
Статья посвящена актуальной проблеме институциональной трансформации политической системы Украины в контексте ее евроинтеграционного вектора развития. Рассмотрен в сравнительном аспекте институт президентства Украины на предмет его соответствия аналогичным учреждениям в странах ЕС. Обосновывается мысль о необходимости оптимизации деятельности отечественной президентства, путем внедрения в практику европейских демократических политико-правовых норм и стандартов, отказа от несвойственных для стран ЕС неформальных практик.

Ключевые слова: интеграция, Европейский Союз, институт президентства, республиканская форма правления, смешанная республика

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THE PROBLEMS OF POLAND'S EASTERN POLICY IN POLITICAL CONCEPTIONS OF JERZY GIEDROYC AND "KULTURA"

In the end of XX century East Central Europe experienced (lived through) complicated geopolitical and social-economic transformations. The ideological conceptions of transformation processes were elaborated by the stuff of Polish emigrational periodical "Kultura" that was published during 1947-2000 and was edited by Jerzy Giedroyc. The important place in "Kultura's" political conceptions took the working out of a new Eastern policy of Poland. The conception of Eastern policy elaborated by the surrounding of Jerzy Giedroyc and "Kultura" was passed by the majority of opposition powers and played a decisive role in the policy of Poland in the post-bipolar system.

Key words: Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation, Polish-Ukrainian relations, East Central Europe, Jerzy Giedroyc, "Kultura".

In the end of XX century East Central Europe (ECE) experienced (lived through) complicated geopolitical and social-economic transformations. The place of priority in their realization belonged to Polish opposition movement that began to undermined bases of totalitarianism and soviet domination in the region from the second half of 1970-s. The ideological conceptions of transformation processes were elaborated by the stuff of Polish emigrational periodical "Kultura" that was published during 1947-2000 and was edited by Jerzy Giedroyc. The important place in "Kultura's" political conceptions took the working out of a new Eastern policy of Poland. Leading publicists of "Kultura" engaged in problems of Eastern policy were J.Mieroszewski, J.Stempowski, Z.Najder, J.Targalski [J.Darski], B.Osadczyk, J.Łobodowski, Z.K.Brzeziński, D.Morawski and others.

The study of the problem of a formation of Polish Eastern policy has begun relatively recently. During last years the correspondence of J.Giedroyc with J.Mieroszewski, J.Stempowski, Ukrainian emigrants [9; 10; 14; 15; 16] and others was published. Interviews with some collaborators of the periodical were also published; texts published in "Kultura" were reissued. A.S.Kowalczyk[18; 19], A.Friszke[6; 7; 24], B.Berdychowska[4], M.S.Wolański[28], R.Habielski[11; 12], T.Stryjek[25], B.Bakuła[2], M.Genyk [8], P.Waszkiewicz-Lewandowska[27], M.Siudak[23] and others should be admitted among the main investigators of this problem.

The stuff of "Kultura" considered the revisionism and the support of democratization of socialism to be the way to social-political changes in East Central Europe. The transformation should begin with an initiative of the very communists under the support of society with the

reformist slogans because a frank coming out with a program of overthrow of communism was too riskful. J.Mieroszewski distinguished three stages of the transformation. The first stage had to be held under the leadership of reformist communists, besides social discontents and pressure on the policy of government were necessary. The second stage had to be held under the leadership of liberal communists. The liberalization of the economy, the social liberalization and consolidation of democratic powers had to realize during this period. The third stage had to be held under the leadership of democrats. "Democracy will be achieved not due to communists but in spite of communists. But as communists cooperate at certain stages so democrats should collaborate with communists during the certain period of time".

The elaboration of a new international security conception of ECE, the solution of problem of borders, international reconciliation and tolerant policy in reference to national minorities were the main constituent elements of Polish eastern policy. As far as the new international security conception of ECE is concerned the position of "Kultura" lay in a creation of the center of power between Germany and USSR. PNR – the Third Rzeczpospolita – was a satellite of USSR at that moment but it might become independence in perspective. "Kultura" considered that Poland which would occupy Western and Eastern lands would be a fiction. The Second Rzeczpospolita with its constitution and borders became history. The geopolitical position of the Third Rzeczpospolita differed completely from the previous and required the new political doctrine. J.Mieroszewski stated that Poland could hold Western borders even in spite of any European state but not in spite of Russia. A demand of the return of Eastern borders contradicted to the aim of the holding of the Western border.

