentieth century. A number of scholars, representatives of socio-humanitarian knowledge, such as A. Gouldner, I. Horowitz, G. Marcuse, M. Zeitlin, D. Rong began to criticize the official pro-government sociology, because "academic sociology" is subordinate to the ruling class, it collects only "useful" for pro-government institutions information, while the task of sociological criticism is in the opposite direction, in the interests of all civil society, "who are exploited and oppressed".

The main content of the supporters of critical sociology, or "sociology of sociology" is to expose the conservative nature of the vast majority of sociological developments and the inability of social analysts to serve the interests of the general population, accusations of servitude. The main question in the field of critical sociology arose as follows: how to cooperate "professional sociology" with the government and, at the same time, to maintain certain autonomy, independence from it. Critical analysis of the relationship between social science and government has revealed the obvious dependence of social researchers on the power structures of society, state institutions and dispelled the positivist myth of objectivity, impartiality and impartiality of sociologists working for pro-government institutions. The problem of the relationship between "social science and practical policy" has retained the same meaning today.

In modern times, in which the socio-political system was based on rational preconditions, knowledge was an important resource, a means of social control. The current postmodern situation puts before the sociology of the XXI century the general goal of disseminating social information, which is designed to democratize social institutions to the general public.

The urgent task of modern sociological science is to create a new “practical sociology” that is designed to serve the formation and development of civil society, rather than be “academically excluded” from the needs of protecting the rights and freedoms of citizens. In the conditions of modern globalization processes there is a withdrawal from the ideas of state-centric policy, instead, the importance of the public, socio-political movements grows, because they, not the nation-state, become the center of political activity. Harmonization and democratization of power relations and socio-humanitarian knowledge will certainly contribute to the development of the diversity of civil society institutions in Ukraine. It is civil society that will act as a mediator between government and science and will be the customer of social research. Thus, the search for the right solutions in the field of dialogue between government and knowledge is expected with the involvement of the general public.

The possibility of solving the dilemma “power-knowledge” or “power-education” is on the way to a significant scientific understanding of the overall project of building civil society in Ukraine. To this end, it is necessary to thoroughly develop critical thinking and its practical application in pedagogical activities in the direction of democracy and the formation of subject-subject dialogue based on cooperation and mutual understanding.

A developed nation is characterized not only by the level of social welfare, but by the ability of highly educated, critically thinking people to identify and solve socio-political problems in a timely manner, without creating other, even more terrible problems. “A developed nation is not a mass that is skillfully guided, God forbid, by a reasonable and decent top, but a dialectical unity of free and independent people who in dialogues determine the directions and ways of their personal and social development” (Freire, 2003).

3. CONCLUSIONS

The historical “call” of a nation is to become transformers of its social reality. Only in this way do individuals become subjects, not objects of their own history and existence. The position of some politicians and some government agencies on reforms for the sake of reforms in Ukrainian education and science is often detached from the urgent needs of objective pedagogical reality, the practical life of educators, filled with bureaucracy, formalism and casual pragmatism does not stand up to criticism. Therefore, the solution of the important dilemma “power-education” is possible only through close cooperation of state structures with government institutions and public organizations, which become relevant in the context of active development of civil society in Ukraine.

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DOI: 10.7862/rz.2020.hss.34

The text was submitted to the editorial office: March 2020.

The text was accepted for publication: September 2020.

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THE KEY LIMITING FACTORS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A BENCHMARKING PARTNERSHIP IN CLUSTER ENTERPRISES

The benchmarking partnership of cluster enterprises is an important and interesting field of scientific research in the management sciences. The purpose of the paper is to identify the key factors limiting the establishment of this form of partnership and to establish their impact. This paper argues that proper identification of the main limiting factors is an essential management process to help with benchmarking partnerships, and I aim to examine which limiting factors (internal or external) have a greater negative impact on the establishment of benchmarking partnerships? The work utilizes indirect research through the analysis of literature sources and deductive reasoning, and direct research through the use of questionnaires conducted with selected Polish clusters enterprises.

Keywords: benchmarking partnership, best practices, cluster, limiting factors.

1. INTRODUCTION

Benchmarking partnership of cluster enterprises is an important and interesting field of scientific research, in particular in the context of the paradigms of relation and cooperation of enterprises, currently proposed in the management sciences (Szydełko, 2018a; Szydełko 2018b). A combination of three subjects of interest in the scientific and management field: partnership relations, clusters and benchmarking, gives a specific scope of research, encompassing benchmarking partnership of cluster companies.

A. Adamik (2013) claims that “for strategic management goals, partnering should be given a wider (strategic) interpretation, as an approach to management used by two or more organisations to achieve specified goals through an increase in the effectiveness of the resources of each party”.

The partnership is a voluntary and dynamic inter-organisational relationship that reflects the essence of close cooperation between enterprises. It is a form of implementation of an inter-organisational win-win strategy in which all participants are winners. It requires the development of specific relations between partners, primarily based on such principles as: community of goals, mutual trust, commitment, exchange of information, actively and constantly seeking improvements and sharing tasks, risk, costs and benefits.

According to P. Morosini (2004), cluster is a “socioeconomic entity characterised by a social community of people and a population of economic agents localised in close

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proximity in a specific geographic region". Cluster participants „work together in economically linked activities, sharing and nurturing a common stock of product, technical and organisational knowledge in order to generate superior products and services in the marketplace" (Morosini, 2004).

Clusters are made up not only of physical flows of inputs and outputs, but also involve intense exchange of business information, know-how, and technological expertise, both in traded and un-traded forms (Sölvell, 2008). Thus, cluster participants may establish long-term partnership cooperation in fulfilment of common projects and cluster initiatives resulting in improvement of market performance and competitiveness of involved partners.

The variety of definitions of benchmarking that appear in the literature is the result of the shift of emphasis to other elements used to describe this conceptual category by researchers and practitioners. According to S. Mohapatra (2012),

though the definitions highlight one aspect more than the other, more often any benchmarking is accepted as a process of continuous search for adaptation of significantly better practices that lead to superior performance by investigating the performance and practices of other organisations (benchmark partners).

It must be pointed out that benchmarking is not a method for copying the practices of competitors, but a way of seeking superior process performance by looking both inside and outside the industry. Benchmarking is a powerful tool for improvement in various fields of business activity. It refers to gathering information by the companies what others are doing, usually to evaluate whether they are operating efficiently or identify areas for improvement (Sharma, Iqbal, Victoriano, 2013). The term "benchmark" refers to the reference point against which performance is measured. It is the indicator of what can be achieved vis-à-vis what is being achieved (Mohapatra, 2012).

The review of the literature leads to a conclusion that the benchmarking partnership phenomenon has not been the subject of any previous in-depth scientific analyses. For the purposes of this paper, the term "benchmarking partnerships" shall mean "mutual beneficial exchange of best business practice information which should lead to improved performance for all the organisations involved" (Bendell, Boulter, Gatford, 1997). Therefore, benchmarking partnership is a form of partnership cooperation justified for the use by cluster companies because of its features that promote mutually beneficial exchange of information concerning the results achieved and the best practices they use in different areas of their activity.

None of the researchers has performed theoretical analyses in terms of the possibility of benchmarking adjustment to the needs of cluster members in the aspect of development of the inter-organisational partnership relations paradigm. The knowledge in this scope is very little. The concept of intra-cluster benchmarking was first used and explained by the Author of this paper (see Szydełko, 2015) and this issue has been developed by her in the Ph.D Thesis and monograph (see Szydełko, 2019).

For the purposes of this paper, the following theoretical interpretation of the concept of benchmarking partnership of enterprises within a cluster has been accepted: it is a process of mutual beneficial exchange of information between enterprises participating in a cluster, concerning their performance and best practices in various fields of activity, according to partnership rules. That leads to improvement of performance of the parties involved in the

benchmarking process (micro level) and improvement of the cluster competitive advantage (meso level).

2. OBJECTIVE AND METHODOLOGY

In this paper, the Author intends to present the results of the empirical research focused on the recognition of the impact of internal and external limiting factors for establishment of benchmarking partnership by the Polish cluster enterprises.

The purpose of the paper is to identify and indicate the degree of impact of the key factors limiting the establishment of this specific form of partnership. The attempt to determine the key limiting factors is a response to the identified gap in the knowledge concerning that concept of partnership.

The thesis of the paper is the claim that proper identification of the catalogue of the main limiting factors for the establishment of benchmarking partnerships in the cluster is an essential part of the management process of this form of partnership. The following research problem has been formulated: which group of limiting factors (internal or external) has greater negative impact on the establishment of benchmarking partnerships in the cluster?

The purpose of the work has determined the research procedure. The theoretical part has been based on a research procedure that included indirect research focused on analysing literature sources and deductive reasoning. In the empirical part, the following quantitative research methods have been applied: direct research conducted among selected Polish cluster enterprises with the use of questionnaire techniques and statistical methods.

The survey questionnaire has been sent to 434 enterprises participating in 10 selected clusters having registered offices in the Subcarpathian Voivodeship in Poland. The clusters had been selected for the purposes of the direct research based on the following 6 criteria:

1. The cluster has at least one valid document confirming its existence.
2. The cluster has a defined and clear economic profile.
3. The cluster is characterised by varied structure of entities (at least 10 cluster members were required).
4. Cluster members actively and regularly contact each other.
5. The cluster has an active coordinator, who provides services for the benefit of the members.
6. Coordinator agrees to help in the dissemination of the research tool among the cluster members.

The data gathering stage was conducted from 2 November until 30 December 2016. Finally, 41 enterprises returned filled survey questionnaires, which gives the response rate of 9.45 percent.

3. RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Considering the significance of limiting factors and their impact on the shape of intra-cluster benchmarking, internal (corporate) factors and external factors within the cluster and the benchmarking group are crucial. In case of external factors originating in the macro-environment, the impact on that form of cooperation of enterprises within the cluster is much weaker and less evident. That is why these factors were not included in further analysis.

As part of the conducted survey, the participants were asked to evaluate the strength of the negative effect of selected variables (42 limiting factors) on establishing benchmarking

partnership within a cluster. In the survey questionnaire, the respondents used a 5-grade Likert scale, where 1 indicated very low negative impact, 2 – small negative impact, 3 – medium negative impact, 4 – high negative impact and 5 – very high negative impact.

