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The role of The *Polonia Quo Vadis Project* in the development of the Regio Future Programme* .

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POMOC TECHNICZNA
NARODOWA STRATEGIA SPÓJNOŚCI

PROJEKT WSPÓLFINANSOWANY ZE ŚRODKÓW
EUROPEJSKIEGO FUNDUSZU ROZWOJU REGIONALNEGO



Antoni Kukliński

The role of The *Polonia Quo Vadis Project* in the development of the Regio Future Programme.

The Regio Future Programme is an important, international contribution of the Polish Ministry of Regional Development documented in five volumes¹ published in 2007, 2008 and 2009. The four international conferences of the Programme² have created an „invisible college” of participants of the Conferences and Authors of the five volumes willing to open their knowledge and imagination to find new approaches in the field of Regio History, Regio Diagnosis and Regio Futurology.

The dynamics of the Regio Future Programme is supported by the processes of the introduction into the Programme of new trajectories as an instrument to accelerate the substantial and methodological development of the Programme. The agenda Anno Domini 2009 is concentrating attention on two trajectories which have emerged already in the publications of the year 2008. We have in mind the Triple Mezzogiorno³ Trajectory and the Polonia Quo Vadis Trajectory.

In this paper we will concentrate our attention around the Project *Polonia Quo Vadis*⁴. This project will be a new dynamic trajectory of the Regio Future Programme in three dimensions:

Primo – in the methodological dimension⁵

Secundo – in the pragmatic dimension as an instrument to mobilize the Polish Regions for the creative participation in the Regio Futures Programme. In the pragmatic dimension we have in mind also the validity of the *Polonia Quo Vadis Project* for the theoretical and institutional domain of studies and activities related to the concept of the territorial development of the country „koncepcja przestrzennego zagospodarowania kraju”.

¹ compare *Regional Development Forum REDEFO*, Ministry of Regional Development, vol.1 *The Future of European Regions*, vol. 2 *Gordian Knots of the 21st century*, vol. 3 *The Future of Regions in the perspective of global change*, Part one vol. 4 *The Future of Regions in the perspective of global change*, part two

² compare volume 3, p. 156-189

³ compare volume 3, p 189-247

⁴ compare volume 4

⁵ compare volume 1, p 411-485



Tertio – in the international dimension as a challenge for European and non European regions to formulate the Question - *Quo Vadis*. The direct and indirect diffusion of this question is already documented in volume 4 of the REDEFO Series⁶

- Slovenia Quo Vadis
- Flandria Quo Vadis
- Finland Quo Vadis
- Ural Quo Vadis

This paper could be seen as an inducement to read volume four of REDEFO- *The Future of Regions in the perspective of global change – cases studies*.

⁶ compare volume 4



Polonia Quo Vadis Project – Part one.

The methodological assumptions of the Project.

Let us consider four methodological assumptions:

- I. The art and ability to formulate holistic questions.
- II. The selection of a proper time framework of the Project
- III. Poland as a system of regions – A New Mission for The Ministry of Regional Development
- IV. *Polonia Quo Vadis* as an instrument to introduce new dimensions in to the theoretical and institutional framework of the concept of „territorial development of the country” (koncepcja przestrzennego zagospodarowania kraju).

I. The art and ability to formulate holistic questions.

The *Polonia Quo Vadis* Project will be developed as an logically correlated system⁷ of holistic questions related to the Polish experiences and prospects of the years 1990-2050. This system will incorporate three types of questions:

Primo – diagnostic questions

Secundo - prospective questions of the near future

Tertio – prospective questions of the distant future

In both diagnostic and prospective questions, the concept of “holistic questions” will be applied. Holistic questions we defined as questions which are grasping the structure and the dynamics of the object of long term transformations.

So the question *Quo Vadis Polonia?* has three holistic dimensions:

- an axiology dimension – Poland as an evolving system of fundamental values
- an spiritual dimension – Poland as an evolving system of culture and civilizations
- an material dimension – Poland as an evolving political, economic and social system.

Our knowledge and imagination should grasp the interaction of the axiological, spiritual and material dimensions to create diagnostic and prospective answers of the question *Polonia Quo Vadis?*

Following the inspiration of Roman Galar let us consider three supplementary holistic questions related to the case of Poland:

⁷ compare volume 1, p. 471

Primo – the Polish route of imitation and innovation. The case of Poland as an imitative⁸ country following the patterns developed in the core of Western Civilization. The Polish contribution to the historical development of Western Civilization in this interpretation is rather limited. How about the future?

Secundo – is Poland going somewhere, can we find a sense of direction⁹ in the development of Poland in the XXI century

Tertio – how to outline the emerging shape and quality of Poland in the experiences of Polonia Restituta after 1989.

It is extremely difficult to outline a logically correlated system of holistic questions in the framework of the *Polonia Quo Vadis* Project. It is easy to formulate specific questions in the field of economy, society, education and culture. Maybe the final version of the *Polonia Quo Vadis* Project should incorporate both holistic and specific questions. The holistic questions are not only important in themselves, but also as a framework for the formulation of specific questions, which in turn are a source of inspiration for the holistic questions. This mechanism of mutual inspiration of the holistic and specific questions should be incorporated in the design and implementation of the *Polonia Quo Vadis* Project.

The art and ability to formulate questions is a great problem in the history of social sciences. We should remember the judgment of Gunnar Myrdal¹⁰.

* * *

The art and ability to formulate holistic questions can be tested via the excellent contribution of Roman Galar thinking about regions for the Next Generation¹¹. Especially important is the presentation of the conceptual tools to tame the future:

- voluntarism – Hubris and the need for caution
- statistical phenomenology – The mild magic
- experimentation – The cultural impact „Black Swans” . The wild aspects of the future.
- The evolutionary approach

⁸ compare A. Kukliński, *The dilemma Innovation versus imitation* [in:] A. Kukliński et alia eds, *Towards a New Creative and Innovative Europe*, Nowy Sącz 2007

⁹ compare L.A. Seneca, *Ignorantii quem portus petant nullus ventus suus est*

¹⁰ compare volume one, p. 471

¹¹ compare volume 3, p. 29



II. The selection of a proper time framework for the Project *Polonia Quo Vadis*

We know very well, that in the design of long term projects related to the past and the future, we should not be overwhelmed by the intellectual and pragmatic climate of the present day. The time of the Great Crisis of 2008-2010 maybe not a proper time for the design and implementation of the Project *Polonia Quo Vadis*. This is however a wrong attitude. The time of the crisis should be an inducement to develop long term strategic thinking related to the interpretation of the past and the future.

We propose a time framework of 60 years for the Project *Polonia Quo Vadis*. These sixty years 1990-2050 maybe seen as a sequence of 3 times 20 years. Each 20 years period will have a cognitive and pragmatic identity.

Primo – the first diagnostic period of the years 1990-2010

Secundo – the second period of the near future of the years 2010-2030

Tertio – the third period of the distant future of the years 2030-2050

The diagnosis of the great transformation of Poland of the years 1990-2010

There are innumerable studies analyzing the great transformation of Poland 1990-2010¹². However in the Project *Polonia Quo Vadis* we need a new interpretation of this experience answering the holistic question to what extent Poland has used the unique opportunities of the turn of the XX and XXI centuries to open a new chapter in the history of Polish Civilization¹³. We must have the intellectual and moral courage to outline not only the glory of the Polish transformation, but also the misery of this transformation¹⁴ in other words to what extent this transformation was a passive process of adaptation to the changing European and global environment or an active processes of creation of the new foundations for the development of Poland of the XXI century. We must try also to answer the question to what extent the processes of Polish transformation were innovative processes or only processes of imitation. Now in historical perspective we can consider the question if in the processes of transformation there was always a strong strategic sense of direction the continuous debate *Quo Vadis Polonia*. The glory and the misery of the Polish transformation is probably the central holistic question, formulated in the framework of the *Polonia Quo Vadis* Project.

¹² compare H. Bunz, A. Kukliński, (eds.) *Globalization – Experiences and Prospects*, REWASZ Warsaw 2001 p. 435

¹³ compare A. Kukliński, *What will Polish EU Membership Mean for EU and for Europe at large* [in:] H. Bunz, A. Kukliński, op.cit.

¹⁴ Compare A. Kukliński, *Economic transformation experiences and prospects in Poland*, [in:] in H. Bunz, A. Kukliński (eds) op.cit



This is a great challenge for social sciences, to answer this holistic question. In these endeavors the social sciences should be supported by the Central Statistical Office of Poland. This Office should prepare and publish in the Gutenberg and electronic version, a grand volume „The statistical mirror of the Polish transformation 1989-2009”. It is very sad that each research project related to the Polish transformation is creating its own statistical data bank. There is no factographical common denominator for all studies related to the Polish transformation¹⁵. This common denominator should be created by the Central Statistical Office of Poland.

The *Polonia Quo Vadis* Project – The Near Future of the years 2010-2030

Polonia Quo Vadis 2010-2030 is facing three holistic challenges

Primo – the challenge to enter into the multipolar global economy and society of the XXI century. In the XX century our adaptive capacities were related mainly to the Atlantic Community. In the XXI century, the adaptive capacities must take into a count the Asiatic Powers and especially China and India¹⁶

Secundo – the challenge of the rapid expansion of the Polish potential in the field of knowledge based¹⁷ economy – the challenge to use the structural funds of the European Union to create the grand spiritual and material infrastructure for the development of knowledge based economy in Poland

Tertio – the challenge to use the exo and endogenic resources for the grand civilizational mission to shift Poland from the word of European peripheries into the word of European core.

