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**The Arctic and Nordic
Countries in the World of Economy and Politics**

Arkadiusz Indraszczyk¹

**PLACE AND ROLE OF SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES
IN POLISH CONCEPTS AND PROJECTS
OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION
IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to present the place and the role of the Nordic countries in Polish concepts and projects of European integration carried out in the twentieth century. This will illustrate the perception of the political significance of the Scandinavian countries in Europe by Polish politicians and thinkers. First, selected concepts and integration projects for which the criterion was reference to any Scandinavian state, along with a discussion of the role attributed to the states will be presented. The presentation part will be followed by conclusions.

Features of the Polish concept of European integration in the twentieth century

Polish people put forward their own ideas of European integration throughout the twentieth century. Most of them emerged during World War II and the political exile after 1945. Vast majority of Polish concepts referred to the area of Central European countries, situated between three seas: the Baltic, Adriatic and Black Sea, and between Germany and the Soviet Union (USSR). These countries were seen as imperialist powers, whose aim was to capture the area of Central Europe. This threat was the primary cause of the search for integration in Polish research projects aimed at ensuring the safety of the Polish state.

¹ Arkadiusz Indraszczyk, Ph.D., the University of Natural Sciences and Humanities in Siedlce, Poland.

The main Polish concepts included: the idea of federating Poland and the states formed after the collapse of Tsarist Russia, i.e. Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine, (the idea attributed to Piłsudski); Intermarium - the creation of a federation of Central European countries - attributed to Piłsudski's camp and to the colonel Józef Beck²; the concept of a federation of Central Europe propagated by the general Władysław Sikorski during World War II³; concepts of European integration, as a federation of regional federations. The so-called Jagiellonian idea, which underlay those concepts, provided political patterns and opportunities for contemporary Central Europe, taking into account political transformations - and thus the democratization of social relations.

All of the ideas and projects have always been primarily concerned with the integration of the Central European region. Unification of both the Slavic lands and agrarian states fell within the scope of territorial boundaries of these concepts. They differed from each other in the scope of area, the advancement of integration, the cultural basis and other reasons⁴.

If those boundaries were crossed, the focus shifted towards a theory and the grounds of the need to create first regional federations, and only then the federalization of Europe not by unifying single countries, but several regional federations⁵. Very rarely, the integration of those other than Central European states has been taken into account. And in these, the position and role of the Scandinavian countries will be sought.

Concepts relating to Finland only

As far as Polish integration projects are concerned, among those covering the area of Scandinavia there have been two concepts regarding only Finland. The first was presented in 1907 by the Association of Young Polish People's Republic. The Association proposed a three-step federalization of Europe. The first step was to establish a federation of Poland, Lithuania and Russia (Belarusians and Ukrainians). The second step was to form a federation on the territory of three Polish invaders - Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany - and thus the area of Central and Eastern Europe. The association assumed, that the federation would be

² See: P. Okulewicz, *Koncepcja "Międzymorza" w myśli i praktyce politycznej obozu Józefa Piłsudskiego w latach 1918-1926*, Poznań 2001.

³ T. Kisielewski, *Federacja środkowo-europejska. Pertraktacje polsko-czechosłowackie 1939-1943*, Warsaw 1991.

⁴ More on these concepts and projects, see: J. Rabiński, *Kwestia integracji europejskiej w myśli politycznej działaczy Stronnictwa Pracy – członków Rady Narodowej RP w latach 1940-1943*, [in:] *Koncepcje integracji w Europie w XX i XXI wieku. Myśl Polityczna*, ed. Huberta Stys, Toruń 2008, pp. 83-95; *Wizje Polski. Programy polityczne lat wojny i okupacji 1939-1944*, ed. K. Przybysz, Warsaw 1992.

⁵ See, for instance: *O jedność Europy. Antologia polskiej XX-wiecznej myśli europejskiej*, introduction Łukasz Machaj, Marek Maciejewski, selection and elaboration Sławomir Łukasiewicz, Warszawa 2007. The book includes the views on European integration expressed by such people as: Feliks Gross, Piotr Wandycz, Józef Czapski, Edward Raczyński, Rowmund Piłsudski, Zbigniew Jordan, Oskar Halecki, Aleksander Bregman, Zdzisław Najder.

created by “the Poles, Lithuanians, Russians, Czechs, Croats, Slovenes, Finns, Latvians, Georgians, Armenians, Tatars and so on, [who] through the federation will be granted the right to an independent internal development of their national existence.” Here, the association defined neither the number of federations nor their composition. The third and final stage was a general “Federation (union of all) peoples of Europe”, which “[...] will give the opportunity to the peoples of Europe to unite their forces to accomplish the highest tasks of history of mankind”⁶.