For the purposes of an in-depth analysis focused on comparison of the degree of impact of a group of 20 internal and 22 external limiting factors on establishment of benchmarking partnership within a cluster, basic descriptive statistics have been determined. Table 1 presents a summary of classic measures, including arithmetic mean and standard deviation, calculated for all internal limiting factors (IL) and external limiting factors (EL) identified with the use of the research tool. In further considerations, the arithmetic mean of score will be referred to as the impact indicators of individual factors (IF). The summary is a ranking of 42 factors arranged in the order of decreasing arithmetic mean of score given by the surveyed Polish cluster enterprises. The factors have been arranged from the highest to the lowest score in terms of their negative impact on benchmarking partnership. The group of internal limiting factors is coloured in the table. Encouragingly, enterprises participating in the research were aware of the existence and impact on benchmarking partnership of not only internal, but also external factors.

Table 1. The ranking of limiting factors for benchmarking partnership of cluster members participating in the research

Limiting factors for benchmarking partnership of Polish cluster enterprises	Arithmetic mean (IF)	Standard deviation
IL-1. Negative attitude of the management towards the idea of learning from peers within the cluster	4.39	0.74
EL-21. Low level of mutual trust in a cluster	4.32	0.76
EL-22. Negative experiences in cooperation within a cluster	4.29	0.84
IL-2. Narrow scope of knowledge of the leadership on benchmarking partnership	4.05	0.89
IL-3. Negative attitude of benchmarking team members towards the idea of learning from peers within the cluster	4.05	0.74
IL-4. Low level of relational competence of the cluster enterprise	4.05	0.95
IL-5. Management's fear of sharing information with competitors	4.02	0.85
EL-23. Low level of social proximity of enterprises within the cluster	4.02	0.99
EL-24. Lack of focus of potential benchmarking partners on reciprocity	3.98	0.72
EL-25. Lack of implementation of joint projects and undertakings within the cluster	3.93	1.08
EL-26. Difficulties in obtaining consent from potential benchmark partners for the exchange of information	3.83	0.97
EL-27. Perceiving benchmarking partnership as high-risk cooperation	3.78	0.99
EL-28. Mutual misunderstanding of benchmarking motives	3.76	0.80
EL-29. Lack of effective communication system supporting the exchange of information within the cluster	3.73	0.67
IL-6. Lack of skills in transforming benchmarking information into useful knowledge	3.71	0.81
IL-7. Lack of skills in in-depth recognition of strengths and weaknesses against the benchmark	3.68	0.91
IL-8. Conviction of cluster enterprise about its uniqueness	3.68	0.85

Table 1 (cont.). The ranking of limiting factors for benchmarking partnership of cluster members participating in the research

Limiting factors for benchmarking partnership of Polish cluster enterprises	Arithmetic mean (IF)	Standard deviation
IL-9. Lack of knowledge about methods of selecting benchmarking partners	3.63	0.80
IL-10. Employees resistance to change and fear of the unknown	3.59	1.14
IL-11. Employees fear of negative consequences of benchmarking	3.59	1.14
IL-12. Too tight sticking to methods and solutions used in the industry	3.59	1.05
EL-30. Divergence of benchmarking goals set by the cluster enterprises	3.59	0.87
IL-13. Narrow scope of knowledge of benchmarking team members on benchmarking partnership	3.54	0.78
EL-31. Lack of symmetry in involvement of cluster enterprises in fulfilment of benchmarking goals	3.54	0.81
EL-42. Lack of adaptation capability of enterprises in benchmarking within the cluster	3.46	1.10
EL-33. Lack of guarantee of equal rights and benefits for benchmarking partners	3.34	1.13
IL-14. Conviction of cluster enterprises about the simplicity of benchmarking activities based on intuition	3.24	0.86
EL-34. Lack of symmetry in involvement of resources for benchmarking purposes	3.24	0.94
IL-15. Lack of experience in implementation of benchmarking	3.20	0.98
IL-16. Lack of experience in knowledge, information and internal communication management	3.07	0.91
EL-35. Lack of balance between short-term and long-term benchmarking goals	3.00	0.71
EL-36. Low level of organisational closeness of enterprises within the cluster	2.93	0.79
EL-37. Lack of IT tools in benchmarking	2.90	1.02
IL-17. Lack of skills in risk management in building relationships within a cluster	2.85	0.76
EL-38. Lack of cluster critical mass	2.83	0.83
EL-39. Low level of cluster maturity	2.83	0.83
EL-40. Low level of cognitive proximity of cluster members	2.80	0.78
IL-18. Lack of capability to cover the expenses related with benchmarking within the cluster	2.71	0.90
IL-19. Fear of being recognised as a copycat	2.68	1.01
IL-20. Belief that imitation is unethical and shameful	2.59	0.84
EL-41. Low level of institutional closeness of enterprises within the cluster	2.49	0.98
EL-42. Low level of geographic proximity of enterprises within the cluster	2.34	0.99

Explanation: IL – internal limiting factor, EL – external limiting factor, IF – impact indicators of individual factors.

Source: Author's own work based on the research results.

The analysis of values of impact indicators (IF) of individual limiting factors allows to distinguish a group of 8 factors (IL-1, EL-21, EL-22, IL-2, IL-3, IL-4, IL-5, EL-23) that in the respondents' opinion had the greatest negative effect on establishing benchmarking partnership within a cluster (IF ≥ 4.0). It must be pointed out that the highest ranks belonged to: negative attitude of the management towards the idea of learning from peers within the cluster (IF=4.39), low level of mutual trust in a cluster (IF=4.32) and negative experiences in cooperation within a cluster (IF=4.29).

Not surprisingly, cluster enterprises' management attitudes towards the idea of learning from peers are key barriers for benchmarking partnership. A lot of reference sources tell that management attitude is critical in terms of implementation of various concepts and using management instruments.

In the identified group of key limiting factors of benchmarking partnership, recognised in cluster environment as external conditions, low level of trust between cluster enterprises is one of the major items. Presented outcomes lead to a conclusion that high degree of confidence would have positive effect on establishing that particular form of partnership, focused on mutual creative implementation of best practices in various fields of activity.

In the respondents' opinion, negative experience of cluster enterprises in cooperation with other network participants was also one of the key barriers undermining activity in benchmarking partnership. Any unfavourable events in the course of implementation of common cluster projects and undertakings are reflected in negative attitude of the management and other employees towards the idea of learning from peers. It is a certain internal barrier to establishing contacts with potential partners, both for the needs of informal and formal intra-cluster benchmarking.

The presented ranking of limiting factors for benchmarking partnership arranged from the highest to the lowest degree of negative impact allows the first attempt to explain the research problem formulated in this paper. Visual distinction of internal and external factor groups in Table 1 does not support the claim that corporate factors are leading in the prepared ranking. We may cautiously conclude that internal factors, unlike external conditions, have stronger negative effect on enterprises undertaking any activity in the field of benchmarking partnership within a cluster.

Fig. 1 presents the percentage of average score of the impact of internal and external limiting factors in 0.5 point intervals.

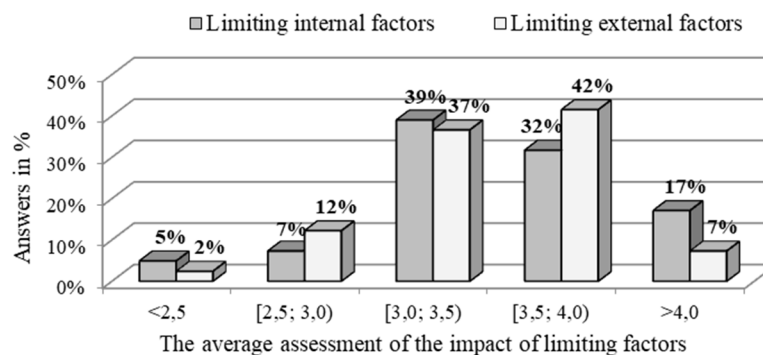


Fig. 1. Percentage of average score of the impact of internal and external limiting factors

Source: Author's own work based on the research results.

When analysing the results in form of a histogram, it can be concluded that average scores of both internal and external factors mostly fall within the interval of [3.0; 4.0). For 39% of respondents, the average score of strength of internal factors falls within the interval of [3.0; 3.5). For 42% of respondents, the average score of strength of external factors falls within the interval of [3,5; 4,0). This also does not allow to determine clearly which group of limiting factors (internal or external) has larger negative effect on establishing benchmarking partnerships within a cluster.

The comparison of average score of impact of internal and external limiting factors, determined for 41 survey participants, has been presented in form of a spread plot. The graphical representation of the results is shown in diagram 2. The horizontal axis represents the average score of internal factors, while the vertical axis refers to external factors. Cases (cluster enterprises) are represented as dots (dot markers). An additional $y = x$ reference line allows to determine if the majority of analysed enterprises gave higher score to internal or external factors in terms of negative impact on establishing benchmarking partnership within a cluster. The dots on the spread plot representing survey participants who:

- reported higher negative impact of external factors are placed above the reference line,
- reported equal impact of both groups of factors are placed on the reference line,
- reported higher negative impact of internal factors are placed below the reference line.

Looking at the dots distribution on the plot, it is clear that most of them are located below the reference line. This spread indicates that most respondents attributed higher negative impact on establishing benchmarking partnership to internal factors, rather than external ones.

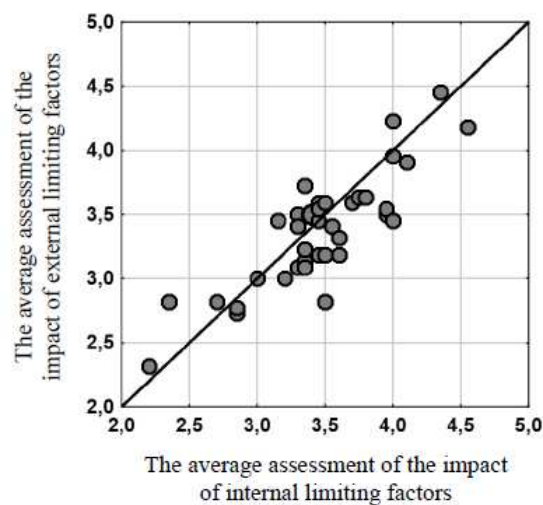


Fig. 2. Comparison of average assessments of the impact of internal and external limiting factors assigned to the Polish cluster enterprises surveyed

Source: Author's own work based on the research results.

