





**Les citoyens  
et l'intégration européenne**

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Sous la direction de  
**Radovan GURA & Gilles ROUET**

# **Les citoyens et l'intégration européenne**

*Préface de Jacques CHEVALLIER*

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## Avant-Propos

*Radovan Gura & Gilles Rouet*

Les citoyens des pays qui ont rejoint l'Union européenne lors des dernières vagues d'intégration ont encore, très souvent, l'impression de vivre une situation très différente qu'à l'Ouest, même si l'amélioration économique, au moins, est globalement reconnue.

Tous ces citoyens sont devenus, depuis le Traité de Maastricht, des « citoyens européens », avec des droits réels, mais sans vraiment, actuellement, avoir accepté des devoirs particuliers. Beaucoup de ces citoyens vivent leur appartenance européenne comme un ensemble de contraintes plutôt que comme un processus volontaire. En effet, l'espace démocratique de cette citoyenneté reste à construire (Jacques Chevallier, pp. 11-26).

Les attentes initiales des Européens étaient, légitimement, élevées et, actuellement, un désenchantement s'exprime, des craintes sont désormais en partage. Les différentes crises qui secouent les quotidiens des citoyens de l'Union depuis plusieurs années, après la faillite de la Grèce, la guerre civile en Ukraine ou l'arrivée de réfugiés et de migrants, ont mis en évidence les différences de perception et d'appréciation des événements, jusqu'à une situation d'incommunication<sup>1</sup>, principalement entre l'Est et l'Ouest. De nouveaux « clivages » s'ajoutent ainsi à ceux décrits par Andrea Schmidt (pp. 27-48).

L'intégration européenne n'a que partiellement « lissé » les disparités internes au sein de chaque État membre, en particulier grâce aux fonds structurels, qui résistent et peut-être même, dans

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1. Cf. Dominique Wolton, *Informé n'est pas communiquer*, CNRS Éditions, 2009.

certaines régions, s'aggravent. Des crises « identitaires », révélées en particulier à l'occasion des élections européennes (Eva Páležová, pp. 49-66), et « idéologiques » qui amènent à relativiser le bilan positif d'une construction européenne qui n'a pas réussi à légitimer une organisation politique (Natasza Styczyńska, pp. 67-80).

En particulier pour les anciens pays satellites de l'Union soviétique, l'intégration européenne est plus ou moins intégrée dans un long processus, « normal », car « retour en Europe » pour beaucoup, ou après la création d'un nouvel État pour certains. Ces intégrations ont pris effet après négociations, réformes institutionnelles profondes et normalisations. Il convient donc de se demander si cette intégration de « l'acquis communautaire » est légitime pour les citoyens de ces pays et quels sont les effets de ces évolutions, qui ne peuvent pas seulement être résumées ou expliquées par une nécessaire transition. Kinga Anna Gajda analyse les caractéristiques de la participation des jeunes (pp. 81-102) dont beaucoup sont déjà des cousins ou fils des premiers de la « génération Erasmus ». Pour une partie « mobile » des Européens, une citoyenneté particulière s'est installée, même si elle s'exprime peu dans les votes nationaux.

Pour d'autres citoyens, la protestation prend des formes tragiques, dans les rues comme devant les administrations ou au sein des entreprises. Les auto-immolations, depuis le Printemps de Prague jusqu'au Printemps arabe, interrogent et perturbent (pp. 103-118), formes extrêmes qui montrent bien que le lien social, le politique, ont des dimensions corporelles, sacrées (Serge Dufoulon, pp. 119-130).

Cette question de l'intégration européenne, pour les citoyens, est liée à celles des valeurs, d'autant plus que désormais, depuis le Traité de Lisbonne et après des tentatives de justification de la construction européenne par la géographie, l'histoire ou les « racines » des peuples, ces dernières sont érigées en ciment de l'Union. Est-il possible de mettre en évidence, avec ce partage de valeurs, une identité européenne ? (Martin Rebes, pp. 131-140).

Les articulations entre intégration et citoyenneté européennes vont bien évidemment au-delà des considérations sociales, politiques, institutionnelles ou même médiatiques. Toute la société, chaque citoyen, chaque résident (même non-citoyen européen, n'étant pas citoyen d'un État membre) sont concernés.