The association referred “the Finnish” to as a nation oppressed by tsarist Russia. Their participation in the second stage of integration, was to contribute to the sooner collapse of Russia, by separating from it the nations situated on its western and southern frontiers. The “Finns” would therefore enter the ranks of freedom fighters. The association did not determine the countries or peoples participating in the third stage. Generally, federation of the whole Europe was often referred to. It would also comprise the other Scandinavian countries. However, their role in this concept was purely statistical.

The other project relating solely to Finland was the plan of the Union of the Baltic States. It was presented by the Estonian delegation in Paris in the autumn of 1918. The original plan was to form a political and economic union of three groups of countries: Scandinavian - Denmark, Norway, Sweden; Eastern Baltic countries - Estonia, Finland, Latvia; southern Baltic countries - Lithuania and Poland⁷. Later, during the peace conference at Versailles, the project was expanded with Ukraine and Romania, which determined the anti-communist character of the project. This plan aroused the interest of the Polish side - especially Jozef Pilsudski. It was partly in line with his federalist concepts.

Diplomatic talks on the formation of the proposed union began in August of 1919, and lasted until the mid 1920s. However, that union had any chances to be formed only during the boundary wars with the Bolsheviks. The primary reason for its formation was the threat from Russia imposed on small states formed on the ruins of the empire of the Romanovs. The culmination of the talks was a conference in March of 1922 in Warsaw, which concluded with an agreement on the Union⁸. Very quickly, the original idea of the political and economic union was supplanted by the concept of military alliances. This was mainly due to the ongoing Polish-Bolshevik war, the revolution in Russia and the boundary wars fought by Estonia and Latvia. Also the talks were continued by a reduced number of parties, i.e. five countries: Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland. This was due to their common interests, arising from the threat from Russia, whatever it was - white or red. The aforementioned Belarus and Ukraine were not formed.

⁶ *Program Związku Młodej Polski Ludowej – 1907, styczeń*, [in:] S. Lato, W. Stankiewicz, *Programy stronnictw ludowych. Zbiór dokumentów*, Warszawa 1969, pp. 93-95.

⁷ P. Stawecki, *Polityka wojskowa Polski 1921-1926*, Warszawa 1981, p. 268; A. Skrzypek, *Związek Bałtycki. Litwa, Łotwa, Estonia i Finlandia w polityce Polski i ZSRR w latach 1919-1925*, Warszawa 1972, pp. 28-29.

⁸ P. Stawecki, *Polityka wojskowa Polski*, *op.cit.*, pp. 269-271.

Although Romania was also threatened with a possible expansion of Russia, due to its geographical location further in the south, was not included. At the same time Scandinavian countries did not want to follow a strict anti-Russian policy.

Contentious issues, concerning Vilnius, between Poland and Lithuania posed a major obstacle in the path of negotiations. Furthermore, Lithuania and Latvia, Latvia and Estonia did not exactly reach an agreement over controversial issues. Lithuania and Latvia feared the potential domination of Poland, whereas Finland wanted the three Baltic republics to be retained. Only Poland and Estonia were in good relations and both of them made every effort to form the union, even at the cost of excluding Lithuania, whose accession was doubted.

An agreement to form the Baltic Union was signed on 17 March 1922 in Warsaw. The signatories were the four countries, excluding Lithuania. In fact, it simply comprised a standard wording for mutual confirmation of the peace treaties, obliging the parties not to enter into any agreements, whose provisions would be against any of the states - signatories, to share with other parties the information on any treaties with third parties, to conclude additional covenants and conventions, to guarantee rights for national minorities, to settle all the issues between the signatories in a peaceful manner, in the case of military attack to adopt a "friendly attitude" towards the attacked state and immediately agree on measures to be taken⁹. The signed agreement was not ratified by the Finnish Parliament and since it required unanimity it did not come into force¹⁰. However, talks over the treaty and more specific military alliances continued. Yet, the original idea of a political union, or even a confederation was buried.