The insight on the degree of influence of limiting factors will enable cluster enterprises with benchmark-partnering potential to create favourable partnership conditions more

knowingly, overcome barriers and reduce the impact of negative factors. As soon as these entities become aware of the negative issues that hinder establishment of benchmarking partnership, it is reasonable to²:

- take preventive action, focused on eliminating potential limitations,
- take correction, consisted in eliminating identified limitations,
- take corrective action, consisted in eliminating the causes of identified limitations.

The outcomes of the described research shall mostly concern managerial staff and other employees of cluster enterprises directly involved in cluster initiatives (collective projects and undertakings), or benchmarking specialists. It refers both to cluster enterprises that have already implemented benchmarking partnerships, both formally and informally, and those intending to knowingly participate in intra-cluster benchmarking partnership.

3. CONCLUSIONS

The concept of benchmarking partnership is undoubtedly a response to the needs of today's enterprises forming clusters, that search for solutions allowing to increase efficiency and effectiveness of performed processes, to improve the competitive advantage of their individual companies and the whole cluster. Thus the idea of intra-cluster benchmarking partnership is a new way of thinking about building competitiveness of enterprises within a cluster.

The purpose of the paper was to identify and indicate the degree of impact of key factors limiting the establishment of benchmarking partnership by the Polish cluster enterprises in the context of the empirical research. The indicated cognitive gap in the knowledge on the intra-cluster benchmarking based on partnership required a statistical data analysis. This paper shall contribute to filling this gap.

Considering the significance and strength of impact of limiting factors on building benchmarking partnership within a cluster, the highest importance can be attributed not only internal conditions, but also external factors that occur within the cluster and the benchmarking group. However, in the light of empirical research, the internal limiting factors have greater negative impact on the establishment of benchmarking partnerships in the clusters than external limiting factors.

The key limiting factors for benchmarking partnership according to surveyed cluster enterprises include: negative attitude of the management towards the idea of learning from peers within the cluster, low level of mutual trust in a cluster, negative experiences in cooperation within a cluster, narrow scope of knowledge of the leadership on benchmarking partnership, negative attitude of benchmarking team members towards the idea of learning from peers within the cluster, low level of relational competence of cluster enterprises, management's fear of sharing information with competitors and low level of social proximity of enterprises within the cluster.

To conclude, it should be noted that appropriate building and development of benchmarking partnership within a cluster requires relevant methodological guidelines, including the knowledge of the internal and external limiting factors for establishment of this form of partnership. The considerations presented herein have confirmed the assumption that proper identification of the catalogue of main limiting factors for

² Nomenclature taken from qualityology.

benchmarking partnerships in the cluster is an essential part of the management process in that form of partnership.

The effects of the research efforts include implications both for the management theory and the management practice in cluster enterprises. The author believes that the results of this research may become a new point of view in the continuing discussion of the management theoreticians specialised in inter-organisational relations management, benchmarking, clusters and knowledge management. These issues are also important in the practical perspective, since the number of cluster enterprises that shape the path of their strategic growth by building and developing relations with other entities, is increasing.

The author is quite sure that certain limitations could not be eliminated in the conducted study. These were mostly associated with the assumed methodological approach. But they can also be linked to unexpected interference in the course of the research procedure as well as certain circumstances hindering analysis of enterprises, often mentioned in the literature. The data collection process has been based on gathering respondents opinions, subjective by nature, which could also affect the quality and content of formulated conclusions. In the survey questionnaire, 5-grade scoring scales have been used, which is not without significance in terms of objectiveness of the results. Interpretation of scoring (despite attachment of relevant descriptions) may vary within the respondents group. Another critical limitation related to the methodology is that the outcomes of empirical study could not be generalised. It was due to the fact that only Polish clusters located in the Podkarpackie Voivodeship were chosen to participate in the study on cluster enterprises benchmarking partnership. The outcomes of the analysis, as well as related conclusions might be the starting point for further, in-depth empirical study.

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DOI: 10.7862/rz.2020.hss.35

The text was submitted to the editorial office: January 2020.

The text was accepted for publication: September 2020.

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MATERIAL AND LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN GHETTOS IN THE RZESZÓW POVIAT DURING GERMAN OCCUPATION

The aim of this paper is to present the situation of Jewish people living in ghettos in the Rzeszów powiat during the German occupation, highlighting the key issues. First, the paper focuses on living and sanitary conditions in the ghettos, which included poor conditions and no access to basic means of hygiene, creating a significant impact on the sanitary situation and negatively affecting the health of ghetto inhabitants. The flats were cramped, with sometimes over a dozen people living in one room. Second, the paper focuses on food, with short food supplies supplemented by aid organizations and illegal trade. It is argued that increasing poverty mainly affected those who were poor before the war with little financial resources. Third, the paper deals with diseases and the attempts to treat them. The fight against disease and epidemics was one of the greatest challenges faced in the ghettos. Treatment was difficult due to a lack of basic medications and medical resources with little professional help. This article is based on archival documents, other publications on this subject, and reports from Holocaust survivors.

Keywords: Jews, Holocaust, ghetto, German occupation, Rzeszów powiat.

1. INTRODUCTION

Studies on the period of the Holocaust in Poland are relatively well reported by many outstanding researchers; however, many gaps, especially concerning regional history, still remain that should be filled. These gaps are partly filled by a study prepared by Elżbieta Rączy, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie krakowskim*, and many information on the fate of Jews during the German occupation can also be found in the works of Artur Eisenbach (Eisenbach, 1961) and Stanisław Zabierowski (Zabierowski, 1975). Another valuable source of information is the publication *Losy Żydów Rzeszowskich 1939–1944* by Franciszek Kotula, a regionalist and ethnographer. Information about Jews during the Holocaust can also be found in numerous articles, usually referring to the whole Kraków district, but in some cases to the history of Jews living in selected areas of the Rzeszów powiat, as, for example, in articles by Stanisław Poradowski *Zagłada Żydów Rzeszowskich*, describing their situation in Rzeszów during the occupation. Foreign publications are also worth noting, as they are valuable source of information about fates of Jews from the Rzeszów powiat, for example, publications of landsmanschaft from Rzeszów or Kolbuszowa,

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the so-called Memorial Book. This article is also based on archival documents, as well as reports and recollections of Holocaust survivors.

Before the outbreak of the Second World War, the Rzeszów powiat was the most western part of the Lviv voivodeship. It included five towns: Rzeszów as the capital of the powiat, Błażowa, Głogów, Strzyżów, and Tyczyn, as well as eleven collective communes². According to the population census conducted in 1931, 185,106 thousand people lived in its territory, of whom 145, 039 thousand lived in rural areas³. The Rzeszów powiat was inhabited by Poles, Jews, and a small number of Ukrainians. First information about Jews living in the powiat come from the beginning of the 16th century from Rzeszów; in other towns the period of Jewish settlement is dated to the beginning of the 17th century. This was possibly caused by fast and dynamic development of the town and more extensive opportunities for the trade. According to the population census conducted in 1931, in the powiat Jews represented over 36% of inhabitants of towns, while only 2.9% of people living in rural areas (Wierzbieńec, 2013). The number of people of the Jewish faith started to grow fast both in the voivodeship and in the Rzeszów powiat, which was best visible in Rzeszów, where 12,841 Jews lived in 1937 (Wójcik, 1998), while before the outbreak of the Second World War that number grew to ca. 14 thousand. However, the growing and developing Jewish community could also be observed in places other than Rzeszów, for example, in Błażowa, where Jews were an active social group owning the majority of commercial companies handling the maintenance of roads in the Rzeszów powiat (Wnęk, 1995). Despite many well-prospering Jewish enterprises, Jews were a diversified social group, from pedlars and small shop-owners whose income barely supported their existence, to a scarce group of entrepreneurs, merchants and intelligentsia, who actively contributed to assistance for the poorest groups by supporting various initiatives, including cultural and educational, thus being an important part of the society, which quickly made its mark in town and powiat structures.

First days after the outbreak of the war and the entrance of the Wehrmacht to towns of the Rzeszów powiat did not bring great changes, with shops and enterprises operating normally. However, the changes occurred fast, and soon normal functioning of citizens, particularly Jews, became limited significantly.

Poland was divided between the Soviet and the German occupiers. Western, south-western and northern areas were annexed to the territory of the Third Reich. From the remaining areas, not annexed to the German state, the General Government was formed, subdivided into four districts: Krakow, Lublin, Radom, and Warsaw (Rączy, 2014). Those districts were further sub-divided into urban and rural counties.

2. LIVING AND SANITARY CONDITIONS

Already at the beginning of formation of German administrations, Jews were forbidden to move and to dispose of their property. A German regulation published on September 6, 1939 ordered marking of all Jewish buildings in the occupied territory. In Rzeszów, and in

² In 1934, the Rzeszów powiat consisted of the following collective communes: Głogów, Trzebowniko, Świlcza, Raclawówka, Słocina, Tyczyn, Hyżne, Błażowa, Błażowa, Czudec, Strzyżów, Niebylec, Journal of Laws from 1934, No. 64, item 552.

³ *Drugi powszechny spis ludności z dn. 9 XII 1931 r. Mieszkania Gospodarstwa domowe. Ludność. Stosunki zawodowe. Województwo lwowskie bez miasta Lwowa*, "Statystyka Polski", Seria C, z. 68, GUS, Warszawa 1933.

the entire powiat, this law came into force on September 13. Buildings and places of religious worship were devastated, many Jewish graveyards throughout the Rzeszów powiat were completely destroyed, and gravestones were used, for example, to pave roads.

On December 1, 1939, with a regulation of Hans Frank, all Jews staying at the territory of the General Government, who were 10 years of age and older, were obliged to wear armbands with the Star of David on their right forearm. This symbolic marking was intended to isolate the Jewish community, helped to capture Jews and subject them to forced labour, and helped Germans in enforcement of anti-Jewish regulations, such as a ban to walk in certain streets and parks, travel by train, conduct trading activities etc.