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Pour autant des populations entières semblent poursuivre des destins bien différents. Les résidents, légaux ou non, non-citoyens d'un État membre ne bénéficient pas de la citoyenneté européenne et des pratiques discriminatoires installent les Roms dans une situation de « citoyens de troisième zone », de « non-citoyens » (Danièle Lochak, pp. 141-156), ou encore de « sous-citoyens » de l'Europe dans le contexte d'une instrumentalisation politique particulière (Ioana Cristina Hrițcu, pp. 157-186).

Les migrants sont des citoyens en devenir et si les pays de l'Ouest, en particulier ceux qui ont un passé colonial, ont une expérience avec différentes vagues d'immigration, européennes ou non, d'autres pays, en Europe centrale et orientale, sont plutôt historiquement des pays d'émigration. La politique hongroise en matière d'immigration africaine, analysée par István Tarrósy (pp. 187-210) est, à ce titre, représentative en particulier du fondement des divergences de positionnement politique entre l'Est et l'Ouest, relatives à la « crise » des migrants.

Cette question est essentielle, car l'intégration européenne est un projet qui dépasse le cadre des citoyens des États membres et les oppositions souvent radicales au sein de l'Union européenne montrent bien que si chacun vit et comprend, en toute légitimité, différemment son « européanité », il en est de même, et c'est certainement plus inquiétant, pour la « citoyenneté » européenne et ses valeurs induites.

De plus, il ne s'agit pas seulement, dans le « projet » européen, de constater ces valeurs en partage relatif, *a priori*, mais aussi d'en faire la promotion, et en particulier auprès des populations « voisines ». Monika Eriksen propose un rapide bilan d'une des politiques européennes de voisinage et s'interroge en particulier sur ses effets sur le fonctionnement démocratique (pp. 211-228).

Les différents chapitres de cet ouvrage ouvrent certainement plus de portes qu'ils n'en ferment. L'intégration européenne est loin d'être un long fleuve tranquille et il est également nécessaire d'envisager l'évolution de la citoyenneté européenne avec les changements d'attitudes et d'usages, en tenant compte des migrations et de la mobilité, du développement de nouvelles formes de participation citoyenne, de l'évolution des médias traditionnels ou non. Les processus identitaires et les engagements sociaux

révèlent également la capacité des citoyens à légitimer cette intégration européenne, processus complexe et de longue durée.

À défaut de constater l'émergence d'un espace public européen (ou d'y croire), certaines convergences existent pourtant qui permettent d'envisager la connexion des espaces publics à l'intérieur de l'Union (voire aussi à son extérieur) et la mise en œuvre d'une citoyenneté active. Mais pour cela, il est nécessaire que les citoyens nationaux fassent le choix de découvrir ces espaces au sein de chaque pays, et non celui de l'ignorance et le rejet.

Le rôle des institutions éducatives, culturelles, économiques et diplomatiques de chaque État membre au sein de l'Union européenne est fondamental pour relier les citoyens au projet européen, qu'il s'agit de partager et de légitimer.

Daniel Podosek évoque, en conclusion, un processus d'« assimilation » des « nouvelles générations d'Européens », qui ne connaissent pas, *a priori*, de rupture brutale avec les précédentes. Cette évolution sociale, culturelle et de communication devrait favoriser la construction d'un territoire imaginaire, une « option unifiante » (pp. 229-236).

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# Does Europe Matter at All?

## European Issues in the Discourse of Polish Political Parties

Natasza Styczyńska

**Résumé.** La Pologne est désormais membre de l'UE depuis plus d'une décennie. Cette adhésion a apporté non seulement des avantages, mais aussi des défis, en particulier celui de pouvoir confronter l'intérêt national avec celui de l'Europe. La Pologne est l'un des plus grands bénéficiaires des fonds européens et l'une des sociétés les plus pro-européennes parmi les 28 membres de l'UE. Néanmoins, l'UE n'est toujours pas pleinement reconnue comme une entité à laquelle peuvent se référer les Polonais. Les questions européennes ne sont pas débattues, et le discours politique aborde peu l'idée et l'avenir du projet européen. On peut avoir l'impression que l'adhésion à l'UE est tenue pour acquise et qu'il n'y a pas de réflexion approfondie sur le projet d'une Europe commune comme sur l'organisation de l'UE. Ce chapitre présente les résultats d'une recherche sur les programmes des partis politiques, relativement aux questions européennes débattues ou non par les partis politiques.