Talks over the Union fostered ideas of integration among Polish people. The supporters of the Union included politicians of the Polish Peasant Party (PPP) "Liberation". They believed, that thanks to the agreement of the Baltic countries and in cooperation with the Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia) Poland would be guaranteed safety. The leading role in the union was attributed to Poland as the largest country in the region, and situated between the Little Entente and the Baltic States, serving as a kind of a linkage. On the basis of this Union Eustachy Rudzinski proposed the formation of two blocks of states linked by means of alliances. One of the blocks was to be composed of Western countries: United Kingdom, France and Italy, and the other of Central European countries: Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. In this way a "big block" of countries bordering the Baltic Sea in the north and the Adriatic Sea in the south could be formed¹¹.

Similarly to the ideas put forward by the Association of Young Polish People's Republic, the basis for the Baltic Union was the ability to defend against Russia. Thus Finland, as one of the countries formed after World War I and the collapse of

⁹ A. Skrzypek, *Związek Bałtycki*, *op.cit.*, pp. 153-154 and appendix no. 1, pp. 283-284.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 157, 166-167; P. Stawecki, *Polityka wojskowa Polski*, *op.cit.*, p. 273.

¹¹ *Mowa posła E. Rudzińskiego, wygłoszona w Sejmie dnia 12 lutego podczas rozprawy nad polityką zagraniczną Polski*, „Wyzwolenie”, no. 9, 25 II 1923, pp. 3-4; J. Jachymek, *Mysł polityczna PSL Wyzwolenie 1918-1931*, Lublin 1983, pp. 203-205.

the tsarist regime in Russia, for strategic reasons was to be a very important link in the Union. Other Scandinavian countries, whose presence was rather symbolic, were not that important. Their participation in the Union would be welcomed, yet more important for the project was mutual agreement between states bordering Russia, and their alliance with the Western powers.

Concepts and projects relating to all Nordic countries. The concepts of regional federations

The concept of an engineer Lieutenant Colonel M. Wężyk

In 1940 an engineer Lieutenant Colonel M. Wężyk presented his plan to rebuild Poland, entitled “The Way to Great Poland”, which contained a short concept of European integration – comprising the area of Central Europe, located between Germany and the Soviet Union.

As the title suggests, the purpose of the proposed by Wężyk¹² the Central European Union was to make Poland a strong European country. This concept was created immediately after Poland had lost a defensive war in 1939. The author assumed, that the countries located between Germany and the USSR were threatened by their neighbours’ eternal imperialism, which was impossible to be withstood effectively, if the states remained self-reliant. The Union, therefore, was to be the result of efforts of defense.

The author pointed out, that the Union should comprise the following countries: Norway, Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The formation of such a Union would start with the conclusion of several types of agreements and alliances. Among others, Scandinavian countries, the Baltic States and Poland would create joint naval forces, which would guarantee freedom of navigation in the Baltic Sea.

The author did not develop a detailed plan of the formation of the Union, however, he expressed the view, that it should be of a political and economic nature. It could be either unified, or composed of at least three members: the Nordic countries and the Baltic states, the Balkan states and Poland¹³. The membership of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Romania was not specified.

Analysing this abridged version of the concept in terms of the role of the Nordic countries, it should be stated, that due to the geographical location of those states, their role was to “form a closure” to the area of Central Europe from the north, from the Baltic Sea. According to the author, these countries were necessary to counteract the German and Soviet fleets and create the closure line of external security.

¹² The author did not manage to identify that person. Due to the use in the title a phrase “Great Poland”, which was used by the national camp, it may be presumed that M. Wężyk belonged either to the National Party or to a wider national camp.

¹³ Archives of the Department of History of the People's Movement, Archive of Stanisław Kot, Ref. 426, M. Wężyk, *Droga do Wielkiej Polski*, Thurs, 10.IV.1940, col. 62-64.

The concepts of national camp in occupied Poland

The activists of the National Radical Camp “Szaniec” put forward a very similar to that of Wężyk concept in the autumn of 1943. They expressed the view, that the Union associating the countries located between Scandinavia and Turkey, including both of them, should be established. It was to be divided into three parts: northern (Scandinavia), Central European and Southern. Poland was to be federated with all the countries of the three parts – and was supposed to be a leader. The task of the northern part - the Scandinavian countries and Poland was to protect the Baltic Sea against the threat of Germany and Soviet Union and to guarantee the independence of the Baltic states¹⁴.

A slightly different, however similar, was the concept of Slavic Empire, developed between 1941 and 1942 by the National Confederation of Bolesław Piasecki. The Slavic Empire was to be composed of blocks of European countries. The following were the suggested blocks: French-Romanesque (France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland), northern (Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland), Iberian (Spain and Portugal), Slavic Empire (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, Albania, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Estonia)¹⁵. Germany was to be permanently fragmented between individual blocks¹⁶.

In both plans, the Scandinavian countries were treated separately, subjectively. They were to be entrusted with an important task of providing security from the north.

The concepts of regional federation of Polish emigration

The government of the general Władysław Sikorski developed one of the most important concepts and plans of European integration. The plan was based on the concept of the union of Poland and Czechoslovakia. This union was to become the nucleus of a wider Central European federation, including the states located between the three seas: the Baltic, the Adriatic and the Black Sea (there were various detailed proposals for the composition). The Federation its to be part of the federation of Europe, which should consist of regional federations. The view, had been presented by the general Sikorski and other -supporting him- politicians since the autumn of 1939¹⁷. That view adhered to the opinions of such people as, for instance Winston Churchill on the organization of European federations, or large powers and small states united under a federation¹⁸. Probably the views of the British were shaping Polish ideas on integration, however, they did not initiate them.

¹⁴ K. Przybyś, *Polska myśl polityczna 1939-1945. Zarys problematyki*, Warszawa 2000, p. 61.

¹⁵ Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine were to be parts of Poland.

¹⁶ A. Barabas, *Polacy i Polska wobec idei integracji europejskiej w latach 1915-1957*, Toruń 2008, p. 93; K. Przybyś, *Polska myśl polityczna, op.cit.*, pp. 58-59.

¹⁷ More on the topic, see: A.M. Brzeziński, *Kwestia powojennej organizacji bezpieczeństwa w polityce zagranicznej rządu RP na uchodźstwie 1939-1945*, Łódź 1999, pp. 7-40; T. Kisielewski, *Federacja środkowo-europejska, op.cit.*

¹⁸ A.M. Brzeziński, *Kwestia powojennej organizacji...*, *op.cit.*, pp. 25, 26, 40, 41.

Among these regional federations a Scandinavian federation was also presumed. The concept, however, was not reported in detail. Definitely, both Norway and Sweden were to become its members. Probably also Denmark. However, Finland's membership was still under question, as it was often placed in the composition of the wider, Central European federation.

One of the proponents of such solutions was also Zygmunt Nagorski, a member of the People's Party. His idea was to base the organization, which was being formed during World War I, on the regional agreements, of which one would be either the European Union or the European Community of Nations¹⁹.

One of the government concepts was the concept introduced between 1939 and 1940 by August Zaleski, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the government of the general Sikorski. In that vision, Europe would be divided into five blocks: Central European (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Lithuania); southern (France, Italy, Spain and Portugal); German (Germany and Austria); northern (Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway and Sweden); Balkan (Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece and Albania). This idea, however, was not clearly specified. Its purpose was to break the traditional division of Europe into East - West and replace it with the division into regional federations. They were to be equal, mutually stabilizing, capable of independent existence²⁰.

Scandinavian countries in the concept of Jerzy Kuncewicz

The idea of Jerzy Kuncewicz was to strive to rebuild the world in the form of the Republic of Globe, which was reflected in his most important works devoted to this concept²¹. In his opinion, the Republic of Globe was not to be a single political formation or one global state similar to national state - but a "form of existence, which would liberate people from the tools and lust for political governance and financial worries"²². According to Kuncewicz, the ideal was a world, in which a human, free from political concerns, threats of war, would live in harmony with nature, using its "unlimited wealth". Industry and technological progress would serve people as a means to achieve this state of symbiosis²³. It was

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 58-59.