Operating structures of Jewish communes changed in relation to their pre-war form. The newly created structures included a housing department, later transformed into a department of displaced people, a provisions department distributing food products, a labour department responsible for directing to various types of forced labour and for providing assistance to Jews in labour camps. A school council and a legal department were also established. As a large number of displaced people arrived to Rzeszów, under the order of the German authorities, the Population Registration Office was established, located in the Judenrat building, a pre-war building of the Jewish Commune (Poradowski, 1983).

In the first period of the war, the housing situation of the Jewish people did not change much, they could still live in their houses, and only some of them were expelled and lost their flats. The greatest changes in the housing situation occurred when refugees and displaced people arrived. They were sent to new places of living with only a small amount of things, so on arrival to the designated town they did not own any resources, clothes and goods that could be sold or exchanged for food. As no places were available, they slept on wooden bunks; not only there were no beds for them, but also no bedlinen and blankets⁴.

Under the regulation issued by the Rzeszów staroste on December 1, 1941, creation of Jewish districts was ordered in the territory of the whole *Kreis Reichshof*.

Due to increasing poverty and hunger, many Jews were in difficult situation and needed help provided by Judenrat and other Jewish charity and aid institutions. New groups of displaced people arriving to Rzeszów aggravated the already bad housing situation. Small flats housed even several families, people lived not only in tiny rooms, but also in corridors and stairwells, just to have some roof over their heads. In Głogów Małopolski, Jews had at their disposal about 20 houses, and even up to 50 people stayed in each of them (Borkowski, 2016). It was practically impossible to maintain basic sanitary conditions. Despite submitted complaints about the living conditions in the ghettos, nobody paid attention to them, and the situation only continued to deteriorate.

As Franciszek Kotula recalls, Jewish houses were stripped of everything that had any value and could improve the standard of living in any way:

Eventually, the main objective was exposed: to rob Jews. Thus, policemen and gendarmes entered Jewish houses, from which money, jewellery, textiles, furs, bed linen, and bedclothes themselves were mercilessly taken away. The booty was taken away by cartloads (Kotula, 2019).

⁴ Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego, Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna (Jüdische Soziale Selbsthilfe Jüdisches Hilfskomitee). 1940–1942 [1944], No. 211 (further on: 211), ref. 223.

The houses lacked everything – bed linen, blankets, water, and basic means of hygiene, as well as space and silence. Similar conditions prevailed in all ghettos established throughout the country. Refugees were housed in every available residential building, synagogues, houses of prayer, barracks, and hostels (Poradowski, 1997). The Rzeszów ghetto, of the area below 10 ha, which at the beginning of the war was inhabited by 12,000 Jews, and twice as many people from the middle of 1942, became overpopulated due to arriving displaced people, for whom there was no place (Rączy, 2014).

Table 1. Ghettos of the Rzeszów powiat⁵

Location	Date of establishing and of closing the ghetto	Number of imprisoned people
Błażowa	1941/1942 – June 26, 1942	993
Czudec	1941/1942 – June 1942	500
Głogów Małopolski	February 1942 – June 1942	1344
Jawornik Polski	February 1942 – June 1942	450
Kolbuszowa	June 13, 1941 – June 24, 1942	2,500
Niebylec	1941/1942 – June 25, 1942	450
Rzeszów	December 1941 – September 1943	12, 765
Sokołów Małopolski	June 1942 – July 1942	3, 082
Strzyżów	February 1942 – June 1942	1, 506
Tyczyn	March 1942 – June 1942	*

*No data

Source: (Pilichowski, red. (1979); *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945. Vol. 2...*; *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos During the Holocaust. Vol. 1 (A–M)...*; Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego, Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna (Jüdische Soziale Selbsthilfe Jüdisches Hilfskomitee). 1940–1942 [1944]).

The situation was aggravated even further when ghettos in the neighbourhood area were liquidated, and their residents moved to Rzeszów. The conditions in the ghetto were very bad, and no access to basic means of hygiene had a significant effect on the already bad sanitary situation, which, in turn, negatively affected health of ghetto inhabitants. As George Lucius Salton, who was resettled from Tyczyn with his family, recalls, they were very lucky because they were offered accommodation in a house of their acquaintance. The flat, just as the whole house in which they lived, was cramped; six people lived in one small room, and this number is still not high, taking into account the fact that in some cases over ten people lived in one room; and having a shared kitchen and a bathroom was a huge luxury in the generally prevailing conditions (Lucius Salton, 2004). As not everybody had access

⁵ Similarly as in the case of other ghettos, it is difficult to determine precisely how many Jews were in ghettos in the Rzeszów powiat. In the article their locations were assumed after *Encyclopedia of the Camps and Ghettos*. The problem in estimation of their number results from lack of data and from frequently contradictory information that makes the evaluation impossible, as noted by Elżbieta Rączy (*Zagłada Żydów w...*). Such example is Jawornik Polski, which was listed amongst the ghetto locations, yet there are no documents to confirm this, and one of the survivors, Sara Langsam, says that there was no closed ghetto, and everybody lived in their houses until its liquidation (AYV, 0.3, ref. 1816), and the situation was also similar in, e.g., Tyczyn.

to common bathhouses, and the access to water itself was limited, people washed rarely, and a bath was a luxury (Herzog, 2004). In one of the neighbouring towns, a large tub with water was placed in the street, but when Germans saw Jews washing themselves, they made them an object of mockery, ordering all of them to get into the tub with water and wash themselves in their clothes (Borkowski, 2016). Wolf Finkelman, who was then in the Glogow ghetto, recalls that although there was a mikveh in the town, the Germans did not allow the Jews to use it often, the main reason was that they themselves often used it⁶. Not only the lack of possibility to bath, but also the lack of soap was a problem, because its assignment was small taking into account the number of people in the ghettos⁷.

The worst situation was in winter, when flats were dirty and sooty from smoke from stoves. Windowpanes were coated by a layer of ice so thick that not much daylight could penetrate into rooms. Anything flammable was burned in the stoves, for example, boards were torn from the floors. In winter, to get warmer, everybody slept close to each other, and floors were strewn with straw (Oster, 2013). In Rzeszow The situation was dramatic especially in the west ghetto where the people didn't have jobs or work and they dying on the streets.

The situation was hard not only for displaced people, but also for Jews sheltered in hideouts in the whole ghetto. They were created in cellars or in specially prepared bunkers dug in the ground, which were wet and dark. The terrible conditions in them and the omnipresent hunger had a dramatic effect on emaciated residents of the ghettos.

3. DISEASES AND ATTEMPTS AT TREATMENT

Already during the first stage of the German occupation, an increased number of people using medical help could be noted. This was possibly caused by living conditions, and by violence used against Jews by Germans.

The deteriorating conditions in ghettos in the Rzeszów powiat negatively affected health of their residents. Many Jews required hospitalisation for diseases or in consequence of German brutality. At some ghettos Jews could count on medical care. In Kolbuszowa it was available from 1940, if a small clinic managed by doctor Anderman can be called as such. It was open only for two hours a day due to aid from AJDC and Judenrat, and was one of the most important institutions for the community (Salsitz, 1971).

Doctors working in ghettos had to face many problems such as epidemics, lice, and pests of all kind, like rodents that could carry various diseases. Besides terrible sanitary and hygiene conditions and malnutrition, overpopulation in the ghettos in the Rzeszów powiat was one of the main factors facilitating spreading of contagious diseases. Thus, it was necessary to initiate preventive actions; for example, quarantine was introduced in some buildings, attempts were also made to isolate patients from the remaining part of the community.

The access to doctors and medical assistance was limited, as data from 1940 show; only in some places there were doctors of Jewish origin, not mentioning hospitals or clinics. For

⁶ Finkelman, W. Interview 12802. Segments 1. *Visual History Archive*, USC Shoah Foundation, 1996. Accessed 20 July 2020.

⁷ Finkelman, W. Interview 12802. Segments 2. *Visual History Archive*, USC Shoah Foundation, 1996. Accessed 20 July 2020.

example, such was the situation in Sokołów, where not even one doctor was available, and the mortality rate was at a level of 20%, similarly as in other towns of the powiat⁸.

The number of doctors in each of towns of the powiate in which a ghetto was established was related to their size and a number of inhabitants before the war. The largest number of doctors of Jewish origin, 8⁹, stayed in Rzeszów; this possibly resulted from the fact that a Jewish hospital was located in this town¹⁰.

Outbreaks of epidemics and deteriorating health of the population, as well as emergence of numerous negative overlapping factors led to significant demographic changes. In first months of the occupation, a significant drop in the number of births together with a rise in the number of deaths could be noticed, and these disparities only increased with time.

The increased morbidity rate could already be noticed at the beginning of the occupation. Attempts were made to keep outbreaks of epidemic in secret, as it was known that if Germans had learnt about them, all patients would have been shot, as it was the case with patients from the labour camp in Rzeszów Aviation works, where all people suffering from typhoid were shot¹¹. There were shortages of everything: medicines, vitamin formulations, even aspirin, in the ghettos. Nevertheless doctors strove to save all patients by any means (Wierzbieniec, 1995).

However, it should be mentioned that in Rzeszów itself, and in other ghettos in the Rzeszów powiat, hospitals and clinics were very poorly furnished because they were robbed of all valuable medical equipment, and only a very small portion of it was left. This situation also contributed to low treatment effectiveness.

Medicines delivered to the ghettos were distributed by the Jewish Social Self-Help (ŻSS), which sent and distributed medical resources in all districts. However, majority of medicines assigned to the Kraków district was delivered to facilities where hospitals were located. Quantities of medicines sent depended on a number of places for patients. With 38 beds for patients Rzeszów had the lowest allocation amongst hospitals in the district, while Kraków received the largest one¹². Of course, medicines were also delivered to other places, such as Czudec; however, the quantity of provided essential medicines was insufficient for impoverished Jewish community, emaciated by deepening hunger¹³.

⁸ AŻIH, 211, ref. 21, Statistics of Jewish population in GG (number of people in individual towns, classified in categories, professions, number of doctors, sanitary status etc.).

⁹ AŻIH, 211, ref. 21.