**Mots clés:** Politique polonaise -- Européanisation -- Euroscepticisme -- Partis politiques -- Transformation

In 2014 Poland, along with other countries of Central and Eastern Europe celebrated 3 anniversaries. 10 years have passed since the eastern enlargement of the EU, 15 years since the country joined NATO and 25 years since the fall of the Berlin Wall. The New Member States, Poland among them, are no longer so new in terms of their incorporation into the logic of the EU. Taking an active part in designing the future of the EU, they are undergoing a change from policy takers into policy makers. Being a part of the European Union brings benefits to the new Member States but also has its challenges. On the one hand Poland is one of the biggest

beneficiaries of European funds, but on the other it must confront its national interest with European ones, and cooperation with other member states, as well as participation in the various institutions may bring discontent with the EU and its current realisation of the European project.

The years preceding the accession to the European Union in Poland were characterised by a complex transformation – not only political or economic but also cultural. In this case transformation should be understood as a very widespread and multi-faceted phenomenon consisting of several factors (such as democratisation or modernisation) which influence and overlap each other. The prospect of EU accession, as well as ongoing negotiations and adaptations to EU laws and norms were constantly influencing the public debate in Poland, as well as the discourse of political parties. Political parties needed to determine their stance on the European integration issue, which resulted in the incorporation of European matters into party manifestos and political programmes.

Although European integration did not serve as a ground for a new socio-political cleavage, the European issue was used by political parties to construct their political identity. As Anna Paczeński emphasizes (2014, pp. 91), it was mostly visible in the case of parties that had similar political programmes, in which case a particular stance on Europe could establish a characteristic label of a party. Costs and benefits of the future accession were constantly deliberated among the political elites, but also in the society. In this chapter, I will focus on the image of the European Union and the importance of the European issue voiced (and included in the official documents) by political parties. The presence and importance of European topics in the programmes of the Polish political parties will be examined, aiming at providing the answer to the question if the European Union matters at all, or is it perhaps just taken for granted?

## **Europe and Polish Party Politics.**

Researching discourse requires emphasizing the importance of the context in which the discourse is embedded. It is important to notice what has been said, but also one needs to pay attention to

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the topics that have been bypassed. Researching the official documents of political parties, we may assess what kinds of issues are important for the party and which are intentionally pushed aside. According to the ‘silence theory’, political parties appropriate some issues that are present in the public discourse, thanks to which each party can ‘occupy’ a part of the discourse and grant itself a label (Czeński, 2011, pp. 12). The way in which political parties assess European integration as well as the Polish accession negotiations (and later the Polish role in the EU) allow to categorise them according to the classification acknowledging the division between pro-European and anti-European parties. Polish society has always been rather pro-European: this could be observed in the outcomes of the accession referendums – in Poland 77.45% voted in favour of joining the EU, as well as in the results of the public opinion survey conducted in 2014 where 89% of respondents declared support towards European Union (CBOS, 2014). Despite this, the Eurosceptic rhetoric is visible in political discourse. One of the contested areas is the future enlargement of the European Union. Adversaries of the future enlargement often base their attitudes on cultural and identity issues, but also point out the enlargement fatigue of the EU. Anti-European arguments include the democratic deficit of the EU and issues of the distribution of funds among the member states. One can easily notice that there is less discussion about the idea of Europe than the organisational aspects of the European Union.

### **The Main Actors and their Programmes.**

An overview of the main parliamentary political parties shall help to understand the full spectrum of attitudes towards European issues. Some of the parties have grown and developed, some have been transformed and others have just disappeared from the political arena.

The League of Polish Families (*Liga Polskich Rodzin*) was a conservative, right-wing party that opposed Polish membership and exhorted its followers to reject EU membership in the accession referendum in 2003. The anti-European rhetoric of the party was based on the endangered Polish-Christian identity,

threatened by the domination of the ‘decadent’ influence of the West. The League also claimed that the European Union was an elitist project driven by Germany, and integration would actually mean ‘colonisation’ and another ‘Drang nach Osten’ (Zuba, 2006, p. 205). The League prepared a document entitled ‘13 points – why Poland should not be joining the EU’, which was used during the accession referendum campaign (LPR, 2003).