There are three dangers for Poland 2010-2030.

- 1) the first danger is to continue the paralysis of the system of strategic thinking in Poland
- 2) the second danger is to waste a significant part of the resources allocated to Poland by the European Union
- 3) the third danger is the growing duality of the Polish economy, Polish society, Polish culture and the Polish regional scene.

The metaphor of challenges and dangers is creating a climate for the formulation of grand holistic questions in the framework of the *Polonia Quo Vadis* Project 2010-2030. A great

¹⁵ compare the comments by K. Rybiński, A. Gąsior-Niemiec and J. Kotyński

¹⁶ compare A. Kukliński, K. Pawłowski (eds.), *Futurology – the challenges of the XXI century*, Nowy Sącz 2008

¹⁷ compare A. Kukliński et alia (eds), *Towards a New Creative and Innovative Europe*, Nowy Sącz 2007



inspiration for the design and implementation of this Project is an excellent contribution prepared by the Team of Strategic Advises of the Prime Minister of Poland¹⁸ Challenges for Poland Key chances and dangerous the perspective of the year 2030 the first diagnosis.

In the framework of *Polonia Quo Vadis* Project is would be possible to compare two visions of the Polish performance. The diagnostic vision of the years 1990-2010 and the prospective vision of the years 2010-2030. The question is fundamental and simple: How to envisage the chances that Poland will use the unique historical opportunities of the years 2010-2030 more efficiency that this was the case in the years 1990-2010.

***Polonia Quo Vadis* Project. The distant future of the years 2030-2050**

The power of our knowledge and imagination to see the vision of Poland 2050 is extremely limited¹⁹. This is already a domain of invented future. We have no choice, we must try to invent the Future of Poland.

We have important starting points for this processes of the invention of the Future of Poland 2050. These starting points are created by the quickly growing body of “knowledge” related to the global and European future of the year 2050. From this body of “knowledge” we can derive inducements how to outline the place of Poland on the global and European scene of 2050. It is highly possible that the global scene of 2050 will be dominated by six mega spaces – USA, European Union, China, India, Brazil and Russia. The relatively strong position of Poland on the global scene 2050 is an indirect presents on this scene as an active member of the Strong European Union. The direct role of Poland on the global scene of 2050, will be extremely limited. This is a prospective „fact” which must be acknowledged by the Polish political elites having a very limited comprehension of the mega historical change transforming the global scene of the XXI century.

III. Poland as a system of regions – A New Mission for The Ministry of Regional Development

In a dialogue with Andrzej Wierzbicki, the idea was born, that the Ministry of Regional Development, can enrich the scope of its mission, accepting the perspective, that Poland can be seen as a system of regions. This perspective would create an unique and original position of the Ministry in the brood stream of studies and activities related to the future of Poland. To

¹⁸ Zespół Doradców Strategicznych Premiera RP, *Wyzwania dla Polski. Kluczowe szanse i zagrożenia. Perspektywa 2030*, Warszawa, 22 października 2008

¹⁹ compare A. Kukliński, K. Pawłowski (eds.) *Futurology*, op.cit



achieve this aim, the Ministry might consider to support a grand methodological, empirical and prospective project.

„The System of Polish Regions Experiences and Prospect of the years 1990-2030”. The methodological chapter of the project will outline the general concept of a country as a system of regions. Contrary to *prima facie* expectations, this concept has very weak empirical foundations not only in Poland, but also in the European Union. The general experience of Europe is to concentrate attention on structural approaches and see the European space as a space of regional structures.

This structural approach is creating a very weak methodological and empirical foundations for the analysis of different system of regions emerging in Europe. This analysis is possible if we have not only structural information but also nodal information presenting the interregional flows of persons, commodities information, capital, knowledge and innovation. Unfortunately it is both difficult and expensive to create information related to the nodal system of European Regions.

We have to develop a methodology, how to generate regional nodal information in Europe. So the Polish project could be seen as a pioneering effort in this field. This nodal information is necessary also for the development of a real cohesion policy, which should be a policy related to the growing cohesion of the European regions expressed in the growing scale and quality of interregional flows of persons, commodities, information, capital and innovation.

It is necessary to introduce the nodal information into Eurostat and the Central Statistical Office of Poland. But this is a difficult and slow processes, which must be started as early as possible. The nodal information could be created by a large set of monographic studies. We could for example select 100 research institutes in Europe to find out how the given institute is located in the global space of knowledge.

We would probably discover that some of the European Institutes have stronger network of cooperation with American Institutes, than with the European institutes located inside and outside the given country.

* * *

The second chapter of the proposed Project, could have the following title: „The system of Regions in Poland. The experiences of the first decade of the XXI century.” This would be a grand set of monographies, analyzing the interregional flows of nodal information in Poland.



We should try to measure and analyze the flows of persons, commodities, information, capital, knowledge and innovation inside Poland and also the network of cooperation of the Polish institutions, enterprises and institutes in Europe and outside Europe.

This set of well designed and well organized monographic studies will create the first empirical stage in the analysis of the emerging vision of Poland as a system of regions. This analysis of the changing nodal networks in Poland, could create a very interesting geopolitical information related to the nodal flows inside the pentagon Warsaw, Poznań, Szczecin, Berlin, Wrocław. In this geopolitical analyzes we can derive some inspiration from the comparative nodal analyzes Salzburg -Vienna and Salzburg- Munich.

* * *

The third chapter of the Project maybe formulated as follows. The near future of the Polish system of Regions 2010-2030. This chapter could outline the different scenarios of the evolution system in the national, European and global context. It is an open question if in the perspective of the next decades, the concept of the Polish system of Regions will keep its validity? Maybe this national system will be incorporated in the system of the European Union in this sense, that the national scene will not be a common denominator for the individual Polish Region. This is a strong thesis of the lost national identity of the Polish Regions in the perspective of next decades. I think personally that this thesis is just wrong, but it is an interesting case for discussion.

* * *

Naturally the reflexions presented above, have a tentative and preliminary meaning. The Project could be formulated in different ways following different methodological and pragmatic assumptions. I am however convinced that the Ministry of Regional Development could consider the validity of this proposals not only in the Polish, but also in the European context. We should recognize that the European space is not only a space of structures but also a space of flows.

IV. The Project *Polonia Quo Vadis* as an instrument to introduce new dimensions in to the theoretical and institutional framework of the concept of „territorial development of the country” (koncepcja przestrzennego zagospodarowania kraju).



The Polish term „zagospodarowanie przestrzenne” has only in French a precise equivalent „L’aménagement du territoire”. There is no equivalent in English, which could be used in this paper. In this context I would like to propose the term „territorial development” being close to the linguistic conventions of OECD²⁰.

* * *

The Polish government acting via the Ministry of Regional Development is preparing a long term strategic document. The concept of territorial development of the country in the perspective of 2033²¹. We have long and good traditions in the preparation of the documents of this type. We are naturally much weaker in the institutional implementation of these documents in contrast to such countries as Germany, Netherlands or Sweden. The Ministry of Regional Development has just published a set of 3 volumes²² being a collection of expert studies analyzing different dimensions of the territorial development of Poland in the perspective of 2033. The professional quality of these expert studies is very high and the amount of the prospective information related to Polish territory is just immense in its scope and the level of precision in time and space.

I would like however to formulate two questions marks related to the content of the expert studies:

- 1) the expert studies are accepting a silent assumption that the territorial development is somehow autonomous in relation to the general dynamics of the development of the Polish Economy, Polish Society, and Polish Culture. In other words the question *Polonia Quo Vadis* is totally outside the scope of attention of the expert studies .
- 2) The expert studies are not fully recognizing the core question in all studies related to the future of Polish territory. This core question is the identification and analysis of the system of processes which are transforming the Polish territory. Just to start the discussion I would like to mention six processes seen in the matrix of input out put relations.

²⁰ compare OECD, Territorial Reviuse Poland, OECD, Paris 2008

²¹ compare Ekspercki Projekt Koncepcji Przestrzennego Zagospodarowania Kraju 2033, Warszawa Grudzień 2008

²² K. Saganowski, M. Fiedorowicz, P. Żuber, *Ekspertyzy do koncepcji przestrzennego Zagospodarowania Kraju 2008-2033*, Tomy I, II, III, Warszawa 2008, Ministerstwo Rozwoju Regionalnego



The processes shaping the transformation of territorial development of Poland

| Input | Output | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|
| | Uniformization | Diversification | Metropolization | Polarization | Integration | Globalization |
| Uniformization | X | | | | | |
| Diversification | | X | | | | |
| Metropolization | | | X | | | |
| Polarization | | | | X | | |
| Integration | | | | | X | |
| Globalization | | | | | | X |

The process of uniformization

I think that in the philosophy of the European Union we can discover a preference for the processes of uniformization. This is not only the activity of DG Regio, but also the activities of other DG, which are trying to „impose” some patterns of uniformity across countries and regions in Europe.

This process of uniformization is highly visible in the processes of the transformation of territorial development of Poland. I am not expressing any value judgment in this field. It is only an observation related to the deep roots of the institutional philosophy of the European Union. Poland as a member of the European Union is *ex necessitate rei*, an object of the application of this philosophy.