¹⁰ The Jewish Hospital in Rzeszów was established in 1824. Since that date, its location changed many times, and in 1938 it was transferred to Leszczyńskiego street. The new hospital was created mainly with the financial assistance of Jewish immigrants in America. Before the war, it contained 30 beds, during the war their number increased to 38. At the end of 1939, by the order of German authorities it was moved to Matejki street. During the war, the following doctors used to work at the hospital: Dr Heller, Dr Tunis, Dr Bayer, Dr Kohn, Dr Ehrenreich, Dr Hoessl, Dr Hauptmann, Dr Zinnemann; (Zamoyski, 2004; Yad Vashem Archives, 03-Testimonies Department of the Yad Vashem Archives, ref. 734, Aleksander Heller report; AŻIH, 211, ref. 91, ŻSS Presidium – Medicines distribution point. 1941).

¹¹ Yad Vashem Archives, 03-Testimonies Department of the Yad Vashem Archives, ref. 9364, Benjamin Bzhezinski report.

¹² AŻIH, 211 ref. 91.

¹³ AŻIH, 211 ref. 336 Correspondence of ŻSS Presidium with the Jewish Council and ŻSS Delegation in Czudec.

4. FOOD ISSUES

It was not easy to help the Jewish community due to numerous restrictions, yet many people decided to provide aid, which was of an individual or organised nature. Organised aid was mainly provided by underground organisations, supplying food and medicines to ghettos, and issuing false documents. Jewish people in the ghetto in Kolbuszowa were helped by two members of Bataliony Chłopskie, who supplied food to the ghetto (Rączy, 2016). Similarly as other spheres of life, the material situation of Jewish population in the ghettos deteriorated, and in consequence of restrictions for Jewish people implemented by the German occupier, the increasing number of people had no job. The increasing poverty first affected the poorest sections of the society, who had no financial securities before the war, and had no money or goods to buy or to exchange for food. The assistance provided by Jewish organisations was a drop in the ocean of needs of the Jewish community in the Rzeszów powiat. During the first stage of the war, the aid was mainly provided to the displaced people, who had no possessions. Only to Niebylec, AJDC sent 500 zloty at the beginning of 1940, which was divided between the poorest inhabitants of the town, including people displaced from Kalisz and Łódź¹⁴. In some places, the situation was also improved by Jewish farmers; their number, however, was small. For example, in the whole Niebylec commune only 17 Jews were farmers¹⁵.

Decreasing supplies and money quickly affected the impoverished population, especially as prices of food started to rise drastically. In the middle of 1941 a loaf of bread cost 4 zloty, and a year later its price went up to 5 zloty. The deteriorating situation of the Jews was particularly visible when ghettos were closed (Rączy, 2014). Those who were able to keep some of their property started commercial activities on a large scale, although smuggling of goods from the Aryan side was associated with significant danger, also for Poles participating in this practice; especially in the light of the regulation of Dr Hans Frank, under which since September 15, 1940 Jews leaving the Jewish district without a permit were punished with the death penalty, similarly as Aryan population providing aid of any kind, supplying food, or trading with Jews.

Efforts were made to help children as much as possible, given that their situation was most difficult. One of the aid organisations operating in Rzeszów was Centos, with offices at Grodzisko street, and the Orphanage Committee, receiving regular subventions. However, similarly as in the case of other help, with time financial subventions started to decrease, and were insufficient to maintain the children and cover their basic needs. This situation forced an appeal for help to the community, which supported the Orphanage financially and materially, so it could provide further care for children (Poradowski, 1967). In Rzeszów, the pre-war action of feeding children was continued, in form of distributing a glass of milk and a piece of bread with marmalade to the poorest of them, three times a week.

As long as it was possible, all efforts were made to help the Jewish community in every possible way, so public kitchens started to be established. At the beginning, about 2400 meals were issued in Rzeszów alone; with time, this number dropped to 400 meals. This

¹⁴ AŻIH, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. 1939–1941 (further 210), ref. 509, Correspondence between the Jewish Religious Community in Niebylec and AJDC in Kraków. Cash reports. Lists of people needing help.

¹⁵ AŻIH, 210 ref. 509.

was probably caused by creation of the second kitchen, issuing 300 to 400 meals a day; however, it still does not add up to the initial number of issued meals.

Despite the visible poverty, in all ghettos the standard of living of the Jewish population varied, and it was even more noticeable when the ghettos were closed. A very small group of very rich people existed besides those very poor. It included higher officials of the communes¹⁶, owners of enterprises, and people demonstrating strong entrepreneurial skills, who traded and smuggled goods from the Aryan side (Rączy, 2014). As Franciszek Kotula wrote, food trade flourished mainly because of Jews from the neighbouring towns, where it was easier to get a pass. Prices of food sold were enormous (Kotula, 2019). Traders sold everything: eggs, sausages, bread, even cooked broad bean. One glass of broad bean cost as much as 10 zloty (Oster, 2013).

Goods were smuggled not only to ghettos, but also to the Aryan side. It was always dangerous and required an ability to make useful contacts. Smuggling was frequently used by Jews residing in the ghettos, and by Poles. To smuggle goods, secret passages were constructed, to enter or to leave the ghetto:

there were Jews who could supply these goods. The cooperative in which I worked, maintained lively trading relationships with a certain Jewish woman who conducted this trade. And to purchase goods, I entered the ghetto a few times through such secret passage. Obviously, each such entrance to the ghetto had to be first arranged in detail with these Jews¹⁷.

This trade was something normal and everybody knew about it, including Germans, who sometimes turned a blind eye to this practice. Hilda Mandel recalls that after the resettlement from Strzyżów in 1941 to the Rzeszów ghetto, she was terrified thinking about food. She says *The black market had to go on and people gave everything* what they have include jewellery¹⁸.

The pre-war poor and people without any practical craft were in the most difficult situation, like Nachum Sternhaim, a well-known Jewish composer. When he disposed of all his property, he could not maintain and provide food for himself and his family, and died of hunger in the Rzeszów ghetto, like many other Jews (Poradowski, 1967).

5. FINAL CONCLUSIONS

It must be remembered that the whole period of the German occupation was very difficult for the Jewish community. The material and living situation of Jews in ghettos was very bad due to lack of food and medicines, and bad living conditions combined with German restrictions and repressions made chances of survival very slim. As long as possible attempts to maintain components of pre-war life were made, and it was not easy due to the actions of the occupier, trying to take away from them the remnants of humanity through successive orders and bans. It is easy to see that the margin of ordinary life, was quickly

¹⁶ "The situation of Jews varies; some are doing quite well - and their number is relatively high, other live in terrible poverty (...) Only now you can see Jewish aristocrats from Judenrat and various officers" (Kotula).

¹⁷ AYW, 03, ref. 734, Walenty Sanecki report,

¹⁸ Mandel, H. Interview 28515. Segments 2. *Visual History Archive*, USC Shoah Foundation, 1997. Accessed 20 July 2020.

decreasing especially after the ghettos had been closed. The situation was unbearable for many, especially when they were sent from small ghetto. To many, taking away the remnants of their property, or even the small amount of food taken for the road during deportations were not as horrible as extremely blood-thirsty and brutal behaviours of Germans. Nevertheless, all these actions equally contributed to depriving them of their normal existence.

The aid organizations operating in the ghettos and their management are worth noting, as they significantly influenced survival in ghettos. Organizing various collections to improve their operation or prolong the overall functioning of institutions gave a hope of survival, at least, during the first period of functioning of the ghettos. How we can see not only organizations in the ghettos played important function, but also smuggling often becoming the main food-earners. Emanuel Ringelblum (Ringelblum, 1988) as he notes smuggling protects from total starvation, but on the other hand by many it is used to enrich themselves in a starving society. However, as we can see from relation of witnesses the problem of hunger was so big that every day on the street lying human bodies.

The number of Jews who survived the war was very low, according to the data, after the war one thousand people lived in the entire Rzeszów region, with the largest group of ca. 300 people living in Rzeszów (Basta, 1994).

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DOI: 10.7862/rz.2020.hss.36

The text was submitted to the editorial office: November 2019.
The text was accepted for publication: September 2020.

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THE ENERGY SECTOR IN THE PROCESS OF ACHIEVING SUPERPETROSTATE STATUS IN THE LIGHT OF STRATEGIC DOCUMENTS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

This study presents an analysis of program assumptions regarding the energy policy of the Russian Federation. The research methodology involves an analysis of normative acts, current data, and a review of the academic literature. I conclude that the Russian Federation uses the hydrocarbon transmission system to achieve the status of an energy superpower and is able to use its resources and infrastructure to act as an important player in the international arena. The transformation of the energy sector is not only limited to measures aimed at increasing efficiency, but it also plays a decisive role in building the state's potential and co-creating the essential instruments of international influence. Through building the net of pipelines, the Kremlin is consistently able to attain its geopolitical aims. Inefficient attempts to break out of Russian domination of energy has allowed Russia to maintain its infrastructure monopoly and dominate the gas markets of Central and Eastern Europe.

Keywords: Russian Federation, energy policy, transmission system, hydrocarbons.

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to present an analysis of program assumptions regarding the energy policy of the Russian Federation, with particular emphasis on the use of the energy raw materials transmission system to achieve the status of an energy superpower, and also an important player on the international arena. To organize research activities, the following thesis was adopted: The Russian Federation has intensified its state activity in the field of energy policy in the last decade, which is to serve the impact on the one hand of the state budget, and on the other to build a strong position in the international arena, and the centrally controlled economy enables the Russian Federation to develop pipeline network on an unprecedented scale.

2. RUSSIAN ENERGY SECTOR AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH AND 21ST CENTURY

The power of the USSR was largely based on the extraction and exploitation of natural resources, including primarily oil and natural gas. Natural resources were also an important policy instrument. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the energy sector struggled with

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problems resulting from the fact that oil and gas prices stabilized at a relatively low level of USD 20–30 / barrel. At the same time, Russia's export capacity for these raw materials decreased due to outdated infrastructure and the need to meet the commitments of the former Soviet Union. The post-Soviet system of administering Russian natural resources after the collapse of the USSR was based on the principles established in 1992 as part of the "Strategy for the Energy Development of the Russian Federation". In December 1994, the "Energy Development Strategy of the Russian Federation (main assumptions)" was approved by the government. Afterwards, in May 1995, the President of the Russian Federation issued a decree entitled "Main guidelines for energy policy and restructuring of the fuel and energy industry of the Russian Federation for the years up to 2010", in October "The main guidelines for the energy strategy of the Russian Federation" were approved (Gryz, 2019).