The document included demands to reject membership, as “*the accession conditions, negotiated by Poland, were unacceptable*” and that “*Poland can only develop outside of the European Union*” (*Ibidem*). The arguments of the League of Polish Families were enhanced by the rhetoric of some parts of the Polish Catholic church, mainly that associated with Radio Maria (*Radio Maryja*) founded by the redemptorist Father Tadeusz Rydzyk, a figure widely known for his nationalistic, anti-Semitic and xenophobic rhetoric. Eurorejects voiced concerns that Poland would be influenced by a western ‘civilization of death’ that would force people to accept abortions, euthanasia, the usage of drugs and the legalisation of same-sex marriages (Sokolewicz, 2003; Góra & Mach, 2010). After accession, support for the Euroreject rhetoric of the party decreased. In the 2004 EP elections, the League obtained 15.9% of votes and inducted its EMPs to the Independence and Democracy fraction. However, a year later it only managed to get 8% in the national elections, but still secured seats in government (Styczyńska, 2014, p. 160). The party dissolved after 2007 when it did not manage to enter parliament, but some of its politicians remained active and involved in establishing the Polish branch of the European party – Libertas, that openly rejected the very idea of the EU.

A true mixture of arguments was also presented by Self-Defense (*Samoobrona*), considered to be one of the most populist political parties in Poland. This farmers’ union developed into a political party that criticised European integration on the basis of economic issues. Self-Defense claimed that Poland was joining the European Union on disadvantageous conditions, leading to treating Poland as a “*third category member state, a semi-colonial selling market*” and the “*source of cheap labour*” (Samoobrona, 2003). The party programme was a populist amalgam of declarations, including a strong opposition towards the possibility of foreign acquisition of land. Self-Defence’s success was essentially a one-off occurrence,

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gaining 11% in the European Parliament elections and introducing its MEPs into the Union for a Europe of the Nations. The party was a part of the ruling coalition (together with the League of Polish Families and Law and Justice) established after the national elections in 2005, but it did not manage to enter the parliament in 2007 or the EP in 2009, vanishing from the Polish political stage soon after.

Relatively new, The Congress of the New Right (*Kongres Nowej Prawicy*) was established in 2011 by Janusz Korwin-Mikke, a figure who has been active in politics since the 1990s and who is also well known for his controversial views and xenophobic and anti-European rhetoric. The Congress of the New Right promises to “*blow up the EU from within*”, as in the party opinion the European Union is “*an artificial fiscal and ideological creature that should be reduced back to the free trade area*” (KNP, 2014). The party programme is a mix of economic libertarianism and radical social conservatism, supporting the idea of the “night watchman state”. Janusz Korwin-Mikke is famous for his controversial statements such as the claim that the EU is “*a communist project which is run by Maoists like Barroso*”, suggesting to put “*the European Commission building to better use by turning it into a brothel*” (*Guardian*, 2014). The Congress underlines that they are ‘the only anti-EU political party in Poland’ and that they want to play a “*hard opposition in the European Parliament, fighting fageralists and lampooning eurosocialism*” (KNP, 2014). After the 2014 EP elections, the party managed to introduce 4 MEPs, but as Szczerbiak (2014) claims, the Congress collected mainly protest votes due to its anti-establishment rhetoric, which is “*mobilising the frustrated Polish intelligentsia and younger voters around a programme of radical economic liberalism and hostility to the EU*”.

The Polish Peasants’ Party (*Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe*) has undergone an interesting evolution – the party could be considered as Eurosceptic only during the time before accession, when it was uncertain if the negotiated accession conditions would be good enough for the Polish farmers that the party represents. Their main issues of concern were full direct payments and land ownership. As Tesser (2004, p. 220) underlines, the Polish Peasants’ Party strongly opposed the foreign acquisition of land, forests, or areas containing water sources. It resulted in party officials even demanding an 18-year prohibition on foreigners purchasing agricultural land in

Poland (Zuba, 2009, p. 332). Opposing foreign land ownership has various sources, including economic fears that “*foreign ownership will increase land prices enormously at the expense of local buyers, to patriotic concerns over the loss of national sovereignty and the fears of re-Germanisation*” (Tesser, 2004, p. 214). The fear of Germans buying or regaining the land was based on anxiety that the Polish western border (including parts of pre-war Germany) decided on in 1945 would be re-appropriated by the Germans.

The rhetoric of the Polish Peasants’ Party changed after accession in 2004 and none of the fears turned out to be based on reality; farmers are in fact one of the groups who have benefited the most from EU integration. Due to the fact that they are part of the governing coalition, as well as a part of the European Peoples’ Party, the PPP has become more pro-European (although opposing deeper integration and the model of a federal Europe). The change could be determined also by the pragmatism of the party, as the Polish Peasants’ Party politicians tend to treat politics in a pragmatic, not ideological way (Janke, 2011). A decade after EU accession, the party accepts the idea of European integration but is critical about the current realisation of the EU, claiming that more solidarity and better conditions for farmers are needed. Moreover, it has declared that EU accession and membership in NATO are the biggest achievements of the Polish transformation (PSL, 2007b).