The process of diversification

The Polish territory is a fragment of the global scene open to the forces of the global market. The Polish persons enterprises and institutions are active or passive actors of the



global scene. The success and failure of the Polish participants of the global scene is expressed in the processes of diversification of the Polish territory.

In a great simplification we can formulate a dilemma the power of uniformization of the European Union versus the power of diversification of the global market.

The process of metropolization

Metropolization is probably the most important process shaping the transformation of the territorial development of Poland. The power of this processes was not recognized in full scale in the expert studies. The processes of metropolization is an integrated phenomenon of spontaneous and guided change. In the past twenty years the polines of metropolitan development were very weak in Poland. This is de facto negative attitude to metropolitan development, should be reversed in the future.

The process of polarization

The classical formulation of F. Perroux is still valid²³ the territorial development of Poland can be seen as a scene of the dynamic interactions of growth poles and growth centers. The power of polarization must be recognized in the debate about the future of territorial development of Poland.

The process of integration

The process of integration has two dimensions:

Primo – integration inside Poland. Process of the formation and development of the system of Polish Regions

Secundo – the integration inside the European Union, the process of the formation and development of the system of European Regions

This two dimensional processes of integration is an important element in the historical and prospective interpretation of the territorial development of Poland.

The process of globalization

The XXI century will answer the dramatic question if the territory of Poland will be an element of double core or an element of double periphery.

In the optimistic scenario in the next twenty years, Poland will join the European core. In this scenarios Europe will be an element of a new global core of the XXI century.

²³ compare A. Kukliński (eds), *Growth Poles and growth centers in regional planning*, The Hague 1972



In the pessimistic scenario the territory of Poland will remain as an element of the European periphery. In this scenario Europe will be an element of a new global periphery. In the evaluation of the territorial future of Poland we face the grand dilemma.

The territory of Poland as a double core versus the territory of Poland as a double periphery.

* * *

The Project *Polonia Quo Vadis* is creating a new innovative framework for the theoretical and institutional concept of the territorial development of Poland. In this new framework the following elements could be motioned:

- 1) The global location the territory of Poland, the double core versus the double periphery
- 2) The general dynamics of the Polish Society versus the autonomy of the territorial development of Poland
- 3) The concept of territorial development as an integration of the spontaneous and guided change. This distinction is very important in the evaluation of the power of public policies, shaping the territorial development of Poland
- 4) The concept of territorial development as an integration of two dimension the creation of the system of Polish Regions, the creation of the system of European Regions.

* * *

We have a long and good tradition in the preparation of academic and institutional documents related to the territorial development of Poland. This tradition is both a resource and a barrier in our strategic thinking about the future of the Polish space. In the comprehensive list of Expert Studies sponsored by the Ministry of Regional Development, a new methodological volume should be added. We need a deep reflexion about cognitive and pragmatic assumption incorporated into the Expert Studies and public debates related to the territorial development of Poland. Maybe we will be able to discover a new paradigm in this field?



Conclusion

This is a first part of the Project „The role of *Polonia Quo Vadis* in the development of the Regio Futures Programme”. In this first part we have discussed four methodological assumptions:

- I. the art and ability to formulate holistic questions
- II. the time framework of the project
- III. Poland as a system of Regions
- IV. The Project of *Polonia Quo Vadis* as an inducement to brooder the methodology of Expert Studies, related to the concept of the territorial development of Poland.

The *Polonia Quo Vadis* Project should be seen as an innovative inspiration for the development of the Regio Future Programme. I hope that the text presented in this paper will be recognized not as an conventional but as an controversial and brainstorming contribution.



Antoni Kukliński

**The role of The *Polonia Quo Vadis Project* in the development of the
Regio Future Programme.**

Part Two.

The role of The *Polonia Quo Vadis? Project* The endogenic and exogenic dimension.

The relative significance of the endogenic and exogenic dimensions is different in a different countries. *Ceteris paribus* smaller countries have a smaller autonomy and are more exposed to the impact of the exogenic dimension, than the bigger countries which have an economic and political potential more tangible on the global scene. Poland is a medium size country, which has a significant autonomous potential to see the question *Polonia Quo Vadis?*, as an important endogenic question.

The endogenic dimension of *Polonia Quo Vadis?*²⁴ will be outlined in the following thematic sequence:

- A. The dynamics of the Polish society
- B. The historical identity of Poland
- C. The prospective identity of Poland

A. The dynamics of the Polish society

The question *Quo Vadis?* is emerging only in dynamic future oriented societies. The stagnant historically oriented societies are simply not interested in the question *Quo Vadis?* The Polish case is extremely complicated. The Polish society is *de facto* a dual society²⁵, where a development gap is separating two societies, an innovation prone and innovation averse society²⁶. Maybe this observation is expressed in a language which is too strong. In a mild formulation we can say, that there are two approaches and two modes of thinking in the Polish society, an approach expressing the attitude and performance of an innovation prone

²⁴ compare P. Jakubowska, A. Kukliński, P. Žuber (eds), *The Regio Futures in the perspective of global change*, part one and two, The Ministry of Regional Development, Warsaw 2008-2009

²⁵ compare A. Kukliński, *What will Polish EU Membership Mean for EU and for Europe at large* [in:] H. Bunz, A. Kukliński (eds), *Globalization experiences and Prospects*, Warsaw, Rewasz 2007

²⁶ Compare A.R.Pose, *Innovation Prone and innovation averse societies*, Growth and Change, Volume 30, 1999



society and an approach expressing the attitude and performance of an innovation averse society.

The dramatic question is emerging when the Polish society will achieve the international status of an permanently „innovation prone future oriented society”²⁷. This will be a great break through in the history of Polish Civilization and at the same time a grand translocation of Poland from the domain of the European periphery in to the domain of European center.

This is the main challenge for Poland in the two decades 2010-2030. This dramatic question could get a comprehensive answer in a well organized set of sociological studies, taking as a point of departure the contribution prepared by the Team of Strategic Advisers of The Prime Ministry of Poland „*Key chances and dangers. The perspective of the year 2030*”²⁸.

B. The *Polonia Quo Vadis?* question and the historical identity of Poland²⁹

In the formulation of the grand question *Polonia Quo Vadis?* a significant role should be allocated to the historical identity of Poland. The image of the past is an important starting point for the image of the future. The image of the past, should be developed as a resource for the future and not as a barrier for the future.

In the grand debate *Polonia Quo Vadis?* there are two images:

Primo – the image of Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth of the XV and XVI centuries. The image of Poland as an European power. The image of Jagiellonian Poland was the golden age in the history of our country. It was a very successful model of an open European civilization integrating different nationalities, religions and cultures. The experience of Jagiellonian Poland is a valid chapter in the history of European Federalism. The resurrection of Jagiellonian Poland was a great—utopian dream of Józef Piłsudski. It is not astonishing that at the end of the XX century the dream of Jagiellonian Poland has emerged again in the minds of Polish politicians and scholars. It is interesting to note that eminent personalities of Polish emigration and especially Zbigniew Brzeziński and Jerzy Gedroyc are in different ways contributing to the revival of this dream.

²⁷ compare Zespół Doradców Strategicznych Premiera RP, *Wyzwania dla Polski – Perspektywa 2030*, Team of Strategic Advisers of The Prime Ministry of Poland, *The perspective of the year 2030*, Warsaw October 22 2008, this document will be subsequently quoted as *Challenges for Poland*

²⁸ *Challenges for Poland* op. cit.

²⁹ Compare N.Davies, *Europe*, Oxford University Press, 1996



On the 16th of June 2000, Zbigniew Brzeziński was promoted as doctor honoris causa of the Jagiellonian University. In the acceptance speech of Z. Brzeziński we find the following suggestion³⁰:

"The memory of the past leads us to the second conclusion: wise and credible Poland should be a supporter of a simultaneous extension of NATO and the European Union. I repeat—simultaneous because only the simultaneous extension of NATO and EU will supply for Poland the necessary security. Even more it will create conditions for the europeization of Russia. Such a process in an obvious way is representing the vital interests of Europe in toto and especially the interest of our closest neighbors, who are related to Poland by special historical and emotional links.

This is a dignified mission of Free Poland, of Wise Poland, of Jagiellonian Poland"

Jagiellonian Poland is a very important element of the glorious dimension of our national identity. However we have to remember that contemporary Poland is an important member of the European Union, but contemporary Poland is not an European power, as it was the case of Jagiellonian Poland. So we need some caution following the advice of Zbigniew Brzeziński

Secundo – **the second image is the image of *Polonia Restituta***. The image of Independence three times lost: 1795, 1939 and 1945. The image of The Independence two times regained 1918 and 1989. This is also the tragedy of three Polish uprisings November 1831, January 1863 and August 1944. The drama of lost and regained Independence is very deeply incorporated in the Polish mind. This drama is an element of our national identity, but this drama should be not a temptation to consider the past as more important than the future.

C. The prospective identity of Poland

Each society has its own way to see the trajectory, the past, the present, the future. This is not a linear trajectory of path dependency of the present in relation to the past and the future in relation of to the present time.

The decision making system *hinc et nunc* is related not only to the experiences of the past, but also to the vision of the future. There are future oriented countries and societies like

³⁰ Z. Brzeziński, *Four Questions adressed to history*, Tygodnik Powszechny, 25 June 2000



Finland³¹ where the visions of the future are continuously shaping the contemporary decisions.