The development of the energy sector in the years 2000–2003 was stimulated by the relative autonomy and investment freedom of large oil companies in the country and the growing demand for oil and gas as well as rising prices of these raw materials on foreign markets. The situation was opposed by the depletion of deposits in Western Siberia and the associated decline in production growth, a new division of ownership in the sector, poor condition of the pipeline network and insufficient capacity of export pipelines, insufficient investments of oil companies in resource recovery, deterioration of the resource base, state monopoly in the field of crude oil transport, excessive fiscalism, inconsistent regulatory system, no guarantee of investment security, high level of corruption (Paszyc, Wiśniewska, 2005).

3. EVOLUTION OF STRATEGIC DOCUMENTS IN THE FIELD OF RUSSIAN ENERGY SECTOR AND THEIR PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION

Russia has replaced territorial expansion with energy expansion since the takeover of power by W. Putin. President Putin, driven by the need to strengthen the presidential office's position towards other major institutions and political actors in Russia, presented a comprehensive program of the socio-economic development of Russia until 2010. It assumed the implementation of measures to increase the authority of central government, counteracting the widening of the gap between Russia and developed countries and restoring and strengthening Russia's position as one of the world leaders (Potulski, 2011). The vision of conducted policy assumed that the basic Russian national interest was to have the status of a global power capable of creating international order in a supra-regional dimension (Mickiewicz, 2018). In 2003, Russia's Energy Strategy until 2020 was adopted, which assumed that the energy factor will be a fundamental element of national security, and is conditioned by the functioning of the national energy sector (Fredholm, 2005). The implementation of this strategy coincided with an increase in world oil prices, on the basis of which gas prices are indexed. This was undoubtedly one of the most favorable factors that allowed the transformation of Russia, "from a non-functional military power into a new energy power" (Hill, 2004). Based on the provisions of the Russian Federation's Energy Strategy until 2020 Western Europe remains the main direction of oil and gas exports from Russia, hence the importance of transit countries and the clear desire of the Russian Federation to become independent from them by building offshore pipelines. It also provides for significant Asian development. In December 2005, President Putin at a meeting of the Security Council of the Russian Federation outlined the concept of Russia as an

“energy superpower”. He said, among others: “Energy is the most important driving force of global economic development. It has always been so and will remain so for a long time” (Madera 2009).

The concept of Russia emerged as an “energy superpower” based on state-controlled energy companies. The core of the energy strategy due to the specificity of gas trade is primarily the state monopolist in all gas market segments in Russia – Gazprom (Musiałek, 2013).

On the basis of the energy strategy of 2003, the primary goal of political influence towards, the so-called close to abroad countries, was to create a situation that forced economic cooperation and abandonment of projects to develop energy transmission systems. Economic, political and then military instruments were used against countries that made unsuccessful attempts to gain real political sovereignty (Georgia and Ukraine)². The second group of countries in the region are potential partners for whom it was necessary to pursue a two-track policy. These are Kazakhstan and Tajikistan, which due to their geographical location found themselves not only in the Russian, but also in the Chinese sphere of influence. For this reason, Russian policy towards these countries depended on

² The recognition of the EU area as the primary direction of exports of energy raw materials has determined the position of the transit countries. Russia has taken action to dominate these countries, which was particularly evident in relation to Belarus and Ukraine. The first major gas crisis between Belarus and Russia took place in February 2004. Gazprom, which, due to Minsk's halt to the process of creating a joint venture based on Beltransgas, announced a significant increase in the gas price, for which Minsk did not agree. On February 18, 2004, Russian Gazprom suspended the transfer of raw material to Belarus via the Beltransgas network for 18 hours. This struck not only Belarusian, but also Lithuanian and Polish audiences. Beltransgaz began to retrieve the missing raw material from the Jamal gas pipeline. The crisis ended with Gazprom's actual capitulation forced to unscrew the faucet. The crises in relations on the RF-Belarus line, causing interruptions in the supply of raw material, ended in January 2007. A similar course was attempted to subordinate Ukraine to the strategic interests of RF. In March 2005, Gazprom informed Ukraine that the price of gas would be raised to European market rates. The Ukrainian government has entered into negotiations, the fiasco of which was created by the so-called "Ukrainian gas crisis of 2006". Both sides were unable to reach an agreement on 1 January 2006. Russia has accused Ukraine of stealing \$25 million worth of gas. On January 24, 2006, Naftohaz pleaded guilty to the charges, explaining that the gas was used for heating purposes in Ukraine in January 2006. Finally, under pressure from the European Union, a compromise was reached. The exclusive gas supplier for Ukraine became RosUkrEnerg, in which half of the shares were acquired by Gazprom (Raś, 2015).

In relation to the Central Asia and Caucasian area, it was to block the possibility of transmission of energy raw materials from the region and the failure of other (non-Russian) international players to take control of deposits. To this end, an unstable ethnic situation was used, but also the ambiguities associated with the legal status of the Caspian Sea. Russia's conflict with Georgia over areas of Abkhazia and South Ossetia has made the Caspian region unstable in the eyes of the whole world and thus reduced its attractiveness in the rivalry of energy power powers (Gołaś, 2011).

Crimea is, from Russia's point of view, a strategic area for many reasons. This is the place from which the Black Sea Fleet can sail to the Mediterranean Sea. There is also a deep-sea port, which can be very helpful with the huge underwater drilling operation in search of hydrocarbons. In addition, Crimea has export terminals in the port of Odessa, military construction shipyards in Mikołajów, refinery, huge chemical plants, silos for grain exports, extensive resources of natural resources. It is estimated that natural gas reserves in the Black and Azov seas, off the coast of Crimea, amount to 2 trillion cubic meters and more than 430 million tonnes of oil (Wyganowski, 2014).

the nature of Chinese policy. The main goal of Russian policy during this period was to strive for their political and economic domination. The goal was achieved by conducting significant investments and supporting the development of the mining sector and the expansion of the energy storage and transport system.

In connection with the economic crisis of 2008 and the end of five years, there was a need to revise the assumptions of the strategy until now, which resulted in the Energy Strategy of the Russian Federation until 2030, approved in 2009. It developed and concretized the assumptions of the preceding document. It contained provisions about a measurable increase in the extraction and export of energy resources, as well as the necessary and far-reaching modernization of the Russian energy sector. In addition, the authors of the Strategy have prioritized increasing Russia's share in the global energy market, which will undoubtedly serve to strengthen the country's political role in the international arena.

On the basis of the 2009 document, EU Member States continued to be Russia's main outlet for oil and gas, but it should be noted that the share of Asian countries in Russian exports of these raw materials has been systematically growing. The Russian strategy until 2030 forecasted that gas exports in 2030 will be higher by 154–159 billion m³ compared to 2010. It assumed that in the first period of implementation of the strategy (until 2020), most of the additional raw material will be bought by customers from Europe, and in the second (by 2030) there was to be a reorientation of exports to the Far Eastern market, which would allow the sale of approximately 70–75 billion m³ of gas to customers from China, Korea or Japan. Ultimately, the main recipient of Russian gas would be the PRC. According to the assumptions of the “Energy Strategy until 2030”, 22–25% of exported oil and 19–20% of exported gas should go to Asia. To this end, measures were taken to enable oil supplies via pipeline to China and the Pacific Coast; gas supplies via pipelines to China and to both Korean countries; development of LNG installations for the needs of the Asian market (Kozłowski, 2017). On May 1, 2014, the heads of Gazprom and the Chinese energy company CNPC signed in Shanghai (in the presence of the presidents of Russia and China) a contract negotiated for many years to supply Russian gas to China. The thirty-year agreement provides for the export of 38 billion m³ of gas annually from Russian East Siberian deposits (Chayanda and Kovykta) via the Siberia Force pipeline (Siberia Force 1), which was commissioned in December 2019. In addition, Russia declared its will to implement the so-called Altai project (according to Gazprom's new nomenclature - Strength of Siberia 2) and the so-called Western route (gas supplies from Western Siberia to northwestern China). The third project announced involves deliveries to China via the Sakhalin-Khabarovsk-Vladivostok gas pipeline. A memorandum between the Russian concern Gazprom and the Chinese company CNPC was concluded in 2015.

In the years 2001–2014 over 20,000 km of gas pipelines were built in Russia, which significantly contributed to the increase in the level of gasification. On the other hand, however, the existing internal transmission infrastructure is significantly depleted. For many years, Gazprom has invested mainly in the construction of new export buses at the expense of renovating the national infrastructure (Kardaś, 2017). In the light of the 2020 energy strategy, Russia is to become the main supplier of energy resources in ensuring international energy security. For this purpose, Russia has undertaken a skillful geopolitical pipeline strategy, involving the construction of transmission routes favorable to the Kremlin and blocking projects competitive or violate Russia's monopolistic position (Ruszel, 2011).

Russia's strategic interests have required the creation of an unified energy and energy transport infrastructure in the neighboring regions of Europe and Asia, the development of international energy transport systems, and ensuring non-discriminatory energy transit. In order to implement this assumption, measures were taken to build a transmission infrastructure:

- construction of the oil pipeline connecting Eastern Siberia - the Pacific Ocean;
- construction of the “Sever” and “Yug” pipelines;
- construction of “Severnii Potok” (Nord Stream) and “Yuzhniy Potok” (South Stream) gas pipelines;
- the construction of a transit gas pipeline connecting Europe with the Yamal Peninsula was completed;
- seaport infrastructure and liquid hydrocarbon transport systems (oil, condensate, liquefied natural gas etc.) have been developed.

An important role was played by the Yamal-Europe gas pipeline, the construction of which began in 1994, commissioning took place in 1999, but the maximum level of transmission capacity (33 billion m³ of gas per year) was only achieved in 2006. From that moment, the gas pipeline is used almost fully.

In 2002, the Blue Stream gas pipeline was commissioned, which Russian gas is exported directly from Russia via the Black Sea to Turkey. The gas pipeline with a total capacity of 16 billion m³ is used at 80–90%. The construction cost of the gas pipeline was 2.4 billion USD. The third main route diversifying supply routes to Europe was the Nord Stream gas pipeline. In September 2005, Gazprom, together with the German companies BASF and E.ON, signed a preliminary agreement on the construction of a gas pipeline from Russia to Germany. The construction of the pipeline began on April 9, 2010 – the first thread was commissioned on November 8, 2011, the second in October 2012.