Law and Justice (*Prawo i Sprawiedliwość*) is a key player on the Polish political arena and, since 2007, the main opposition party. Founded in 2001, it emphasized the need to secure Polish national interests during the accession negotiations. The party stressed the Christian roots of Europe and the importance of including this reference in the future constitutional treaty (PiS, 2003). The claims made by Law and Justice were characterised by the inconsistency between two sentiments: a fear of being dominated by the EU and the expectation to gain profits from membership (Cebul, 2009, p. 168). After 2004, Law and Justice turned to strongly supporting the idea of a Europe of Nations, criticising the federal model and deeper integration as damaging to Polish national interests. Still, the fear of being dominated by the bigger countries exists – in its 2007 parliament campaign the party underlined that it “*may happen that the EU will be dominated by the strongest, most populous and most wealthy*

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*countries*” (PiS, 2007, pp. 51), which will bring disadvantages to Poland. According to party documents, the federal model of the EU is not acceptable as the European community should be based on shared values rather than common interests (Kik, 2011, pp. 111). Jarosław Kaczyński has underlined that deeper integration “is an attempt to limit Poland’s sovereignty and ultimately its democracy” (WBJ 2011). The party formed a government in 2005 (together with Self-Defence and the League of Polish Families) that decided not to ratify the Charter of Fundamental Rights, perceiving it as introducing the possibility of same-sex marriages and German land compensation claims by the “back door”. Further, President Lech Kaczyński (one of the founders of the party) prolonged the signing of the Lisbon Treaty for months. Since 2009, the party has been cooperating with Czech and British Conservatives (European Conservatives and Reformists) in the European Parliament, but in the term 2004-2009 they joined a different Eurosceptic party grouping – the Union for a Europe of the Nations. The party programme includes the postulates of strengthening sovereign states and cooperation in the area of economy and security rather than deeper political integration.

Civic Platform (*Platforma Obywatelska*) was established as an association in 2011, as a result of a split from the Solidarity Electoral Action coalition of parties. The party was constructed under the leadership of Andrzej Olechowski, Maciej Płażyński and Donald Tusk. Since 2007 it is the largest party in the Polish parliament, serving also as a major coalition partner in Poland’s government. Its leader, Donald Tusk, who from 2007 to 2014 served as prime minister, was appointed President of the European Council. In the European Parliament Civic Platform is a member of the European People’s Party (EPP). The party describes itself as liberal-conservative, but political scientists have observed that since it came in office, its programme has become more and more fuzzy and Civic Platform has become a “catch all” party (Kozłowski, 2014; Rubisz, 2009; Gajowiczek, 2002). Liberal views on economy are accompanied with more conservative ones on ethical issues (opposition to liberalisation of abortion, same-sex marriages, decriminalisation of soft drugs and legal euthanasia). Civic Platform is voicing strong support for more solidarity and more effort in terms of building a common European identity, which should be

based on Christian values. According to the party programme, “*a real community cannot function without solidarity. European solidarity is a fundamental value of integration*” (PO, 2007a). According to official documents, but also to the declarations of the main politicians of Civic Platform, the party supports the federal model of the European Union, declaring interest in deeper and further integration. As the party claims, common security and foreign policy will give Europe a better and stronger position in the international community. In the context of the economic crisis, Civic Platform argues that the only answer to the crisis will be “not less, but more Europe” (PO, 2011, pp. 90). This is why, according to Civic Platform, we should support EU institutions and the deeper integration of member states.

The Democratic Left Alliance (*Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej*), founded in 1991 as an alliance of centre-left parties (established as a single party in 1999), is currently the third largest opposition party in the Polish parliament. Many of the Democratic Left Alliance politicians were active politicians during the communist regime of the People’s Republic of Poland, but the party declares itself to be social-democratic, and according to this belongs to the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament. The party was a coalition partner in the years 2001–2005 when the negotiations with the European Union were concluded and the accession treaty was signed. The Democratic Left Alliance is considered the most pro-European political party in Poland, supporting the idea of more solidarity in the EU as well as deeper integration of the member states. The process of Europeanisation of the party programme is visible in the fact that since the EP election campaign in 2009, the party now only uses the programme of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in European elections. For the Democratic Left Alliance a unified Europe is Europe built on social ideas, “based on the idea of solidarity, social justice, being not only an area of a free trade and common currency, but also constituting an broader area of shared values, social standards and sustainable development” (SLD, 2004). Issues of security and common foreign policy are also debated in the party programme. In the electoral manifesto from the 2007 parliament campaign, the party voiced strong support for the

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adoption of the euro, as “it will give Poland a chance to establish a more modern economy” (LiD, 2007, pp .47).

### **Europe taken for granted? Findings from the research on party manifestos.**

Analysing the various party manifestos allows us to draw conclusions on the official party positions on European issues, as these documents are the universal channel of communication between political party and potential voters. I have examined the manifestos issued by the main Polish political parties, looking at two dimensions of discourse that were introduced by Weiss and Wodak (2004). The first one is “making meaning of Europe” and the other is the aspect of “organising Europe”, which refer to the main areas through which Europe and European integration has been discussed and negotiated. One of the main aims of the research was not only to examine the image of Europe incorporated in the party programmes, but also to state if the attitude has changed during a decade of Polish accession. The anti-European arguments that could be observed during the 2003 accession referendum campaign have lost their validity and vanished with time. The rhetoric and arguments have likewise changed. The anti-European political parties accepted the accession but did not stop to criticize the very idea of the European Union or the way the EU is currently functioning. Although the main Eurosceptic arguments have disappeared together with the declining support for Self-Defense and League of Polish Families, the main anti-European arguments have returned with the appearance of the Congress of the New Right in the 2014 EP campaign.

Law and Justice is critical about the current shape and functioning of the European Union whilst at the same time having a very pragmatic approach and understanding the EU as a source of economic profits. The party is negative towards the possible EU influence on domestic affairs, but (especially since the Russian-Georgian conflict) is supporting common policy in areas such as defence, security and foreign affairs. This approach is mainly visible in the programmes from 2011 and 2014.

The analysis of political manifestos and programmes can bring us to the conclusion that Polish political parties do not have a set idea about what the European Union should look like in the future, nor about the level of its integration. This may result either in the assumption that Polish society is not interested in European matters and the future of the EU (so there is no need to discuss them in the documents) or that Polish society does not understand EU politics and a common Europe is taken for granted.

Discourse in Polish politics on the topic of Europe is dominated by the feeling of the obviousness of integration, including mainly pragmatic (economic) arguments whilst not giving much attention to the actual idea of the European project. Most of the parties are interested in economic issues, the amount of funds that Poland will get or the way we are allowed to spend them. There is a very little information in the party programmes about the organisation of the European Union in the future, and if there is, it is usually just a voice of support towards a more federal EU or the opposite, towards the idea of loosely connected member states. A clear, common European policy do not exist in Poland, therefore it is also hard to find it in the documents of political parties. As Kik (2001, p. 116) emphasizes, Polish political discourse is oriented towards the past, not the future. The only exception is the Law and Justice party which has developed a detailed European programme, including the main argument against the federal model of the EU, as well as claiming that Europe should dedicate more time and effort to economic cooperation and expanding eastwards.

The debate about the role of Poland in a united Europe and in the wider world is dominated by national interest arguments. As a result, membership is analysed and considered in the context of possible benefits, and the future shape of the EU is discussed only in the frame of Polish national interests.

The other observation that emerges is that time is of the essence in helping to create a feeling of belonging. After a decade of membership, Polish political parties tend to treat the EU as something more familiar. The European Union is less often treated in external categories, and the awareness of the fact that Poland has become not only a policy taker but also a policy maker has grown.

As the Polish society is pro-European, political parties also present a rather EU-positive attitude. Parties that criticise Polish

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membership and the idea of European integration are rather small and derive support from a group of voters that are generally disappointed with their current situation and want change (protest votes). The Congress of the New Right and its outcome in the European Parliament elections of 2014 could serve here as a good example.

In analysing programmes and party manifestos that have been issued since the EU accession in 2004 one may note that anti-European rhetoric has undergone a change and become softer and is based on merit. This was likely caused by the fact that EU accession brought benefits and EU institutions have become more familiar both to politicians and citizens. That said, it has been really difficult to find a vision for the EU in the documents of the Polish parties, which may be due to the fact that the EU is still treated rather as a donor than a partner. A consciousness of being part of the European community is still in the process of construction and this takes much more time than integration in the area of economy or law. The current EU financial perspective (2014-2020) is the last one that is supposed to bring such substantial economic benefits to Poland, hence we may observe decreasing support towards the EU in the future when the financial factor will not be as strong. This situation will raise the challenge of how to strengthen the legitimization of the European Union.

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