There are countries and societies like Poland dominated by history oriented thinking which is pushing into deep shadow the future oriented reflexion. The history of the Project *Polonia Quo Vadis?* is a convincing document in this field. My proposal to start this Project in 1993, was just lost³². My proposal to start the Project in 2008 is getting a small scale support in the framework of the Regio Futures Programme³³. This is a positive phenomenon, but we have a long way to go , to change the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project into a large scale Project able to create future oriented attitudes in Polish political, economic, scientific and cultural elites and in the Polish society *in toto*.

The identity of Poland should be seen not only as an identity emerging from the historical experiances, but a prospective identity emerging from the visions of the future. The identity of Poland Anno Domini 2030 or 2050 is not an utopian dream, but an geopolitical necessity to see Poland in the „realities” of 2050. This is exactly the Mission of the Project *Polonia Quo Vadis?* to develop a strategic sense of direction in the present decision making system. The Great Crisis of 2008-2010 is creating a new potential demand for innovative and imaginative future oriented thinking. The present very difficult decisions facing the crisis should not be dominated by the fireman mentality. In this condition the question how to create the strategic orientation in governance has the highest urgency:

We would like to quote the four strategic principles formulated by Michał Boni³⁴:

- 1) „the primacy of freedom over subordination
- 2) the primacy of the future over the present
- 3) the primacy of aspirations over the claims
- 4) the primacy of social capital of development over social capital of survival”

The follow up this line of thinking is presented by P. Żuber in the paper “*Building the capacities for strategic governance at the national and regional level – the case of Poland*”³⁵

³¹ Compare the rich and comprehensive set of contributions related to Finland as a future oriented innovative country [in:] A. Kukliński, C. Lusiński, K. Pawłowski (eds) *Towards a new creative and innovative Europe*, Nowy Sącz 2007

³² A. Kukliński, *Polonia Quo Vadis?*, Euroreg, Warsaw 1993

³³ see footnote one

³⁴ M. Boni, *How to create the strategic orientation in governance*, [in:] P. Jakubowska, A. Kukliński, P. Żuber, footnote one

³⁵ P. Żuber, *Building the capacity for strategic governance* [in:] P. Jakubowska, A. Kukliński, P. Żuber op.cit



In this paper we find the following observation particularly relevant for the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project:

„Paradoxically, decreasing-when based on current trends-predictability of directions in which technological development and changes in the socio-economic situation may tend to, forces us to think about the future in a more incisive manner-assisted both by scenarios of development and trends and an image of a desired vision of development. In the contemporary world, the availability of analytical basis for development at the global, national and regional level in a long-time perspective, must become a foundation for an efficient and effective social-economic-spatial strategy, allowing for taking advantage of opportunities and diminishing threats inherent in the future.”

The triple Quo Vadis Europe – EU – Poland

Polonia Quo Vadis? Project is an integral element of the European scene³⁶. Therefore let us consider the triple *Quo Vadis?* Europe – EU – Poland. We see a set of substantial and methodological problems, which could be considered jointly for the Triple *Quo Vadis?*

One – answering the question *Quo Vadis?* is to face the challenge of knowledge imagination and moral courage. Our futurological „knowledge” of the year 2030 and 2050 is a growing field. We think however that the expansion of this field is too slow both in the EU and in Poland

Two – imagination is a field created by the evolution of *homo sapiens* and by the historical development of humanity. Nerveless we can try to use more efficiently the existing resources of imagination and especially the imagination of the creative class to see the future of 2030 and 2050³⁷

Three – moral courage to see the future of the year 2050 is a rare phenomenon in the European Union. The professional competence in the field of futurological studies located in Brussels is just immense. But this competence due to the deficient of moral courage is not able to prepare a grand study „*Europe 2050 in the perspective of global change*”.

* * *

³⁶ compare A. Kukliński, C. Lusiński, K. Pawłowski

³⁷ compare R. Boschma, M. Fritsch, *Creative class and regional growth in Europe*, [in:] P. Jakubowska et alia (eds), *The Futures of European Regions*, The Ministry of Regional Development, Warsaw 2007



It is necessary to introduce into the debates concerning the Triple *Quo Vadis?*, the approaches of P. Drewe³⁸ related to:

„*designing the possible future*”

„*predicting the probable future*”

„*wanting the desirable future*”

In our futurological thinking the interaction of „*possible*”, „*probable*” and „*desirable*” is very important. The methodological construction of the Triple *Quo Vadis?* should incorporate also the contribution of Roman Galar³⁹ and Pentti Malaska⁴⁰

* * *

The Triple *Quo Vadis?* is facing three dilemmas:

- development versus decline
- strategic orientation versus populist drift
- geopolitical power versus geopolitical weakness

Europe, EU, Poland are facing the dramatic dilemma development versus decline

Innovation is the main engine development. Is it possible to start in Europe a new era of innovative economy, innovative society, innovative governance and innovative culture? Can we find an Alexandrian Solution in relation to the Gordian Knot of the dramatic deficiency of innovation in Europe? Is a really effective policy in this field inside or outside the institutional capacity of the European Union⁴¹. The same question can be formulated in relation to the consecutive Polish Governances which were not able to design and implement a real set of comprehensive policies promoting the innovation processes⁴² in the Polish economy, polish society and polish education and sciences. We remember , that the dramatic problem of the development in Europe is a holistic problem which cannot be reduced only to the policies promoting the processes of innovation. Development is not only a guided phenomenon but first of all spontaneous phenomenon related to the general dynamics of the society and economy.

³⁸ P. Drewe, *What future for the Nation State or rather what Nation State for the Future* [w:] A. Kukliński, K. Pawłowski (eds), *Futurology – The challenges of the XXI century*, WSB-NLU, Nowy Sącz 2008

³⁹ R. Galar , *Thinking about regions for the Next Generation* [in:] P. Jakubowska et alia, *The Future of regions in the perspective of global change*, part one, Warsaw 2008

⁴⁰ P. Malaska, K. Holstius, *Modern future approach and the human security ethos* [in:] A. Kukliński, K. Pawłowski, *Futurology* op.cit.

⁴¹ compare G. Fayl, U. Fayl, *The Broader context of EU Research Policy*, [in:] A. Kukliński, K. Pawłowski (eds) *Futurology* op.cit

⁴² A. Kukliński, *The dilemma innovation versus imitation*, [in:] A. Kukliński, C. Lusiński, K. Pawłowski (eds) op.cit



The Triple *Quo Vadis?* should outline the main problems of development in Europe, in the EU and in Poland.

* * *

In the Triple *Quo Vadis?* we will face the drama of the demographic decline in Europe and in Poland. The economic, social, political and cultural consequences of this demographic decline⁴³ are sometimes beyond the power of our knowledge and imagination. The map of Europe of 2050 will show a new phenomenon in European history, the phenomenon of dying regions and localities. This is a very hard problem for the triple *Quo Vadis?*

* * *

Strategic orientation versus populist drift

Why the crucial question *Quo Vadis?* is not firmly formulated in Europe, in the EU and in Poland. This question can be permanently formulated in a pragmatic and cognitive climate of long term strategic reflexion related to the global future of Europe. This strategic orientation of the European mind is totally overwhelmed by the populist drift⁴⁴ of the surrender of the European governance in relation to the populist pressures generated by the short sighted public opinion. In this climate the European governance is postponing the formulation and implementation of strategic decisions which might be painful for the society in short term perspective and beneficial in long term perspective.

The accumulation of not formulated and not implemented strategic decisions is changing itself into a set of Gordian Knots, which cannot be solved inside the conventional institutional system⁴⁵. The growing Gordian Knots are waiting for the knowledge and the moral and political courage of Alexandrian Solutions. In this context we can suggest to consider four concepts related to the Triple *Quo Vadis?* debate:

- strategic orientation
- populist drift
- Gordian Knots
- Alexandrian Solutions

⁴³ compare S. Kröhnert, N. van Ost, R. Klingholz, *Deutschland 2020 – The demographische Zukunft der Nation*, Berlin Institut for Weltbevölkerung und globale Entwicklung, Berlin 2004

⁴⁴ The term drift is used in an another context in the Challenges for Poland op.cit.

⁴⁵ compare A. Kukliński, *Gordian Knots and Alexandrian Solutions. The perspective of the XXI century* [in:] P. Jakubowska et alia, op.cit. see footnote one



* * *

The Triple *Quo Vadis?* The dilemma geopolitical power versus geopolitical weakness of Europe, European Union and Poland.

Europe:

The general innovative dynamics of the European society and economy, will determinate the geopolitical power or weakness of Europe confronting with the changing global scene of the XXI century. A strong Europe will be an important element of the new global center, a weak Europe will be reduced to the status of a new global periphery.

In the first decade of the XXI century, we observe a very deep crisis of the European civilization having four pronounced features:

- 1) the lost capacity of innovation
- 2) the lost will to life
- 3) the lost will to power
- 4) the lost spiritual identity

This crisis was analyzed in a paper which is a good background for the present study⁴⁶.