The assumptions of the Energy Strategy FR 2030 give priority to the Baltic Pipeline System (BTS 2), as well as the Eastern Siberia - Pacific Ocean (ESPO) oil pipeline, taking into account the transmission of crude oil as well as the North Stream (Nord Stream) and South Stream (South Stream) pipelines in terms of natural gas transmission. One of the goals expressed in the 2030 strategy is the construction of infrastructure allowing production and transmission of liquefied gas. Currently, there is only one gas liquefaction plant in Russia, launched in 2009 as part of the Sakhalin2 project. The project's shareholders are Gazprom (50% plus 1 share), the Dutch-British Royal Dutch Shell (27.5% minus 1 share), Japanese companies Mitsui and Mitsubishi (respectively 12.5% and 10% shares). The Yamal LNG project is in an advanced stage. Its shareholders are: Novatek – the largest gas producer in Russia after Gazprom (50.1% shares), the French group Total (20% shares), the Chinese group CNPC (20% shares) and the Chinese Silk Road Fund (9.9% shares). Gazprom announced plans to build two gas liquefaction plants: in the Russian Far East as part of the Vladivostok LNG project and in the Baltic Sea as part of the Baltic LNG project (Kardaś, 2017).

Strengthening Russia's position in global energy trade was associated with the need to ensure stable and high revenues from the supply of energy carriers on the European market. Russia, in order to obtain a raw material and logistical advantage on European and Central Asian markets, has diversified its markets for Russian energy resources. As part of the adopted energy strategy, it was undertaken to build new transmission installations bypassing countries that were reluctant to the Russian vision of developing the European

fuel market. This applies especially to Poland, Ukraine and the Baltic States. North Stream is such a project, which directly connected the Russian supplier with the German recipient via the Baltic Sea, depriving Poland and Belarus of the status of transit countries. This weakened the negotiating position of these countries towards the Russian group Gazprom, which ruthlessly represented the interests of the Russian state. It is illustrated by Russia's constant pushing for further gas pipeline projects (Nord Stream 1, South Stream, Turkish Stream, Nord Stream 2), whose important accompanying goal is to build specific regional "gas axes" (Kardaś, 2017). It is worth remembering that these projects did not always guarantee profitability, more often they are motivated by political reasons. An example of this is the Nord Stream gas pipeline³, which has made EU Member States even more dependent on Russian supplies. In addition, it revealed the fragile solidarity of EU countries by establishing bilateral cooperation with individual EU members (Czachor, 2009).

The Kremlin controls the pipeline network that runs through Russian territory from the Caspian region and Central Asian countries, and takes measures that prevent the construction of alternative export routes. Russia, however, makes use of raw materials, using them far more effectively than military potential in the Cold War. The use of weapons must take place on a reciprocal basis. Thus, the influence of the Russian state was expanded by entangling Europe with a gas pipeline network. If gas or oil supplies to European countries are blocked – no instrument is available to stop Russia from doing this. By tying up a significant part of the world by pipelines, Russia has obtained much more effective than military potential (Goldmann, 2008).

The Nabucco project⁴ was supposed to be an attempt to answer the EU's problem of becoming addicted to Russian gas, assuming the diversification of supplies through the possibility of purchasing raw materials from sources other than the Russian Federation, thus strengthening the energy security of the European Union. This project was not implemented, and there were several reasons for this. The first was to indicate the introduction of an energy mix, assuming an increase in the use of renewable sources. Another reason was the economic crisis that blocked the investment. The Nabucco project has revealed with fullness the weaknesses of the EU decision-making process and, above all, Russia's lack of a unified position on the issue of a common energy policy. All this allowed Russia to maintain its infrastructure monopoly and the dominance of Russian gas on the markets of Central and Eastern Europe. In addition, it significantly increased the chances of profitability of Russia's South Stream gas pipeline, a planned gas pipeline that crosses the Black Sea, connecting the coasts of Russia and Bulgaria. Gazprom intends to send the first strand of gas through Serbia to Hungary, Slovenia and Austria (Musiałek, 2013). In December 2014, Russia abandoned the construction of the South Stream, in favor of an alternative in the form of cooperation with Turkey as part of Turkish Stream. The new project will lead to Turkey and further to the Greek border instead of via the Black Sea

³ The gas pipeline connects Russia (Vyborg) with Germany (Greifswald) via the Baltic Sea, bypassing Poland and the Baltic Republics. The planned route of the gas pipeline passes through the waters of the economic zone of three countries (Finland, Sweden and Denmark) that have agreed to build this investment.

⁴ The Nabucco project officially started in 2002 and began with initial talks between concerns from countries where the pipeline was to run – Austrian OMV, Turkish BOTAS, Hungarian MOL, Romanian Transgaz and Bulgarian Bulgargaz. Two years later, these entities established a company called Nabucco Gas Pipeline International GmbH.

to Bulgaria (Włodkowska-Bagan, 2017). On October 10, 2016, during President Putin's visit to Istanbul, an intergovernmental agreement was signed on the construction of the Turkish Stream gas pipeline (ratified by Turkey and Russia in December 2016 and February 2017, respectively). In December 2016 and February 2017, contracts were signed between South Stream Transport B.V. controlled by Gazprom and the Allseas Group AG company for laying two offshore sections of the gas pipeline. The implementation of this investment will bring Moscow above all political benefits, expressed in depriving Ukraine of the status of a transit state, bypassing the Baltic countries in the shipment of raw material to Western Europe, indirectly weakening Minsk's position (Kardaś, 2017).

4. NEW DIRECTIONS EVOLUTION OF THE EXPANSION

The Arctic areas are strategic for strengthening the position of the energy power. About 200 gas and oil deposits have been discovered in the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation. Climate warming, resulting in easier access to deposits, and an increase in raw material prices, intensify the plans for exploiting the resources located there (Sergunin, Konyshev 2018). The Kremlin plans to improve raw material extraction technology and expand land infrastructure, but Russia's weakness is the lack of capital for necessary investments in the Arctic region. Russia still does not have modern technologies that allow drilling in difficult arctic conditions (Zolotova, 2014). Russian oil extracted from the Arctic, called Arctic Oil (ARCO), entered the global market in 2014. It comes from the newly built and so far the only Prirazłomnaja platform in the Pecs Sea (Szoszyn, 2019). Despite this, actions are taken to prove the thesis that the Siberian shelf and the Arctic bottom are one, which would mean that Russia has the right to these areas, extending even beyond the North Pole and covering most of the Lomonosov Ridge (Rzeszutko-Piotrowska, 2014). Russia is striving to secure its interests⁵ as far as possible, strengthening its military presence in this region, re-opening military bases from the USSR era. The ordinances⁶ of June 14, 2019 assume increasing the transshipment capacity of Arctic transport corridor based on the North Sea Road⁷, i.e. giving the Dikson seaport the status of an international port and increasing its transshipment capacity (construction of the terminal) for crude oil.

5. CURRENT STRATEGIC DOCUMENTS SETTING THE ENERGY POLICY IN NEW DIRECTIONS OF THE EXPANSION

In 2015, the energy strategy was amended. Apart from the sanctions imposed on Russia after the annexation of Crimea, the factor enforcing the modifications in the document binding until now was normalized in the so-called III EU Climate Package. The

⁵ On March 28, 2019, Regulation No. 554 of the Government of the Russian Federation was issued, which provides for the extension of the Sabetta sea port area, including construction of a natural gas handling terminal and its condensate, including a station for compressing (liquefying) gas from the Salmanowski Basin located on the Gudan Peninsula.

⁶ This legislation is the consequence of strategic documents regarding the Arctic areas and Siberia - the Strategy for the development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and ensuring state security for the period up to 2020 February 2013 and the Strategy for socio-economic development of Siberia up to 2020 of 05 June 2010.

⁷ Project to increase transport by this route to 80 million tons per year. It is also to include exports of natural gas (as well as its condensate) as well as coal and crude oil from the ports of: Sabetta, Dikson, and Dudinka. It is expected to be finalized by 2024.

assumptions of the 2015 strategy also took into account the risks associated with the work of US analytical centers on the concept of liquefied gas exports and the shale revolution. The strategy called for reducing the energy intensity of the economy, modernizing and locating the infrastructure of the fuel and energy industry for the purposes of implementing development programs and export concepts of the Russian Federation. The new Strategy assumes that the implementation of its objectives – that is, to obtain the status of a superpower – is associated with the need to correlate sectoral policies. A pro-export approach has been revised so deeply rooted in the content of the strategy of 2003 and 2009 for the rational management of raw materials and the expansion of the public. The strategy provides that the Russian state maintains total control over the transmission and storage system, both by regulating the price of transmission and storage costs, as well as the fact that state monopolies are the recipient of transmission services. The second goal of development of the gas sector was to gain new export capacities by developing the possibility of exporting liquefied gas. Transport policy was also subordinated to these assumptions. The Regulation of the Russian Government of March 18, 2016 indicates projects supporting gas and oil transport in the new directions provided for in the Strategy. These projects envisage the creation of new seaports (e.g. on the Yamal Peninsula), the construction of icebreakers, or the connection of seaports with other transport infrastructure. In addition, Regulation No. 2101 of the Government of the Russian Federation of 30 September 2018 provides for the implementation of activities for the development of transport (pipeline) transportation of crude oil and refined products, as well as gas and gas condensate. In this context, one of the projects was the development (in 2018) of pipelines (as part of the “North” project) to increase the supply (up to 25 million tons per year) of crude oil products to the port of Primorsk. Transport policy also takes into account the Far East expansion direction. This is evidenced by the content of Regulation No. 436 of the Russian Government of March 14, 2019 on the investment project for the construction of a liquefied gas transshipment terminal in Kamchatka Krai (Russian Government, 2019).

In May 2019, President Vladimir Putin, by decree, approved the new Energy Security Doctrine of the Russian Federation (Ukaz, 2019), which was a development of a classified document adopted on November 29, 2012. The strategic goal indicated in the document is to ensure the country's energy security, and in particular to protect Russian political and economic interests, which fully corresponds to the provisions of the document on a broader scope, which is the Strategy of economic security of the Russian Federation until 2030 (Ukaz, 2017), postulating obtaining a status of a modern state, resistant to fluctuations in the economy, capable of dominating markets and obtaining production capacity in areas affecting Russia's energy security. The doctrine of economic security takes into account the current conditions of Russia, related to the consequences of economic sanctions imposed on Russia after the annexation of Crimea, limiting the inflow of capital and modern technology, so important in the energy sector. The dynamic situation of the world economy and the location of Asian countries as a center of economic development is also an important challenge on the basis of the document in question. The energy policies of developed countries were also directed towards a low-carbon and energy-saving economy. The doctrine, like all previous strategic documents in the field of energy policy, supports the thesis that energy policy and the possibilities of the fuel and energy complex are one of the most important factors of Russian security policy and a tool for shaping international order and determining the political position of the state, as well as is intended to modernize the economy and improve the quality of life of citizens.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Russian energy policy is currently in a period of transformation, the essence of which is to adapt the fuel and energy sector to the anticipated transformations in the global energy market. However, assessments of the reform concept for this sector of the Russian economy cannot be limited to measures aimed at increasing efficiency, as it plays a decisive role in building the state's potential and co-creates the essential instruments of international influence a radical change in Russian strategic goals. Only the formula of conducted activities has been reformatted, which are currently focusing on counteracting American export policy and adapting own exports to the specific needs of the global energy market. These conditions forced a change in the way the Russian fuel and energy sector functions and energy policy in the internal market. The potential decrease in revenues from the export of raw materials and the scale of necessary investments in the fuel and energy industry may threaten the financial stability of the state, and certainly disrupt the implementation of planned modernization and development processes.

What determines the need for modifications to the strategic assumptions of energy policy are undoubtedly the EU sanctions imposed on Russia after the annexation of Crimea. They block access to capital and technology necessary for the modernization of the fuel and energy industry. The time and scope of sanctions significantly affects the achievement of strategic goals. The factor determining the effectiveness of Russia's activities in the energy sector is also the development of energy raw material prices. In this respect, the possibilities of FR influence may be limited. The extent to which energy policy goals are achieved depends on how relations with China are shaped, because cooperation, or lack thereof, will determine the success of expansion in the east.

A positive factor affecting implementation options is the way the strategy is prepared and implemented. They cover long periods and are constantly updated. They indicate long-term goals and operational activities to achieve them. Energy policy is closely related to transport policy, which increases the effectiveness of the stated goals. The implementation of large investment projects is supervised by central authorities. The stability of the Russian political scene is also important, as it implements the assumptions of energy and other sectoral policies influencing its implementation in a very consistent manner, making appropriate adjustments when the need arises.

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DOI: 10.7862/rz.2020.hss.37

The text was submitted to the editorial office: May 2020.

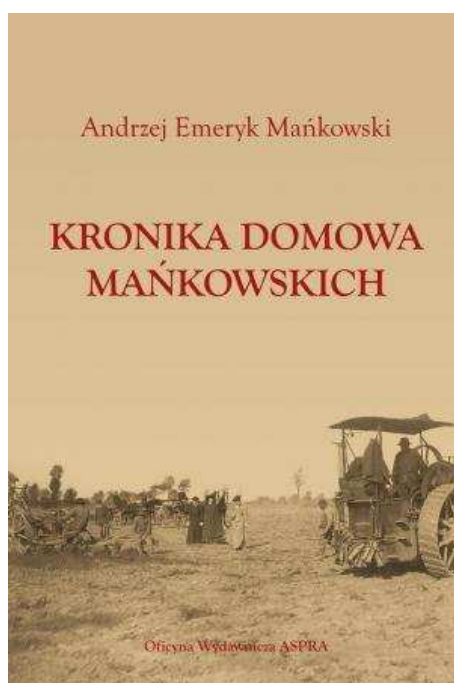
The text was accepted for publication: September 2020.

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**BOOK REVIEW: *THE MAŃKOWSKI CHRONICLES*,
ANDRZEJ EMERYK MAŃKOWSKI,
“ASPRA” PUBLISHING HOUSE, WARSAW 2017,
920 PAGES**

Andrzej Emeryk Mańkowski, a graduate of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the Faculty of History at the University of Warsaw has published a monumental monographic source of his family². *The Mańkowski Chronicles* published three years ago is “an attempt to take a panoramic view of the history of the Mańkowski family in the Podillia and the Greater Poland, inscribed in the fate of Poland over the last three centuries”. It should be strongly emphasized that the publication is a fully successful work, and the term the “attempt” results only from the modesty of the author. Andrzej Emeryk Mańkowski is an experienced researcher of historical consciousness, national and ethnic identity, as well as the issues related to genealogy. He has a number of publications in his scientific output.

Landowning, most often identified with the nobility – bene nati et possessionati is an important, already historical element of the history of Poland, both in the state and the local dimension. Although historians, sociologists, economists are arguing over the exact definition of the “landowning”, still the role of this class was indisputable in the history of Poland of the last few centuries up to the middle of the 20th century. In times of economic changes related to the economic revolution and enfranchisement of peasants, as well as subsequent independence uprisings – national



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² A.E. Mańkowski, *Kronika domowa Mańkowskich*, Warszawa 2017.

uprisings – the partitions, landowners constituted the appreciated elite. They were good hosts, role models, active participants of uprisings, or generous patrons of subsequent irregularities and independence struggles. The same was in the case in the 20th century, the times of regaining independence, then the reconstruction of Polish statehood, and then another cruel war of 1939–1945. Besides these, landowners were the foundation of an association codenamed “Cultivation” and “Shield”, which actively cooperated with the Union of Armed Struggle – the Home Army. The secret organization of landowners focused mainly on very effective financial support of the Polish Underground State. It is not surprising that after the end of the war, the communists with such energy began to destroy landed estates in order to cut off the material base for the post-war underground.

The Mańkowski Chronicles is a great work, admittedly selected but very accurately documented history of one landowner family. The work of one family, which very clearly emphasizes the role and the importance of the landowning in the history of Poland. *The Chronicles* is a successful combination of a scientific work and the one popularizing the genealogy of the Mańkowski family of the Zaremba coat of arms. It is not surprising that during one of the evenings with the author, readers were encouraged to turn to this “richly illustrated, adorned with tasty quotes, fascinating artwork that shows the world of Polish landowners in the eastern Podillia from the 18th century to the 1917 revolution”.

The prepared publication has a chronological and factual arrangement. It is characterized by a thoughtful, simple and extremely functional division of the content. The book is divided into three main parts. These are, in turn: part one – “From the settlers of the *post hosticum* to the pioneers of industry and trade”, part two – “The Podillia branch of Zaremba Mańkowski – the Greater Poland”, the third part – “The Podillia and Volhynia – the second and third generations: 19th and 20th centuries”. In the first part the author included five chapters: “From the Greater Poland to the Podillia – the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th”, “Teodor Mańkowski (1816–1855)”, “Wacław Mańkowski (1820–1905)”, “Emeryk Mańkowski (1826–1918)” and “Walery Mańkowski (1828–1871)”. In the second part one can find two chapters, i.e. “Napoleon Ksawery Mańkowski and his sons. Winnogóra, Rudki” and “Wacław Mańkowski from Brodnica and his children”. The third part contains four chapters: “Sons of Walery Mańkowski from Sahinka”, “Emeryk Mańkowski junior (1856–1909) – Krasitów”, “Józef Mańkowski (1862–1940) – Hołubowa” and “Revolutions”.

Each chapter is divided into subchapters and smaller structural parts. The Introduction opens all the work and the Ending closes it. In addition, there are six appendices with appropriately selected documents and summaries in five languages (Polish, English, Russian, French and German), a list of illustrations, a diagram of the Mańkowski family tree of the Zaremba coat of arms and a valuable personal index.

The Mańkowski Chronicles, as already mentioned, is a monumental study. This is demonstrated not only by its volume; the entire book has 920 pages of print in A4 format. It is also the work refined in every detail. It should be emphasized that the author of the reviewed work approached the issue of sources with great esteem. The extremely rich source base, embedded in the narrative of Andrzej Emeryk Mańkowski, testifies to the exceptional diligence of the author of *The Mańkowski Chronicles*. The author approached archival sources of the subject with utmost care, worthy of a professional researcher of the past who attached very rich family collections to documents obtained from numerous specialized institutions. As the author emphasized, “a large part of the sources are personal and have not been published so far. These materials – press texts and official documents,

extensive family correspondence, as well as works belonging to belles-lettres – are testimonies of daily struggles, life dilemmas and ideological choices and allow recreating the color of places and times”. Meticulous queries are confirmed by the extremely numerous footnotes made with evident accuracy. Hence, the publication of Andrzej Emeryk Mańkowski, currently Consul General of the Republic of Poland in Vancouver, deserves to be called a monographic source, and may be a model for other historians. Let us add that, apart from evident substantive advantages, the language of the work – which has already been signaled – richly supplemented with source quotes, is an undoubted asset of the reviewed work.

The graphic design and the entire editorial page of the reviewed book are also worth being highlighted. Both the author and the publisher – Warsaw ASPRA Publishing House – took care of every detail. From the dust cover, through inserts and illustrations impressive in terms of number (in total, the book has 657 illustrations – photographs, sketches, documents, etc. of very good quality (black and white and colored). These elements will be appreciated by every reader. Therefore, it is better not to wait for the edition to run out, although, as one can read on the editorial page, you will be able to use the electronic version available at: <http://www.fundacjaszczawnica.org/projekty/kronika-domowamankowskich>.

It is difficult to find the cons of this work. Perhaps it is the lack of an index of geographical names, and for professional historians also an appropriate bibliographic summary.

It seems obvious that the work by Andrzej Emeryk Mańkowski *The Mańkowski Chronicles* finds wide popularity not only among professional historians and researchers of the past and members of the Mańkowski family, but also among so-called ordinary readers. The book may also aspire to a group of fundamental studies dealing with the non-existent social class – landowners. In this way, it will join such works as the series of eleven books by Roman Aftanazy (History of residences in Poland's former eastern borderlands) and Krzysztof Jasiewicz (List of losses of the Polish gentry 1939–1956).

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