The place of priority in the new security system took the problem of ULB (Ukraine, Lithuania, Byelorussia), especially Ukrainian statehood. The past conception of Polish policy concerning Ukraine, specifically Pilsudski-Petliura Treaty was subjected to deep analysis. On the occasion of 35 years from Polish-Soviet war and Kyiv campaign "Kultura" held a questionnaire among its readers. So the question about Ukrainian independence, a possibility of its achievement and a wish of that for Poland became the gist of questionnaire. Supporters of Kyiv march gave arguments that this campaign gave Poland an opportunity to wage war out of its borders, to use Ukrainian nationalism in accordance with aims of Polish policy and advancing slogans of self-determination of peoples of tsarist Russia on the contrary to communist slogans to defend Polish independence and conclude an advantageous peace treaty [13, 3-10].

The support of Ukrainian statehood was also in the issue of Russian number of "Kultura". In May of 1960 J.Mieroszewski confirmed an availability of objective social and structural evolutionary changes in USSR that would be able to influence on farther social-political transformations. To J.Mieroszewski's mind Russian expansionism connected with some lag of social-political development laid obstacles to the establishing of goodneighbour relations. Polish author stated that territorial arguments or aspirations for a division of Russia didn't exist. But Poles considered aspirations for national independence of enslaved by Soviet Union peoples, including Ukrainian, to be just and legal. 'We have no right to speak on behalf of these peoples but Poles will always respond to their national aspirations'.

J.Mieroszewski compared a state of international relations in East Central Europe after Soviet-American partnership in the early seventies with the period after Vienne Congress that was a victory of conservative policy but intensified a burst of national and social movements. 'This time will be similar to past one. I'm sure that XX century will become a witness of Spring of Peoples not only in Warsaw and Prague but also in Kyiv and Moscow'.

J.Mieroszewski thought that it was necessary to eliminate any imperialism – both Russian and Polish for establishing peace and freedom in Eastern Europe. In his article for the first time the author proposed a concept of ULB space (Ukraine, Lithuania, Byelorussia). He confirmed that this space had determined a form of Polish-Russian dooming relations Poland

either to imperialism or to being a satellite. A predomination on this territory ensured a status of great statehood. But J.Mieroszewski proposed to refuse from the system in accordance with which either Russians or Poles should predominate on ULB space. Only non-imperialistic Russia and non-imperialistic Poland have chances to establish and put in order their relations. The new system should provide for the right to self-determination of peoples in the region.

‘Declaration in Ukrainian Affair’ acquired the greatest divulgation for Ukrainian question on the international arena. The Declaration confirmed a harmfulness of imperialisms both for interests of oppressed nation and nation-bearer (exponent), there was mentioned about falsehood to Ukraine caused by Polish imperialism. Soviet Union acknowledged being the last colonial empire of contemporaneity. There was declared about its anachronical existence and non-avertible national liberal movements of peoples within it. The imperial structure of USSR was divided into two levels of dependence: status of ‘limited sovereignty’ in so-called people’s democracies in East Central Europe and status of full non-sovereignty included into Soviet Union. ‘First of them are in the process of sovietization but they aren’t russified. Others are sovietized and are being russified more and more intensive every year.’ The Declaration stated that lots of ones and others are connected closely and there wouldn’t be really independent Poles, Czechs and Hungarians without independent Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians and Russian, ‘...Without Russians that would be free from imperialistic ambitions and develop their own national life and respect the right of other peoples to self-determination.’

Giving the place of priority to Ukrainian question was determined by that fact that Ukrainians was the most oppressed people in USSR and they most of all aspired to get the independence beside Lithuanians. The stuff of ‘Kultura’ proposed Russia to hold a referendum concerning Ukrainian independence. ‘We set off creation of such a situation when Ukrainians could express their opinion about own independence, do they aspire for getting it’.

There was spoken about facts of mass protests against Soviet policy of russification and repressions of the Soviet regime. Authors of the Declaration emphasized on three problems: Ukrainian question, the problem of other national minorities of USSR and the affair of the very imperial people. ‘It will be better for it as quickly as it will understand that a liquidation of Soviet colonialism is in its own interests because only that liquidation could prevent from mutual slaughter’. The Declaration called Russian opposition movement and Russian political emigration to deepen and consolidate the collaboration with champions for independence of Ukraine.

The Declaration was signed by 14 representatives of Russian, Polish, Hungarian and Czech emigration: A.Amalrik, W.Bukowski, Z.Byrski, J.Czapski, J.Giedroyc, N.Gorbanievskaja, G.Hrilling-Grudzinski, J.Lobodowski, V.Maksimow, T.Merai, D.Morawski, V.Niekrasow, O.Smoliar and P.Tigrid [1, 15].

The editors of “Kultura” appreciated the sign of Helsinki’s agreements in 1975 negatively. In published statement confirmed that the main aim of Moscow on Helsinki and Geneva conferences was getting recognition by the West of its territorial achievements after the Second World War that was status quo. It got satisfaction of its requirements. Helsinki agreements crossed out peoples’ and political emigrations hope to defense of East Central European interests by the West. They only could to rely upon processes of changes in USSR and collaboration of liberal movements that was a constant position of “Kultura”.

The problem of borders especially of Polish Eastern border was very complicated in international relations of ECE. J.Majewski was the first who spoke about the necessity of a refusal by Poland from claims to Eastern lands. A big quantity of commentaries on J.Majewski’s letter made the stuff of “Kultura” express their own opinion about such an important affair as Polish-Ukrainian border.

In 1952 J.Giedroyc proposed J.Mieroszewski to write the editors' statement concerning the inviolability of borders. In this statement named 'Misunderstanding or cheap patriotism' published in No 63 of "Kultura" stated that editors didn't consider Polish-Ukrainians situations in 1939 ideal neither in territorial, nor in political aspects. There was also stated that the problem of borders is spread problem of the ECE region where 30 territorial conflicts can be counted. In case of a formation of a new European system many borders of 1939 should be subjected to revision. There was paid attention to that eventual changes wouldn't be dictated but based on voluntary decision of Polish and Ukrainian peoples.

In his publications J.Mieroszewski confirmed that a refusal from Lvov and Vilnius is a refusal in favour of independent Ukraine, Lithuania but not of USSR or Russia. J.Mieroszewski compared the problem of Lvov with the problem of Wroclaw that hundreds of years was German city but a generation of Poles who were born there has grown up already. 'How does our opponents imagine the return of Lvov? Mass deportations of Ukrainian population and colonization of Eastern Malopolska by Polish element? Any historical reasons couldn't become excuses of such a barbarous operation'. J.Mieroszewski called to treat carefully to historical arguments because Germans' historical grounds to Wroclaw are not less. The main task in this situation is preservation of common heritage of Polish-Ukrainian history and culture.

The problem of Polish-Ukrainian border J.Mieroszewski examined through a prism of international situation in East Central Europe. The return of Polish independence might come true only under the circumstances of the return of a balance in relations with Russia that was a common enemy of Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Lithuanians. Polish policy should aspire not for getting Lvov and Vilnius but getting trust of these peoples.

As results of Helsinki agreements became an appearance of opposition movements in countries of East Central Europe. Conceptions of "Kultura" had a great influence upon Polish opposition powers. In July number of "Kultura" in 1976 the Program of Polish Independency Mutual Understanding was published. The 14th item of the Program was devoted to Eastern policy. In the program the support of liberal aspirations of non-Russian peoples was spoken about. There was confirmed that not Russia but Ukraine, Byelorussia and Lithuania are Polish Eastern neighbours. These countries were combined by long-term co-existence, more or less peaceful, which sometimes was broken by an excessive Polish expansionism but which was voluntary, within the frameworks of one state – Polish Union of Peoples. Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian and Latvian peoples aren't independent. They are included into Soviet Union by force and subjected sharp political, ideological and religious pressure as well as russification. 'Centuries old common history doesn't allow looking at this with indifference or condoling silently. We are saying a fervent solidarity and support of attempts of those peoples to get independence from Russian violence. We should support their aspirations to the degree of our possibilities'.

In the period of disintegration of USSR the stuff of "Kultura" was a supporter of more active Polish policy concerning its Eastern neighbours which struggle for their independence from the empire. In his opinion Poland should support a proclamation of independence of Soviet Republics even under the circumstances of worsening of relations with Moscow. J.Giedroyc criticized a slow activity of Polish government concerning a regulation of the national minorities' problem [22, 4].

The stuff of "Kultura" criticized Polish political élite because of the absence of the conception and vision of political role of Poland. To his mind, Polish political mind was not adapted for a modern situation and based itself on Pilsudski's and Dmowski's conceptions. J.Giedroyc always emphasized on the question of Ukraine in Eastern policy and confirmed that a support of Ukrainian liberal movement is in the interests of Poland. He rejected federalist projects as non-actual and thought that the fact of the appearance of independent

Ukrainie – a big buffer-state between Poland and Russia – should have an importance of principle, giving Warsaw the opportunity of a manoeuvre.

In the early 1990-s J.Giedroyc treated to the possibility of quick integration of East Central European countries into united Europe skeptically and that's why proposed the conception of regional integration within the frameworks of Vysegrad group with drawing Ukraine. 'It isn't worth to go blindly to Western Europe – this way is very hard and it isn't known will it be found as effective. It's needed to organize ourselves in our part of continent – that's why I pay so much attention to Vysegrad Triangle.' J.Giedroyc proposed to create common Polish-Czech-Hungarian army and to draw Ukraine into this military cooperation.

The problem of Poles on the East J.Giedroyc proposed to solve by the method of creation of Polish autonomous areas in accordance with a precedent in Ukrainian SSR in 1920-s. 'It must be a serious program of financial, legal and diplomatic help prepared by serious institutions and realized under the severe social control' [20, 6].

The conception of Eastern policy elaborated by the surrounding of "Kultura" was passed by the majority of opposition powers and played a decisive role in the policy of Poland in the post-bipolar system. Poland has demonstrated an important version of a peaceful solution of contradictions and conflicts with its Eastern neighbours. The entry of Poland to EU and NATO changed it into the coordinator of Eastern policy of these organizations. The role and importance of Poland in the context of doctrines of EU's and NATO's Eastern policy is determined to a considerable extent by worked out and adapted from emigrational surroundings conceptions of foreign policy.

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Наприкінці ХХ ст. Центральнo-Східна Європа проходила складні геополітичні і соціально-економічні трансформації. Ідеологічні концепції трансформаційних процесів були розроблені колективом польського еміграційного журналу “Kultura”, який видавався і редагувався протягом 1947-2000 рр. Єжи Гедройцем. Важливе місце в політичних концепціях “Kultury” займала розробка нової східної політики Польщі. Концепції східної політики, розроблені Єжи Гедройцем і колективом “Kultury” стали основою ідеології польських опозиційних сил та відігали вирішальну роль в політиці Польщі у пост-біполярній системі.

Ключові слова: польсько-українське примирення, польсько-українські відносини, Центральнo-Східна Європа, Єжи Гедройц, “Kultura”.

В конце ХХ в. Центральнo-Восточная Европа проходила сложные геополитические и социально-экономические трансформации. Идеологические концепции трансформационных процессов были разработаны коллективом польского эмиграционного журнала “Kultura”, который издавался и редактировался в течение 1947-2000 гг. Ежи Гедройцем. Важное место в политических концепциях “Kultury” занимала разработка новой восточной политики Польши. Концепции восточной политики, разработанные Ежи Гедройцем и коллективом “Kultury”, стали основой идеологии польских оппозиционных сил и сыграли решающую роль в политике Польши в пост-биполярной системе.

Ключевые слова: польско-украинское примирение, польско-украинские отношения, Центральнo-Восточная Европа, Ежи Гедройц, “Kultura”.