The European Union

The European Union was established in 1957 by the Treaty of Rome, 2057 will be a year of the centenary of the European Union. There are 3 scenarios for the EU in the years 2007-2057:

- the developmental scenario
- the survival scenario
- the bankruptcy scenario

The developmental scenario

This is a scenario of a new dynamic chapter in history of EU⁴⁷. The substantial element of this chapter is the general dynamics of the society and economy inside the Union.

The institutional element of this chapter in the transformation of the present EU into a *quasi* federation⁴⁸ creating a well structured ego of the EU as important partner of the new

⁴⁶ compare A. Kukliński, *The future of Europe. A modest contribution to the European Debate* [in:] A. Kukliński, K. Pawłowski, *Futurology* op.cit.

⁴⁷ compare A. Kukliński, C. Lusiński, K. Pawłowski, *Towards* op.cit.



global order of the XXI century. The federal EU in this scenario will be not a copy of the USA. But this new federal EU will have a strong institutional identity, incorporated in to the capacities of economic, political and military global decision making processes. The European Union in the scenario will have the power to design and implemented strategic decisions related to the internal and external future of the Union. This is the scenario of a strong EU.

The survival scenario

The survival scenario is the continuation of the present *status quo*. The EU is an institution able to performance the fundamental functions defined by the legal structures and the experiences of the past. This Union is however strategically paralyzed accumulating consequentive Gordian Knots and not able to find any Alexandrian Solutions to cut this Knots. This is the scenario of a weak EU.

The bankruptcy scenario

This is *prima facie* a scenario of impossible. It is necessary however to consider a highly pessimistic scenario driven by the negative consequences of the great crisis of the years 2008-2010. This crisis in its worst shape can revive the political, economic⁴⁹ and spiritual nationalisms in Europe. The strong revival of these nationalisms may lead to the bankruptcy of the EU. These highly non probable scenario should be seen as a warning light to those members of the European political elites, who use ruthlessly the nationalistic arguments.

Poland

Poland is not a powerful, but an important member of the European Union⁵⁰. The performance of Poland is able to make the European human stronger or weaker. The bankruptcy of the EU would be a national disaster for Poland pushing Poland again into the grey zone between Germany and Russia.

⁴⁸ F.Kinsky, *The federalist methodology for Europe and the World* [in:] A.Kukliński, B.Skuza (eds) *Europe in the perspective of global change*, Warsaw 2003

⁴⁹ compare *The return of economic nationalism*, *The Economist*, 7-13 February 2009, Recession is bringing fresh threats in Europe single market. The general tone of *The Economist* is very pessimistic, but *The Economist* is not using the term bankruptcy of the European Union. This „impossibility” is formulated by Antoni Kukliński

⁵⁰ compare W.M. Orłowski, *The Puzzles of Convergence: Europe’s economic history in 20th century* [in:] A. Kukliński, K. Pawłowski (eds), *Futurology*, op.cit. also K. Rybiński, *Meaningless Europe* [in:] P. Jakubowska et alia (eds) *The Future of European Regions* op.cit.



The Polish political elites of all ideological denominations should support the image and reality of a strong EU. From this point of view the deficiency of the present political system, to formulate an integrated support for strong EU is a great historical mistake which I hope will be corrected in the near future.

In the next years we should also regain the moral and political courage to discuss in Poland the prospective vision of federal EU. We have to note that the concept of physical sovereignty as defined in 1648 is replaced by the concept of network sovereignty defined in the great legal framework the EU.

Maybe one of the most important manifestation of Polish sovereignty of the XXI century is the participation in the processes of European decision making of the EU.

* * *

The Triple *Quo Vadis?* a synthetic view.

To provide a synthetic view of the Triple *Quo Vadis?* let us consider the pattern proposed in table 1:

The Triple *Quo Vadis?* A synthetic view

| Input perspective | Output perspective | | | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|---------|-------------|
| | Strong Europe | Strong EU | Strong Poland | Weak Europe | Weak EU | Weak Poland |
| Strong Europ | X | | | | | |
| Strong EU | | X | | | | |
| Strong Poland | | | X | | | |
| Weak Europe | | | | X | | |
| Weak EU | | | | | X | |
| Weak Poland | | | | | | X |

The most important trajectory is the optimistic trajectory of Strong Europe – Strong EU – Strong Poland versus the pessimistic trajectory of Weak Europe – Weak EU – Weak Poland. These two trajectories are suggesting a common denominator in the Triple *Quo Vadis?* experiences and prospects. These two trajectories are assuming that the development of Europe, of EU and Poland is strongly integrated and that those three entities are not able to move in opposite directions. This is however not a point of view generally accepted. We can



find for example Polish politicians who believe, that we can develop a strong Poland inside a weak European Union and that the pattern of this type is possible, probable and desirable. This is a dangerous illusion which to my mind should be outside the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project.

The egzogenic global dimension in the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project.

Poland is a medium size country having a very limited autonomy in relation to the transformation of the global scene. The *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project should have a strong foundation of knowledge and imagination concerning the global scene as a factor influencing very strongly the conditions of Polish development of the XXI century. We should have in mind that the formulation of the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project is taking place in the conditions of the great crisis of the years 2008-2010. The Great Crisis is an unexpected environment for the biggest transformation of the global scene in the last 500 years. This Great Crisis or rather a set of crises it is a crucial mega historical Gordian Knot, created by the multiplayer and cumulative effects of four processes:

- the crisis of the global order
- the crisis of globalization
- the crisis of neoliberalism
- the crisis of the global elites

The crisis of the global order⁵¹:

After World War Two the victorious coalition has created a new global order dominating the experiences of four decades 1945-1985. The ideological foundations of the order were derived from liberal democracy, keynesism and fordism. This was a period of the creation of an innovative and effective systems of international organizations like UN, OECD, Washington Institutions and the European Union.

In cumulative and multiplayer effects this system has created the theory and practice of a *quasi* global government. In this time the pluralistic and open minded ideology of PAX Americana was a positive phenomenon. In the eighties and nineties different forces the monist the power of the global order. Unfortunately the unique opportunity of the collapse of the Soviet Empire was not used as an inspiration to create a new global order for the XXI century.

⁵¹ compare A.Kukliński, *The creation and destruction of the global order*, [in:] A.Gąsior-Niemiec et alia (eds), *The faces of the XXI century*, Rewasz, Pruszków 2008



More than that the irresponsible administration of G.W. Bush was consequently diminishing the power of the already weak global order. Therefore the present situation is so dramatic. The weak global order is facing a really Great Crisis. There is a huge vacuum in the empty place left by the outgoing hegemonic power. The global scene is not prepared for the rapid evaporation of PAX Americana. A lot of hope is invested in the new Presidency of Barack Obama, as a source of new leadership to built a new pluralistic global order of the XXI century. It is an open question if in the construction of the new global order, the Atlantic Community⁵², Europe and USA will be able to create a new global entity – The Confederation of Atlantic Community. This Confederation would be a powerful ego able to be a leading force in the processes of the construction of the new global order. In this optimistic scenario the new global order of the XXI century will incorporate same elements of continuity and same impact of the value system of Western Civilization.

In the pessimistic scenario of the Atlantic disunity the core of the global order will be shifted to Asia and the Western Civilization will change itself into a new global Titanic of the XXI century.

The crisis of globalization

The Great Crisis 2008-2010 is a great crisis of globalization. The dream that the processes of globalization will create a flat world is transformed in to a painful illusion. The world is not flat⁵³, it is deeply differentiated treated by geography, history and culture. The idea of the flat world was *de facto* invented by the transnationals corporations, who were the biggest beneficiaries of the globalization processes. The idea that for all most important economic activities there is only one global input – output table, where the concept „just in time” has eliminated the concept „the costs and risk of distance” was a false idea.

We have to read once more the fascinating book of T. Friedman and wait for a new book „*The World in not flat*”.

The crisis of neoliberalism

The Great Crisis 2008-2010 is demonstrating in a very convincing way that neoliberalism failed as an ideology and practice organizing the management of the global finances and the global economy. In the last 20-30 years neoliberalism changed itself into a *quasi* religious doctrine promoting four deifications:

⁵² compare T.G. Ash, *Free World: America, Europe, And The Surprising Future Of The West*, Random House, New York 2004

⁵³ T. Friedman, *The Word is flat. A brief history of the XXI century*, Ferrar Straus, New York 2005



- the deification of the market
- the deification of the privatization processes
- the deification of the empire of global finances
- the deification of the transnational corporations

Neoliberalism a very strong doctrine firmly supported by the main stream of social sciences and by the main stream of the political and economic establishment. Thatcherism and Regonomics were no empty words. It is just astonishing that the present debate related to the dramatic crisis of neoliberalism is so mild. Naturally neoliberalism must find the full objective judgment of history. This judgment will see the great contribution of neoliberalism to global development in the years 1985-2005. This judgment will see also the parcial destruction of global wealth by the Great Crisis 2008-2010. To what extend the doctrine and practice of neoliberalism is responsible for this destruction? This judgment will also evaluate the role of neoliberalism in the promotion of three processes:

Primo – to weaken the rationality of the nation state

Secundo – to weaken the rationality of public enterprises

Tertio – to weaken the nationally of long term thinking and strategic planning

The crisis of neoliberalism should be a subject of a sharp and comprehensive debate not only for cognitive but also for pragmatic reasons⁵⁴.

In the public and professional opinion we find a gap separating two theoretical and practical orientations, the neoliberal orientation and the neokeynsian orientation. The results of this debate are extremely important for the design and implementation of the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project.

The crisis of the global economic, political and financial elites.

In Latin we find two concepts, the concept of „homo” and the concept of „homunculus”. „Homunculus” is a spiritually small human. A ancient poet exclaimed: „*Homunculi quanti sunt*”. It is very sad that at the beginning of the XXI century, the „homunculi” are so numerously represented in the global, economic, political and financial elites. The deficient’s in charismatic leadership, of professional competence and personal honesty have generated the low decision making potential of the global elites. This low potential is the most important source of the Great Crisis 2008-2010. This low potential is the biggest barrier in the discovery

⁵⁴ this very critical evaluation of neoliberalism is not forgetting that liberalism is one of the most significant and glorious ideologies in the history of humanity



of Alexandrian Solutions for the complex of Gordian Knots creating the Great Crisis. We have *contra spem sperare* that the great homo will find a new renaissance and diffusion in the global elites.

The *Polonia Quo Vadis* Project. Part Two. Tentative conclusions.

The endogenic dimension of the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* project is deeply incorporated into our knowledge, imagination and courage to discover a system of logically correlated questions, which will drive our diagnostic and prospective information and value judgment. The egzogenic dimension of the project will have two faces

Primo – the face of the European Union

Secundo – the face of the new global system of the new XXI century.

The European Union is both an egzogenic and endogenic dimension for Poland. When the Polish society and the Polish government is using the concept „our European Union” then the EU is an endogenic dimension for Poland. When we accept the attitude „Poland versus the EU”, then the EU dimension is an egzogenic dimension for Poland. So in the relation Poland – EU, the shifting endo and egzogenic domain are *de facto* related to our perception of EU as an internal or an external phenomenon. The global dimension is a firmly egzogenic dimension for Poland, but this is also a dynamic egzogenity related to the comparative dynamics of the global and Polish scene. Poland is a relatively small direct actor of the global scene. But indirectly Poland as an active member of the European Union can participate significantly in the global scene and in the creation of the new global order of the XXI century.

* * *

I hope that this paper has a brainstorming capacity even if same value judgment included in this paper are recognized as false.



**The role of The *Polonia Quo Vadis Project* in the development of the
Regio Future Programme. Part three. The feasibility study⁵⁵.**

***The Polonia Quo Vadis Project is feasible capable of being done and dealt with
successfully.***

A.

There are four dimensions of this feasibility:

- the theoretical dimensions
- the methodological dimensions
- the factography dimensions
- the institutional dimensions

The theoretical dimensions

In the broadly defined of social sciences we can find important contributions related to theory defined as the art of *fragestellung*, the art to formulating a logically correlated system of question addressed to the empirical materials. Let us quote once more the crucial observation of Gunnar Myrdal⁵⁶:

„Theory' in this context means nothing more than a logically correlated system of questions addressed to the material. It is in the nature of this conception of theory—which will be further developed in the Prologue—that the author of a theory should not fear, but expect as a perfectly normal consequence of fresh research, that further insights into various components of the complex of social interrelationships about which he has tried to inform himself will invalidate his theory, perhaps in fundamental respects”

In order to formulate the proper system of questions we need three elements:

- 1) „the material”—in other words—the diagnostic knowledge and the prospective „knowledge”
- 2) a theoretical framework illuminating the selective process leading towards the proper questions

⁵⁵ compare the Feasibly study of the Regio Futures Programme [in:] P. Jakubowska, A. Kukliński, P. Żuber (red) *The Future of European Regions*, Ministry of Regional Development, Warsaw 2007, pages 455-487

⁵⁶ G. Myrdal, *Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations.*, volume 1, Penguin Books 1968 p. XII



3) the willingness to reformulate the theory following the results of empirical analysis

I would like to suggest to apply this test of imagination and intellectual capacity—to the system of questions emerging from the rich content of the Project. In this framework we can also formulate a broader methodological question—how to grasp the interaction on the axis theoretical reflection versus empirical analysis.

In the next pages of this feasibility study we will formulate a first tentative list of logically correlated questions emerging in the framework of the Project *Polonia Quo Vadis?* This will be a bridgehead list just as an entrance in to the *terra incognita* of *Polonia Quo Vadis?* This bridgehead list will be revised and expanded in the next stages of the Project. The question *Quo Vadis?* is *ex definitione* a dynamic question. In this context I would like to propose the integrated theory of the dynamic society⁵⁷ as the theoretical backbone of the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project. We define the dynamic society as a social, economic, cultural and political phenomenon. So the theory of the dynamic society will emerge in the broad of the social scenes including sociology, economics and political sciences. The Project *Polonia Quo Vadis?* will be an inspiration for the Polish social sciences to try to formulate a new comprehensive theory of the dynamic society. A tentative formulation of this theory will create a background for the advanced lists of logically correlated questions related to *Polonia Quo Vadis?* This theoretical reflexion on the dynamic society will have an empirical and prospective continuous counterpart in studies answering the questions of the bridgehead list. So the Project *Polonia Quo Vadis?* will create a Myrdalian world of expanding interactions linking the theoretical reflexion, the empirical knowledge and the prospective „knowledge” of the future. This Myrdalian world will include two fascinating problems:

- *primo* The dynamics of the Polish society. The experiences and prospects of the years 1990-2050
- *secundo* – The Polish Gordian Knots⁵⁸ and Alexandrian Solutions – the experiences and prospects of the years 1990-2050

The methodological dimensions

The conceptual and methodological apparatus of the Regio Future Programme is fully applicable in the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project⁵⁹. We would like to mention the conceptual

⁵⁷ compare p. 412 in the volume A. Kukliński, K. Pawłowski (eds), *Europe – the strategic choices*, Nowy Sącz 2005

⁵⁸ compare A. Kukliński, *Gordian Knots and Alexandrian Solutions. The perspective of the XXI century* [in:] P. Jakubowska, A. Kukliński, P. Żuber, *The Future of Regions in the Perspective of global change*, Part one and two, The Ministry of Regional Development, Warsaw 2008-2009



sequence and the methodological sequence. In the conceptual sequence we propose to consider two trajectories:

Primo – the trajectory:

- Old system of long duration
- Resources of the future
- Old and new paths of growth
- Turning points
- New system of long duration

Secundo – the trajectory:

- Old system of long duration
- Barriers for development
- Gordian Knots
- Alexandrian Solutions
- New system of long duration

In the methodological sequence we propose to consider the interaction of diagnoses, visions, scenarios and strategies. The conceptual and the methodological sequences have a clear and comprehensive presentation in the four volumes of the Redefo Series published by the Ministry of Regional Development in the years 2007-2009.

The factographical dimension

The Myrdalian world is constructed around the interaction of the theoretical reflexion and the factographical material. The *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project will be designed and implemented around this interaction. In this case we have two types of theoretical reflexion and two types of factographical materials. The real theoretical reflexion and the real factographical materials are related to the diagnostic chapter of the Project 1990-2010. The hypothetical theoretical reflexion⁶⁰ and the hypothetical factographical material are related to the prospective chapter of the Project 2010-2030, 2030-2050.

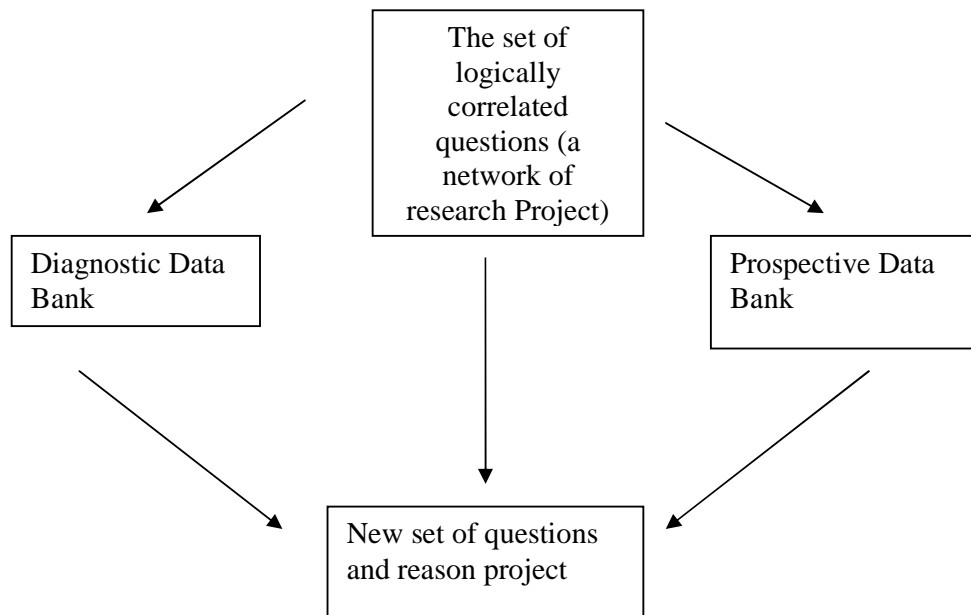
In this context we can propose the construction of Two Data Banks for the Project *Polonia Quo Vadis?* A diagnostic data bank for the years 1990-2010 and the prospective data bank for the years 2010-2050. The Diagnostic Data Bank is strongly related to the proposal addressed

⁵⁹ The conceptual and methodological parts of the Regio Futures Programme is well presented in the four volumes of the Regional Development Forum published by the Ministry of Regional Development in the years 2007-2009

⁶⁰ compare A. Kukliński, K. Pawłowski (eds.), *Futurology – the challenges of the XXI century*, Nowy Sącz 2008



Central Statistical Office of Poland to prepare a grand study „The statistical mirror of the Polish transformation in the years 1990-2010”. The Central Statistical Office of Poland is representing a strong and comprehensive theoretical and pragmatic capacity to prepare the „Mirror” taking into account the existing resources of statistical information. However the first bridgehead version of the proposed Mirror should be followed by next advanced comprehensive versions, which would create new statistical materials able to answer the holistic question emerging in the theoretical reflexion of Project *Polonia Quo Vadis?* The prospective Data Bank for the years 2010-2020-2030-2040-2050 is a much complicated intellectual and pragmatic venture. This would be a dynamic data bank absorbing continuously the factographical „knowledge” related to the prospective chapters of *Polonia Quo Vadis?* seen in the European and global contexts. The Myrdalian world of *Polonia Quo Vadis?* would operate as a system of theoretical reflexion and factographical material in the following cycle:



We should recognize that the Project *Polonia Quo Vadis?* must cross the threshold of the minimum scale and duration of the Project to change the Project into an activity creating valid theoretical and pragmatic results opening a trajectory of a continuous stream of reflexions related to the grand problem *Polonia Quo Vadis?*

The institutional dimensions

The institutional channel is very important in the creation of the real feasibility of the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project. We can indicate five institutions which are relevant in this context.

The first institution in the Ministry of Regional Development as a sponsor of the multidimensional activities in the field of long term strategic reflection and activities. In this framework we can mention the Regio Futures Programme which is supplying a direct support for the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project. We expect that this Project will be absorbed into the main stream of future oriented activities of the Ministry of Regional Development.

The second institution is the Regional Self Government in Poland. This Self Government has accumulated valuable experiences in the preparation of strategic studies related to the developmental of the respective regions. The Programme Regio Futures and the Project *Polonia Quo Vadis?* are creating for the Regional Self Government a new set of opportunities to develop the strategic mind and the self programming capacities of the given region. In the last two years Regional Self Government has created only a limited support for the Regio Future Programme and for the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project. We have however valuable demonstrations of initial cooperation of the Kraków and Wrocław Regions. We hope that the April Conference organized by the Ministry of Regional Development will create a turning point and open a stage for the very strong support of the Regional Self Government for the Regio Future Programme and for the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project.

The third institution is the Brussels complex of European Communities. The Commission, the European Parliament, the Committee of Regions. We are presenting now in Brussels a set of four volumes of the Regional Development Forum published by The Ministry of Regional Development in the years 2007-2009. These volumes are outlining a comprehensive set of theoretical reflections and empirical materials presenting the substance and methodology of the Regio Future Programme and of the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project. We hope that the Programme and the Project will create a demonstration effect for the European Countries and Regions to expand their activities in the field of regio-history, regio-diagnosis and regio future.

In this context we should notice that Poland will have the honor to lead the presidency of the European Union in the 2011. In the philosophy of this Presidency a strong strategic orientation should be expressed. Poland should promote the preparation by the European Union of a grand study *Europa Quo Vadis?* The first initial step of this direction will be



created in the conference organized in Krzyżowa near Wrocław in November 2009. We should also notice the Krakow Conference of June 2008. Promoting the idea of *Europa Quo Vadis?* Poland should remember the ancient rule *Medice cura te ipsum*. In other words Poland should use the precious time of the years 2009 and 2010 to prepare a grand study *Polonia Quo Vadis?* to create a demonstration effect for other European countries in the field of long term strategic reflexion.

The fourth institution important for the diffusion of the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project is the OECD. The four volumes of the Redefo Series are presented now in the OECD environment in Paris. Maybe the sequence *Polonia Quo Vadis? Europa Quo Vadis?* will induce OECD and the World Bank to promote a set of long term strategic studies *Mundus Quo Vadis?*

The fifth Institution is the World Bank. The World Development Report Reshaping Economic Geography⁶¹ is a very great inspiration for the Regio Futures Programme and for the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project. I would like to repeat the suggestion addressed to the World Bank and OECD to sponsor an innovative set of strategic studies – *Mundus Quo Vadis?*

B.

The feasibility study is a demonstration that we are able now to formulate a bridgehead system of questions to start the process of implementation of the *Quo Vadis?* Project. Let us consider the following list of question and problems:

- I. The Myrdalian approach in the construction of the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project**
- II. The logically correlated system of questions – a dynamic interpretation**
- III. The Diagnostic Data Bank and the Prospective Data Bank as factographical foundations of the Project**
- IV. The dynamics of the Polish Society as a theoretical, empirical and prospects backbone of the Project**
- V. Poland as a system of regions. The nodal realities and visions in the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project**
- VI. The *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project and the new doctrine of the territorial development of Poland**
- VII. Poland as a system of Gordian Knot and Alexandrian Solutions. The experiences and prospects of the years 1990-2050**
- VIII. *Polonia Quo Vadis?* in the diagnostic framework of the years 1990-2010**

⁶¹ The World Bank, World Development Report 2009, Reshaping Economic Geography, Washington D.C. 2009



- IX. *Polonia Quo Vadis?* in the prospective framework of the years 2010-2030
- X. *Polonia Quo Vadis?* in the framework of invented future of the years 2030-2050
- XI. *Polonia Quo Vadis?* as a challenge for social sciences
- XII. *Polonia Quo Vadis?* as an input into the strategic mind of the Polish political system
- XIII. *Polonia Quo Vadis?* and the development of the future oriented Polish Society
- XIV. *Polonia Quo Vadis?*- *Europa Quo Vadis?* a challenge for the European Union
- XV. *Polonia Quo Vadis?*- *Mundus Quo Vadis?* a challenge for OECD and World Bank

This list of fifteen Questions – Problems is not yet a logically correlated system of questions in the spirit of Gunnar Myrdal. I hope however that this list has a bridgehead potential to enter the terra incognita of *Polonia Quo Vadis?* The feasibility study including this bridge head list of questions can be now presented to the potential members of the team of academic and pragmatic personalities, who might be interested in the design and implementation of the Project *Polonia Quo Vadis?*

The potential Authors of the contributions to the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project will be invited to express a general value judgment related to the feasibility study. As a conclusion of this value judgment we expect the declaration of willingness to answer one of the fifteen questions in the present or reformulated form expressing the substantial and methodological approach of the potential author. The Fragestellung Debate will lead to the creation of the Project team sharing responsibility for the design and implementation of the Project. In this Fragestellung Debate a new expanded and reformulated list of questions will emerge. The Fragestellung Debate and the first five contributions of the implementation of the Project will create to take off effect in the promotion of this Project. If this take off will be successful, then The Ministry of Regional Development can envisage a big push in the design and implementation of the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project. I hope that the take off of the Project will take place in the April Conference organized by the Ministry of Regional Development: the future of the Polish Regions. I hope that the success of this take off stage will convince the Ministry to organize a big push for the development of the Project in autumn 2009. **I hope too, that in 2010 the Project will change itself into a larger scale activity leading to the preparation in 2010 of the grand study. *Polonia Quo Vadis?* as a philosophical framework of the Polish EU Presidency 2011.**

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In the conclusion of this paper let me say: „The *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project is feasible, capable of being done and dealt with successfully.”

Antoni Kukliński

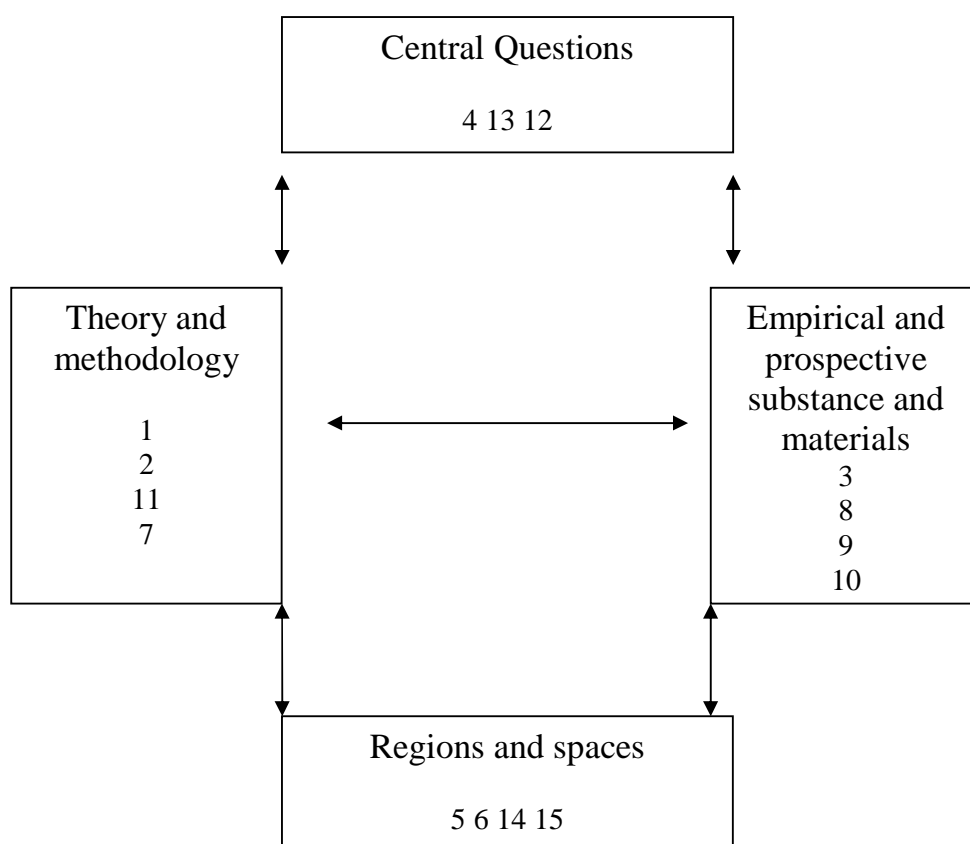


***Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project. Part three – feasibility study.**

Post Scriptum. The mental map of the Project.

In the feasibility study we have outlined bridgehead 15 questions to open the Myrdalian World of the Project and the debate leading to an improved list of question. We propose a new perspective in the analysis of the list of 15 bridgehead questions a *sui generis* mental map of the Project⁶².

The mental map of the Project



In this mental map we are defining four groups of questions:

⁶² Compare A. Kukliński, *Polonia Quo Vadis? Knowledge, imagination, responsibility* [in:] P. Jakubowska et alia (eds) *The Future of Regions in the Perspective of global change*, The Ministry of Regional Development, Warsaw 2009

- A. Central Questions
- B. Theory and methodology
- C. Empirical and perspective substance and materials
- D. Regions and spaces

A. Central Questions

(4) The dynamics of the Polish Society as a theoretical, empirical and prospects backbone of the Project

(13) *Polonia Quo Vadis?* and the development of the future oriented Polish Society

(12) *Polonia Quo Vadis?* as an input into the strategic mind of the Polish political system

These three questions are shaping the theoretical, social and political backbone of the Project. We can analyze these three questions in the framework of 3 dilemmas:

Primo – the dynamic versus static stagnant Polish Society

Secundo – the history oriented versus future oriented Polish Society

Tertio – the tactical versus the strategic mind of the Polish Political system

These three questions, problems and dilemmas are a field to mobilize not only the theoretical illumination of the Polish social sciences, but also a field to demonstrate our courage to challenge the conventional wisdom and political correctness. This set of 3 questions is creating the main brainstorming field of the Project as a battlefield of concepts, interpretations, visions and ideological approaches. This is the battlefield of adaptation of the traditional Polish mind to the challenges of the Enigma of the XXI century.

B. Theory and methodology

1) The Myrdalian approach in the construction of the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project

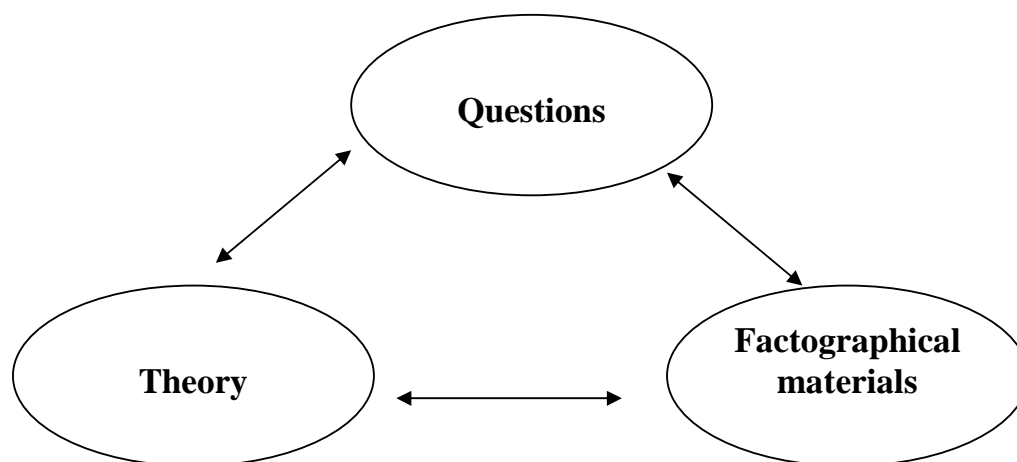
2) The logically correlated system of questions – a dynamic interpretation

11) *Polonia Quo Vadis?* as a challenge for social sciences

7) Poland as a system of Gordian Knot and Alexandrian Solutions. The experiences and prospects of the years 1990-2050

The theory and methodology of the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project is a fascinating, intellectual venture.

We are convinced that the Myrdalian Triangle will be an efficient methodological instrument in the development of the Project.



I hope that the Project *Polonia Quo Vadis?* will be absorbed by the main stream of Polish social sciences. This main stream is dominated now by dispersed relatively narrow questions. The challenge of *Polonia Quo Vadis?* might induce the Polish social sciences to concentrate attention on holistic questions including the eminent role of *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project. In the set of four theoretical and methodological questions, we have included the controversial problem of Gordian Knots and Alexandrian Solutions⁶³. My limited knowledge of the *opera omnia* and of the personality of Gunnar Myrdal would support the hypothesis that the concept of Gordian Knots and Alexandrian Solutions could be presented in a quasi neomyrdalian framework.

C. Empirical and perspective substance and materials

- 3) The Diagnostic Data Bank and the Prospective Data Bank as factographical foundations of the Project
- 8) *Polonia Quo Vadis?* in the diagnostic framework of the years 1990-2010
- 9) *Polonia Quo Vadis?* in the prospective framework of the years 2010-2030
- 10) *Polonia Quo Vadis?* in the framework of invented future of the years 2030-2050

⁶³ compare K. Rybiński et alia, *Gordian Knots of the 21st century*, The Ministry of Regional Development, Warsaw 2008



The construction of the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project is not only a matter of „grand design” incorporated in the questions of the A and B groups. The Project must incorporate a „grand factory” of building materials, related to the factographical documentation of the experiences and prospects of Poland in the years 1990-2050.

This is not a „blind” documentation but an „illuminated” documentation which is incorporated into the substance and methodology of the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project. The questions problems 8, 9 and 10 are first of all substantial problems trying to grasp the essence of Polish holistic experience in of the years 1990-2050. Each period of twenty years 1990-2010, 2010-2030, 2030-2050 has a different substantial and methodological identity.

Substantial identity, the diagnostic face of Poland, the face of Poland in the near future and the face of Poland in the more distant future. The methodological identity is related to the difference in the power of our wisdom and imagination to grasp the „diagnostic” reality and the „reality” of the near future and the „reality” of the distant future.

D. Regions and spaces

5) Poland as a system of regions. The nodal realities and visions in the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project

6) The *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project and the new doctrine of the territorial development of Poland

14) *Polonia Quo Vadis?*- *Europa Quo Vadis?* a challenge for the European Union

15) *Polonia Quo Vadis?*- *Mundus Quo Vadis?* a challenge for OECD and World Bank

This set of four Questions Problems has a strong foundation of 4 common denominators:
Primo – the perspective of spaces and regions in the Polish scale, in the European scale and in the global scale

Secundo – the theoretical perspective of the system of regions as an instrument of interpretation of the Polish and European Scene

Tertio – the territorial perspective in the long term strategic thinking, developed in the Territorial Reviews of OECD⁶⁴ and in the national systems of territorial development⁶⁵ (przestrzenne zagospodarowanie kraju)

⁶⁴ compare OECD, *Territorial Reviews Poland*, Paris 2008

⁶⁵ compare *Ekspertycki Projekt Koncepcji Przestrzennego Zagospodarowania Kraju, Expert Project of the concept of the territorial development of Poland*, Ministry of Regional Development, Warsaw 2008



Quarto – in the global perspective of the World Bank presented in the World Development Report 2009, Reshaping Economic Geography

* * *

Conclusion. The Mental Map and the *Modus Operandi* of the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project

The Mental Map is opening a debate related to the 15 bridgehead questions of *Polonia Quo Vadis?* We are asking the critical reader of this paper, to design his own mental map of the Project. In this debate three problems of the *Modus Operandi* will emerge”

- What?
- How?
- Who?

The first problem „what?” has a very clear answer. The holistic object of the Project is Poland, a grand and dramatic formulation.

The second problem is „how?”. How to answer the fundamental question *Polonia Quo Vadis?* This is the theoretical and methodological framework of the Programme

The third problem is „who?”. This question can be answered in two ways.
Primo – Project in a small scale will be designed and implemented by a small group of 10-15 academic personalities. This is only a chapter of the Regio Futures Programme.
Secundo – the Project is a large scale venture designed and implemented by a consortium of 10-15 eminent academic and pragmatic institutes and institutions. This grand Project would be a visible element of the Polish academic and political scene an contribution to the Polish, European and global art of governance. It is difficult to envisage how broad and intensive will be the process of *Quo Vadis?* thinking on the Polish, European and global scene.

* * *

The contribution „The role of the *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project in the development of the Regio Futures Programme” is not an exercise in the art of perfection. We will find numerous theoretical and pragmatic weakness in this contribution. I think however, that the formulation of the Grand Question *Polonia Quo Vadis?* is trying to open a new trajectory in the great debate how to expand the capacities of the Polish strategic mind facing the enigma of the XXI



century⁶⁶. This century will create one of the greatest transformation of the global scene in human history. Only the dynamic societies will survive successfully on this scene. