THE PLACE OF ENLIGHTENMENT IN MICHAEL OAKESHOTT'S CONCEPTION OF LIBERAL EDUCATION

There is now widespread suspicion of, and even hostility towards, the liberal educational ideal on the ground that it embodies an elitist ideal available only to the few. This article examines a radical revision of the classical ideal of liberal education by Michael Oakeshott, the essence of which is to respond to the charge of elitism by injecting into the liberal ideal of education a concept of enlightenment which, it is suggested, is somewhat akin to that sketched by Spinoza in his short *Tract on the Emendation of the Intellect* (*Tractatus de Intellectus Emendatione*), in which Spinoza argues that the good for man consists in overcoming powerful illusions that inspire feelings of alienation (as we would now term them) from the world. The attempt to present Oakeshott’s vision of liberal education in a Spinozistic perspective – as a quest, that is, for enlightenment in the face of illusion – may be suggestive in so far as it links his educational ideal to the concept of a ‘way’, or path, found in ancient and oriental thought but uncommon in the modern European world.

THE NATIONAL AVOWAL

This essay is the first philosophical reading of the new Hungarian Fundamental Law. Its method is to reconstruct the ideas substantiating it by way of analysing its preambulum, entitled National Avowal. The preamble's stylistic-terminological register is claimed to point back to the Reform Age of the 19th century. The Fundamental Law presents a view of Hungarian history, in which liberty and individual freedoms, as well as communal values play an important role. However, it also refers to Christian and other religions and worldviews, and to the historical constitution of the country - which makes it a directly conservative manifesto, connected to the Burkean tradition. The paper also shows that because admittedly the constitutional process resulted in a present legitimacy deficit for the Basic Law, it might have a longer impact only in case the Constitutional Court and other legal practitioners are ready to interpret it in a way which allows that the part of society whose representatives did not participate in the process, can find their values in the text. The fate of its reference to the Historical Constitution of the Country is also mainly in the hands of the Constitutional Court.
Michał PODNIESIŃSKI
Uniwersytet Jagielloński

O CO CHODZI Z TĄ UMOWĄ? PRÓBA ANALIZY PROBLEMÓW ZWIĄZANYCH Z KONTRAKTUALNĄ RETORYKĄ

Social contract: an analysis of the problems of contractual rhetoric

There are two major aims of this paper. First is to discuss and analyze numerous flaws in the social contract theory, which are extremely common both in liberal literature of the subject and contemporary politics. I try to underline that most of this discourse’s suggestive power stems from its overuse and misunderstanding. In many contexts and books contractarian discourse is used as a magic spell, which, rather than suspicious, is usually taken as a sufficient justification. The second reason is to make an attempt to organize and clarify most of contractarian words and idioms in order to extract their adequate sense and meaning. This careful exegesis of some of contractarian arguments allowed me to construct a typology which provides, as I can hope, much deeper understanding of the range of problems regarding social contract.

Rafał PROSTAK
Wyższa Szkoła Europejska im. ks. Józefa Tischnera w Krakowie

KONTRAKTUALNE KORZENIE AMERYKAŃSKIEGO KONSTYTUCJONALIZMU. MIĘDZY ROZUMEM, DOŚWIADCZENIEM A WIARĄ

Contractual roots of American constitutionalism: between reason, experience and faith

The article examines the vital resources of American constitutionalism. The very frame of American republicanism, as a political idea, and its institutions, as this idea’s embodiment, were founded on (1) the Anglo-Saxon constitutional tradition, (2) the philosophy of social contract, and (3) the puritan notion of covenant as a sacred contract between God and His chosen nation. The common dominator of these three is contractualism. The major goal of the article is to verify the correctness of John Jay’s emphatic comment that the Americans are the first people whom heaven has favored with an opportunity of deliberating upon, and choosing the forms of government under which they should live (...) under the guidance of reason and experience, by invoking, on the one side, selected texts of colonial charters or political pamphlets of the New England founders, and on the other, the Founding Fathers’ positions on the well-ordered state and nation

Michał NIEBYLSKI
Uniwersytet Opolski

IDEOLOGIA I POLITYCZNOŚĆ W PERSPEKTYWIE NEOKONSERWATYZMU AMERYKAŃSKIEGO – TRADYCJA, RECEPCJA I WSPÓŁCZESNE IMPLIKACJE

Ideology and the political in the perspective of American conservatism: tradition and contemporary implications
The aim of this article is to study the philosophical, ideological and political roots of the American neoconservatism. The analysis of those three abovementioned aspects should capture the genuine sources of the movement, and, on the other hand, prove the thesis that the American neoconservatism cannot be reduced just to a shape of a traditional representative of the left or rightwing political orientation in the United States. In the further part of the article the author discusses the origin of the establishment of the neoconservatist formation against the events of 1960’s and 1970’s in the United States. Moreover, the discrepancy between the forerunners of the movement and its modern representatives is shown in the context of defining a desired model of the country, society, and economics. The last point of the article is an attempt to examine on what level the formula of the American neoconservatism of the 1960’s and 1970’s assumed ‘going out’ of the past disputes between the left and the right, and on what level these statements have provoked the recent tendencies on the American and European political scenes. The author opts for the thesis that the style of pursuing politics, as much as the approach to a problem of ideology and the political performed by neocons, compels to recognize their formation as a prefiguration of policy in the womb of the European social democracy and the American liberalism, enclosed in the Third Way Manifesto.

Paweł MALENDOWICZ
Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa
im. Stanisława Staszica w Pile

WYZWANIA DLA RUCHU ANARCHISTYCZNEGO W EUROPIE FUNKCJONUJĄCEGO W WARUNKACH PRZEMIAN GLOBALIZACJI

The challenges for the anarchist movement in Europe, functioning in the conditions of globalization change

Anarchism is the direction of political thought in which the highest value is the idea of freedom. The other constituents of anarchism are the result of wide interpretation of the notion of freedom. The aim of the article is to determine the forms of activity of anarchists and to define the challenges which the anarchist movement faced with, functioning in the conditions of globalization in the early 21st century. Three methods were used to solve the research problem: systematic, historical and comparative. The source material is mainly composed of the anarchist movement’s publications and documents and also the conclusions drawn from the observation of the movement carried out by the author for several years. The explanation of the following questions constitutes the content of the article: in which organizational structures have anarchists been active? and how have contradictions in functioning of the anarchist movement in the era of globalization manifested?

Łukasz FYDEREK
Uniwersytet Jagielloński

AUTORYTARNY SYSTEM POLITYCZNY. PRZEGLĄD UJĘĆ TEORETYCZNYCH

Authoritarian political system: an overview of theoretical approaches

Despite a global domination of democracy as a successful polity model, nondemocratic regimes still constitutes approximately one-third of nation-states. This paper attempts to
summarize a number of scholarly studies explaining the phenomenon of authoritarian government. The article propose a classification of explanatory attempts in three broad categories: class–oriented studies, institutional analysis and political-culture approaches. In all three categories author tries to present both quantitative and qualitative studies, that have brought important insights in our understanding of the phenomenon of authoritarian government.

Tomasz MŁYNARSKI
Uniwersytet Jagielloński

PROBLEM REORIENTACJI POLITYKI ENERGETYCZNEJ JAPONII PO KATASTROFIE ELEKTROWNII JĄDROWEJ FUKUSHIMA

The problem of Japan's energy policy reorientation after Fukushima nuclear power plant disaster

Terrain and geographical location causes Japan to strive with nature forces, including numerous earthquakes. That raises serious consequences for nuclear energy usage, which is so far playing an important role in the Japanese economy structure. The earthquake and tsunami at the Fukushima nuclear power plant led to series of nuclear accidents and undermined foundations of Japanese energy policy. The country, a significant energy consumer on a global scale, faced a challenge of reorientation of existing energy security policy objectives. Moving away from nuclear technology, results in trade surplus decrease and is going to weaken the economy. Increased participation of conventional fuels in the country's energy balance, raises not only domestic but also global implications, since leading to significant import increase and consequently higher prices for energy resources in the world. At the same time, thanks to environmental friendly technologies investment policy the country could become a "green energy" world leader.

Aleksander GŁOGOWSKI
Uniwersytet Jagielloński

DIRECTORATE FOR INTER-SERVICES INTELLIGENCE (ISI)

The ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence) is the major intelligence agency of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. It had played the major role in so called “Afghan Jihad” – the struggle of Mujahedeen against the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979 and so on. It has got also reputation of major political power which supported military regime of gen. Zia ul-Haq. ISI is usually called “hidden government” because of the influence it has since then. During the Soviet-Afghan war, ISI became not only political, but also business power, engaged into smuggling of weapons and drug trafficking. The ISI’s role in Taliban’s ascent to power is ambiguous. The military had some kind of monopoly in “Afghan” direction of Pakistan’s foreign policy even when civilians served as prime ministers. Contacts between high ranked ISI officers and Taliban leaders are not secret, but the character of those relations is under discussion. We do not know if those contacts have purely political/ideological background or business as well. Fall of the Taliban after 9/11 undermined strategic interests of Pakistan in
the region. Northern Alliance which took power in Kabul is considered by Islamabad as pro-Indian. Pakistanis are suspicious about Indian engagement in Afghanistan. It could be explained by trauma which exists in Pakistan since 1971s secession of Bangladesh. Pakistanis are worried that Indian intelligence would be interested in ongoing support for separatist groups esp. Baluchis and Pashtoons, using Afghan territory as their base. So Pakistan’s strategic interest lays in establishing most friendly possible government in Kabul. Some of ISI officers are suspected on ideological support for radical Islam, so their loyalty for the present secular government is questionable.

Anna Dziduszko-Rościszewska
Uniwersytet Jagielloński
Tomasz Rościszewski
Uniwersytet Ekonomiczny w Krakowie

WOLNOŚĆ SŁOWA W USA A BEZPIECZEŃSTWO NARODOWE. CASUS WIKILEAKS

Freedom of speech in the USA and national security. The case of WikiLeaks

Publication at the portal WikiLeaks of thousands of pages of "confidential" or "secret" documents caused consternation around the diplomatic circles and the question of the limits of freedom of speech in the United States, especially in matters of national security. Indeed, according to the terms of 1st Amendment "no law of Congress cannot (...) restrict freedom of speech or of the press (...)". Although the record suggested that this freedom is absolute, (not restricted of any legislation), the later jurisdiction of the US Supreme Court (by case law) isolated categories of utterances that have not been contained by the 1st Amendment. However, the analysis of 1st Amendment in terms of national security highlighted the issue of the primacy of state interests over civil liberties. The matter of national security defined as a condition of allowing the development of state, implementation of its policy and ensuring the defense as well as protection against all threats (military, internal and external), by means of measures that the State is able to use has been a priority since the beginning of the American nation. Although the authors of the Bill of Rights assumed that the freedom of speech that was given to demos is absolute, soon legislation and the jurisprudence of the Supreme Court imposed restrictions on its use. The aim of the article is to attempt to answer the question concerning the appropriateness of the supremacy of the national security interest in the regard of the interests of citizens, understood not only as the right to freedom of expression, but also as a right to information, that is consistent with the assumption of the democratic political system of the United States.

Tomasz PUGACEWICZ
Uniwersytet Jagielloński

LUDWIK EHRLICH (1889-1968)
– PREKURSOR NAUKI O STOSUNKACH MIĘDZYNARODOWYCH W POLSCE

Ludwik Ehrlich (1889-1968) – the forerunner of the field of international relations in Poland
The aim of this article is to present the biography of Ludwik Ehrlich, with special emphasis on the links between this personage and International Relations as the scientific discipline. L. Ehrlich is prized researcher of international public law and constitutional law. His merits in education of the interwar Poland's diplomats have been recently acknowledged. However, his activity connected to the creation of the International Relations fundamentals in Poland during his work in Lviv (1936-39) and Krakow (1946-1949) is still only poorly and partially known. Short overview of the discipline's history in interwar period opens the article. It enables the presentation of how L. Ehrlich’s scientific activity was connected to the development of International Relations in the discussed period. Special emphasis is put on his organizational, editorial activity, research, domestic and international cooperation in the 30s. The contexts of his book published in 1947 and titled "Introduction to International Relations" are presented, this monograph sums up his previous activity in this discipline.

Janusz JÓZEF WĘC
Uniwersytet Jagielloński

REFORMA PRZESTRZENI WOLNOŚCI, BEZPIECZEŃSTWA I SPRAWIEDLIWOŚCI UNII EUROPEJSKIEJ W TRAKTACIE LIZBOŃSKIM

The area of freedom, security and justice in the European Union in the Treaty of Lisbon

The article deals with the reform in the area of freedom, security and justice in the European Union in the Treaty of Lisbon of 13 December 2007. The first part is on the systematics of the Treaty provisions. The second part of the article discuss changes in the 6 areas concerning visa, asylum, immigration policy, judicial cooperation in criminal and civil cases and police cooperation.

Adam KIRPSZA
Uniwersytet Jagielloński

Podejmowanie decyzji w obszarze Wspólnej Polityki Zagranicznej i Bezpieczeństwa Unii Europejskiej z perspektywy konstruktywizmu społecznego

Decision-making process in the area of the European Union’s Common Foreign and Security Policy from the perspective of social constructivism.

Traditional analyses of European Union’s Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) characterize it as an intergovernmental regime based on the lowest common denominator politics. This leads to dominant perspective that CFSP decision-making process can be describe in terms of bargaining, realization of states interests and “culture of veto”. The aim of this article is to provide an alternative, namely constructivist, approach to the study of the CFSP. For this purpose, the first part of the article deals with the fundamental assumptions of this perspective in the light of Lakatosian methodology of research programmes. The second part empirically examines above-minded assumptions on the ground of CFSP decision-making by showing how phenomena such as consensus culture, coordination reflex, multiple embeddedness, logic of argumentation or intrainstitutional rivalry shape different image of the old second pillar. This article argues that adopting a sociological vocabulary to CFSP opens
Marek REWIZORSKI
Politechnika Koszalińska

POLITYCZNE I PRAWNE ASPEKTY UCZESTNICTWA UE W DAUHAŃSKIEJ RUNDZIE ROKOWAŃ HANDLOWYCH WTO

Political and legal aspects of the EU participation in the Doha round of WTO trade talks

The European Union in the Doha round of trade negotiations acts as the legal successor of the European Community. In the light of the Treaty of Lisbon, the EU, as international organization, has gained a significantly stronger position in the WTO. This conclusion is based on evidence of extending the scope of Common Trade Policy on foreign direct investment (FDI), giving the Union the right to conclude international agreements with third countries or international organizations, as well as clear demarcation of exclusive powers of the EU to conclude international agreements. There is no doubt, that the priorities of the EU will be directed towards improving its position in global trade in goods and services and maintaining close cooperation with economic powers - the U.S., Japan and China. However these objectives are difficult obtain due to global financial crisis, lack of consensus with developing countries in terms of agriculture and the increasingly aggressive U.S. agricultural policy. Difficulties in resolving the above-mentioned problems, make completion of the Doha Round in the coming years a huge challenge for the international community.

Tariq Rahman
Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad (Pakistan)

URDU IN THE RADIO: ASPECTS OF IDENTITY POLITICS IN SOUTH ASIA

Urdu came to be used in the radio in India during the British rule. As the language in its spoken form could veer towards Persianization or Sanskritization, it could be symbolic of Muslim or Hindu identities at a time when these were already under construction and politicization before the partitions of India in 1947. Moreover, the radio could employ people proficient in one or the other variety of Hindi-Urdu (or Hindustani as it was often called) which fed into further mobilization of the competing communal identities. The competition goes on even now as the language of the radio is subjected to ideological and political imperatives in both India and Pakistan.

Marcin KOZIEL
Head, the NATO Liaison Office, Kyiv, Ukraine

Ukraine vis-à-vis NATO: the Challenges of the Partnership

In addressing the challenges which the NATO-Ukraine partnership faces in 2011, one needs to briefly address ways in which NATO-Ukraine relations have developed since 1991; consider unique forms of political dialogue and practical co-operation between the Alliance
and Kyiv which they have evolved into; and – importantly – reflect on possible implications for NATO-Ukraine co-operation of a new policy position on Ukraine’s (non-)participation in and co-operation with political-military organisations which the President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovych has formulated. Arguably, these decisions will shape up the dynamics behind the NATO-Ukraine partnership in the years to come. Focused on the key aspects of the NATO-Ukraine Partnership and the events leading up to the NATO’s Summit in Lisbon in November 2010, this article seeks to address these issues. In its concluding part, it also discusses prospects for further development of NATO-Ukraine relations in 2011 and beyond. The article also provides information on key mechanisms of practical co-operation between NATO and Ukraine.

Maciej STRUTYŃSKI
Uniwersytet Jagielloński

POLITYKA POLSKA WOBEC MINEJSZÓŚCI UKRAIŃSKIEJ W OCENIE UKRAIŃSKIEGO GRECKOKATOLICKIEGO PISMA „META”

Ukrainian Greek Catholic weekly Meta on the Polish Policy towards the Ukrainian minority

The article describes how the environment of “Meta” periodic assessed the approach of Polish government towards the Ukrainian minority during years 1918-1939 (the so-called Second Republic of Poland). “Meta” was a weekly magazine issued by the Ukrainian Catholic Association, published under the auspices of the metropolitan of Lvov, Andrzej Szeptycki. Archbishop Szeptycki was a leader of Ukrainian religious and socio-political life and his opinions had significant impact on Ukrainian minority in Poland. The journalists who wrote for “Meta” criticized the Polish government’s ethnic policy towards Ukrainians. The political environment centered around this Greek-Catholic periodic attempted to work out their own conception of legal regulations aiding the situation of Ukrainian minority in Poland. On the other hand the formation of the Ukrainian Catholic Association and “Meta” was aimed at limiting the influence of the radical Ukrainian nationalists united in OUN.

Konrad PIĄTKOWSKI
Wyższa Szkoła Zarządzania i Bankowości w Krakowie

EWAKUACJA DO FRANCJI POLSKIEGO PERSONELU TECHNICZNEGO INTERNOWANEGO W RUMUNII I NA WĘGRZECH (JESIEŃ 1939 – WIOSNA 1940)

Evacuation of the Polish technical personnel interned in Romania and Hungary (autumn 1939 – spring 1940)

At the beginning of 1940, the Polish Government -in -Exile initiated a specific operation. The Industrial Evacuation – as an example of a specific type of evacuation – was dedicated to engineers, technicians and highly qualified workers who were interned to Romania and Hungary after the fall of Poland in September 1939. The Industrial Evacuation was not only meticulously planned, but it was also a very dynamic and partly improvised operation. As a result, about 2000 men and women – Polish industrial specialists – were successfully transferred to France and partly to the Great Britain in the
period from January to June of 1940. The process described above has been analysed in the chronological order. The research strategy is based on a quantitative and comparative analyses of the data derived from various sources, such as: official documents

Anna RATKE
Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika

POLITYKA HISTORYCZNA HISZPANII WIDZIANA PRZEZ PRYZMAT USTAWY O PAMIĘCI HISTORYCZNEJ Z 2007 ROKU

Historical reconciliation in Spain’s 2007 Historical memory act

The article presents a political use of history in Spain during the first decade of the twenty first century. Examines decisions made by José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, Prime Minister of Spain and the leader of the Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party (PSOE), and its influence on Spanish public opinion. Describes the purpose of the government's politics of memory and presents in detail The Historical Memory Law. This article expresses opinion that the aim of The Law was not to rewrite history and make people responsible for crimes of the past. Moreover, it presents the important role played by the politics of memory in compensation of persecution and violence suffered during the 1936-1939 Spanish Civil War and dictatorship of General Francisco Franco.