²⁰ T. Kisielewski, *Federacja środkowo-europejska...*, p. 65. The information was also cited by Antoni Marszałek, see: A. Marszałek, *Polskie projekty federacji Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w latach 1890-1950*, Łódź 2008, pp. 116-117.

²¹ These are: *Przebudowa. Rzecz o życiu i ustroju Polski*, Warsaw 1930; *Na nowych drogach*, 1932; *Republika Globu*, vol. I, *Awangarda i maruderzy*, Warsaw 1938; *Zadania i pozycja Polski w układzie powojennym*, Londyn 1941 – edited by Foreign Committee of the People's Party (Archives of the Department of History of the People's Movement, Archive of prof. Stanisław Kot ref. 443, J. Kuncewicz, *Zadania i pozycja Polski w układzie powojennym*, published as manuscripts thanks to the efforts of a foreign group of Peasant Party, Londyn 1941, typescript); *O pełne wyzwolenie człowieka*, London 1945. The work under the title *Meeting with tomorrow* was also published in English.

²² J. Kuncewicz, *O pełne wyzwolenie człowieka*, *op.cit.*, p. 43.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 43. According to the Kuncewicz' idea of economic humanism, the use of "unlimited wealth of nature" had a different meaning than the exploitation of natural resources in capitalism

to be a global area of cooperation of all nations, voluntary cooperation and necessary for the elimination of two basic, according to Kuncewicz, risks as well as liberating from fear and poverty.

One stage in the way to establish the Republic of Globe was to be a process of political reconstruction of the world. Kuncewicz believed, that the necessary cooperation of nations, their equality, would require unifying into a multi-level apparatus of the federation composed of blocks. Several countries would make up one block of a different form of internal system (confederation, federation, etc.). The block would interact with other blocks and would become, instead of a national state, a basic player in the international arena. Kuncewicz did not specify the number of these blocks, but thought, that the fewer the better, especially in terms of faster decision making or concluding agreements. When creating the blocks, Kuncewicz suggested to stick to a few rules: territorial compactness, sufficient number of the population, cultural similarities²⁴.

In addition to the political and economic consolidation, blocks would naturally strengthen the national states in these areas and would serve the role of a platform for cooperation. Their functioning would prove, that possible could become real, and that the cooperation brought measurable results. Their internal activities, but also external, would concentrate on cultural cooperation, getting to know the nations within the block, learning interdependence. After all, the ultimate form of the Republic of Globe was not to be any form of a political state.

The apparatus consisting of a multinational, multi-state blocks would be complemented by several international bodies: International Court, executive body, international army, other authorities and international organizations.

Although the issue of the number of blocks and their detailed composition were left by Kuncewicz for further settlement, however, a following division was suggested:

- 1) the British Commonwealth (among other Australia, India, Canada, and other territories of the former British Empire);
- 2) the United States of America;
- 3) USSR (as part of the composition of the nations aspiring to join the block, or to remain in the block) ;
- 4) China;
- 5) Southern block (France, Italy, Spain, Portugal);
- 6) ABB (on the Coast of the Adriatic sea, Baltic, Black - composed of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Greece, Yugoslavia, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Hungary, Romania and possibly Finland);

and liberalism. According to economic humanism man works mainly with nature, in harmony with it, taking care of it and caring for its condition and the possibility of regeneration, while capitalism and liberalism as a system aiming solely at profit, causing excessive exploitation of nature, not allowing it to regenerate and irrevocably destroying it.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p.180.

- 7) Block coastal states of the North Sea (Belgium, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Norway, Sweden and their overseas territories);
- 8) Germany alone or with Austria;
- 9) BCP (coastal states of the Black sea, the Caspian Sea, the Persian Gulf - composed of Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran, Palestine, Syria, Turkey and possibly Egypt, and other peoples of this area);
- 10) Japan;
- 11) South America²⁵.

The above list lacks Switzerland, which Kuncewicz passed over intentionally. He believed, that because of national diversities in Switzerland, aspiring to various blocks – Southern and German could differ across the regions. And Kuncewicz did not want to divide Switzerland, but used it as an example of the possible existence of a multinational federation. Kuncewicz put Switzerland outside “the executive bodies of the world team”, however it had a role in the international judiciary system²⁶.

The principles of forming the blocks postulated by Kuncewicz, in fact applied to some of the blocks proposed by him. These were the blocks of the United States of America, USSR, China, Southern Block, ABB, Germany alone or with Austria, Japan and South America. The other three: the British Commonwealth; the block of coastal states of the North Sea and the BCP block (coastal states of the Black Sea, the Caspian Sea, the Persian Gulf) definitely did not fall within that framework. The exception resulted from the fact, that Kuncewicz thought, that there should be as few blocks as possible. On the other hand, he believed, that the post colonial states would not be able to form their own blocks capable of participating in the new world order on the same level as other blocks. Thus, the colonies were to remain at metropolises, however, Kuncewicz realized, that the nations fighting for independence, had to enjoy it and on their own get at the truth, which was the possibility of peaceful coexistence only in terms of the community²⁷. Kuncewicz believed, that, before those states (the so-called postcolonial states) would be able to join the Republic of Globe, they would have to undergo the process of transition, which would be rather disorderly. “The social and political development of these areas will take a long time. They will be exposed to internal disturbance, also the period of further divisions into smaller national entities should be allowed, striving for independence from foreign domination as well as managing to cope with technical and material difficulties before from the fire of fights, involving numerous aspects of life, emerges a man, a citizen of the Republic of Globe - a mature, understanding for others, aware of their strengths and weaknesses, free in choosing their paths”²⁸. The other exception was Japan, clearly considered as a country having joint liability for the war.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 192.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 192-193.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 44-47.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 44.

Not going deeper into the assumptions, which made Kuncewicz shape the blocks formed in his vision in that particular way²⁹, the interesting aspect and role of Scandinavian countries should be explained.

These countries were to belong to the so-called block of coastal states of the North Sea. Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark and their overseas territories were also included in the same block by Kuncewicz. However, the block shaped in that way did not constitute a coherent territorial continuity, even in Europe, where it was separated by the territory of Germany. It also seems, that significant cultural differences between the inhabitants of the Benelux and the inhabitants of Scandinavia would create some obstacles. Formation of two blocks i.e. the Benelux and Scandinavia would be a better solution. Perhaps here Kuncewicz feared, that Benelux itself would be too small, however as an area of subject to eternal territory disputes, it was connected neither to France nor Germany.

Arranging the composition of the block Jerzy Kuncewicz pointed to the old and the strong culture of the peoples making up the block; also to the fact, that they were “small nations”, so the problem of superiority of one nation over another practically did not exist; also their overseas territories, which were to compensate for the smaller territories in European blocks as well as the number of inhabitants were of great significance. The author of the Republic of Globe also emphasized the natural resources of colonies - African Congo (Belgium) and Dutch India. The geographical and cultural differences within the blocks were to bring the desired effect. The block of the countries bordering the shores of the North Sea and their colonial possessions would be similar to the British Commonwealth. It could serve the same roles. Firstly, by being spread over a large area of the globe, the block would gain control capabilities. Secondly, and more importantly, it would prove the integration capabilities, needed for the formation of the Republic of Globe. “The composition of the block of the North Sea, so diverse in terms of ethnicity, could be a model of harmonious coexistence for other similar entities, whose populations still have not reached such a high level of development”³⁰.

The layout and assumptions behind the block indicate, that Kuncewicz adopted an ideological and philosophical approach to his concept. By acknowledging, that colonized peoples, who aspire to independence, after disturbances resulting from independent existence, would seek to be united into larger entities, Kuncewicz tried to waive it aside and skip that step of socio-political disturbances. He did not propose any political solutions for these blocks, but it can be assumed, that he envisaged the reconstruction of existing relationships and the relationship between the colonial state and the colonized areas. Undoubtedly, in accordance with the principle of self-determination of peoples, which he stuck to, as well as the

²⁹ The concept of Jerzy Kuncewicz was presented in detail in the work by A. Indraszczyk, *Polski ruch ludowy wobec integracji europejskiej*, Warsaw 2014, pp. 114-121, 157-199.

³⁰ J. Kuncewicz, *O pełne wyzwolenie człowieka*, op.cit., s. 184.

provisions of the Atlantic Charter, Kuncewicz wanted these nations to make their own decision to stay in a relationship with their existing “fatherlands”. He believed, however, that they should be a part of a wider block rather than to have a full sovereignty. In his views, Kuncewicz adopted ideological and broader perspective. It seems, however, that he underestimated the degree of demands for independence as well as the emancipation of the colonial population. He forgot that a nation had to undergo the experience of a full independence to be able to choose a different path, or to see the benefits of the alliance. And the history of Poland and the nations of Central and Eastern Europe provided for useful lessons on this topic. It is also possible, that Kuncewicz had this knowledge, but remembering the lessons drawn from the interwar period and the year 1939, he wanted to avoid similar conflicts in the future.

Regional concepts of Polish emigrants after 1945

Scandinavian countries were also included in the concept of a federal state of Rowmund Piłsudski, developed after 1945. He did not favour the concept of European integration through the federation of “individual nations” because he was afraid, that in this case, small and weak states would become politically dominated by stronger countries. Instead the federation of national states, Rowmund Piłsudski proposed the confederation of local (regional) federations. He suggested the following federations: Scandinavian, Western European, Latin, Eastern European and German. The European Confederation, formulated in that way, would be one of the components of the proposed by R. Piłsudski World Federal Organization, next to the Commonwealth, the Soviet Union, China, and perhaps the United States of America and South America³¹.

Scandinavian countries – which is not known which ones, were treated in this concept subjectively. Unfortunately, the author did not specify the composition of the federation, or its tasks, or its role in the proposed European Confederation.

After 1989

Polish views and concepts of integration which have been presented since 1989, have not made references to the composition of the integrated union, but more to its formal character. It has been considered whether it is to be a federation, a confederation or a union of sovereign national states. During this period, the Scandinavian countries generally remain on the sidelines of Polish horizons. Apart from a few exceptions. Firstly, as part of aspirations of Poland to integrate into Western Europe through the European Communities and the European Union, all forms of regional cooperation have been propagated (it has been done by all

³¹ R. Piłsudski, *Polska misja w Europie – ale jaka?* [in:] R. Piłsudski, *Pisma wybrane 1972-1982*, Warsaw 1998, pp. 44-46; *Polski program federalny. Przemówienie Rowmunda Piłsudskiego wygłoszone przez RWE dnia 20 marca 1954 r.* [in:] R. Piłsudski, *Pisma wybrane, op.cit.*, pp. 220-223.

political parties and social organizations)³². In addition to economic and cultural purposes, they have been supposed to confirm the capability of Polish people of international cooperation. The Council of the Baltic Sea States is an example of such a form of cooperation. The role of Scandinavian countries in the Council is invaluable due to their sensitive approach to environmental issues as well as capabilities to provide funding on possible joint projects.

The Polish-Swedish initiative of May 2008 to strengthen the relationships with the eastern neighbours of the European Union covered by the European Neighbourhood Policy has proved important for Poland. The result was the establishment of the Eastern Partnership covering six countries: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine³³.

Conclusions

1. The vast majority of Polish projects of European integration in the twentieth century, concerned only the area of Central and Eastern Europe – i.e. area situated among the seas: the Baltic in the north, the Adriatic Sea in the south and the Black in the south east, and between Germany in the west and the USSR in the east. Some of these concepts and projects related to the whole area, while some related to the unification of Slavic countries only³⁴.
2. Few Polish projects covered the areas different than the above mentioned³⁵.
3. Scandinavian countries were included in a few Polish projects of European integration.
4. In the majority of them, their significance can be considered as statistical, their role was not specified. That was the case in the project put forward in

³² B. Rogowska, *Partie prawicowe wobec integracji europejskiej w latach 1989-1998*, [in:] *Europa i integracja europejska...*, *op.cit.*, pp. 144, 145, 154, 155.

³³ Polish Institute of International Affairs, the Eastern Partnership - opening report, ed. Beata Wojna and Mateusz Gniazdowski, Warsaw, April 2009, p. 7.

³⁴ See: the *Foreign Policy of the Polish Movement of the Union of Slavs*, [Warsaw] 19 June 1942, [in:] *Wizje Polski...*, *op.cit.*, pp. 103-104; *The policy of the Front of restoration of Poland*, [Warsaw, September 1942], [in:] *Wizje Polski...*, *op.cit.*, p. 142.

³⁵ In 1941 Polish Socialists wrote about the European Federation, see: *Polish Socialist Political Declaration adopted at the second anniversary of the war by the national conference*, [Warsaw, September 1941], [in:] *Wizje Polski...*, *op.cit.*, p. 78. These concepts were also included in the demands of the Polish Socialist Party-Liberty, Equality, Independence, which, although favoured the Federation of Central Europe, it placed it in a global Union of States, see: *Wizje Polski...*, *op.cit.*, pp. 120-126. Similarly, the assumptions of the Union should be regarded, as it promoted primarily Union of Central Europe, but believed, that the future of Europe lies in its federalization through the formation of a number of regional federations. See: *Declaration of the Union* [Warsaw, 1942], [in:] *Wizje Polski...*, *op.cit.*, pp. 170-172. In 1943. The Polish Socialist Workers Party Socialist proposed the creation of a European Socialist Federation, see: *The Polish Socialist Workers Party*, [Warsaw, before July] 1943, [in:] *Wizje Polski...*, *op.cit.*, p. 238 In turn, in the views of the Polish Democracy there appeared the term of the United States of Europe, see: *Tezy ideowe Stronnictwa Polskiej Demokracji*, Warsaw 4 July 1943 [in:] *Wizje Polski...*, *op.cit.*, p. 241.

1943 by the Peasant Organization of Freedom "Raclawice", which proposed central European federation cooperating with a similar Scandinavian federation³⁶.

5. Only in the so-called block projects (of regional federations) after the World War II, Scandinavian countries gained more significance and broader context in the Polish projects.
6. Polish integration projects generally did not deal with specific problems of countries outside the region of Central Europe. They were mainly included due to political reasons and geographical location. Neither their economic capabilities nor their models of political systems were dealt with, although that issue became especially important and relevant after the collapse of communism in Europe, when eventually the search for new forms of political systems were possible and Europe entered the era of dependence of energy supply sources.
7. Scandinavian countries were not perceived by Polish politicians as superpowers and therefore not much attention was given to them. They were not included in the major currents of the Polish foreign policy. They could provide security, however only as a complement to a larger system, as a complement to the Central European federation. It was not until 1989, that these countries started to be perceived in a different way by Polish people. Since then they have been perceived not only as members of regional agreements, but also as models of social and political solutions (welfare states).

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Abstract

The article deals with the Polish concepts of integration developed in the twentieth century, considering the role of the Nordic countries. The main axis of the Polish projects was the idea of Central European federation. Scandinavian countries were included in those projects only when the formation of multiple regional federations (or blocks) was assumed. But even then, not much attention was given to them. Jerzy Kuncewicz in his vision devoted slightly more attention to Scandinavian countries.

The reason for that was that these countries were not included in the major currents of the Polish foreign policy. They could provide security, however only as a complement to a larger system, as a complement to the Central European federation. It was not until 1989, that these countries started to be perceived in a different way by Polish people. Since then they have been perceived not only as

members of regional agreements, but also as models of social and political solutions (welfare states).

Miejsce i rola państw skandynawskich w polskich koncepcjach i projektach integracji europejskiej w XX wieku

W artykule zanalizowano polską myśl integracyjną w XX wieku pod względem występowania w niej państw skandynawskich. Główną osią polskich projektów była federacja środkowoeuropejska. Państwa skandynawskie pojawiały się wyłącznie wówczas, gdy projekty zakładały tworzenie wielu federacji (lub bloków) regionalnych. Ale nawet wówczas nie poświęcano im wiele uwagi. Tylko w projekcie Jerzego Kuncewicza zostały potraktowane nieco szerzej.

Przyczyną tego było to, że państwa te leżały na uboczu od głównych kierunków polskiej polityki zagranicznej. Mogły stanowić dobrą flankę bezpieczeństwa, ale wyłącznie jako dopełnienie w większym systemie. Dopiero po 1989 r. państwa te uzyskały inny wymiar w postrzeganiu przez Polaków. Nie tylko jako państwa członkowskie porozumień regionalnych, ale jako wzory rozwiązań społecznych i ustrojowych (państwa socjalne, opiekuńcze).

Arkadiusz Indraszczyk, PhD., the University of Natural Sciences and Humanities in Siedlce, Poland.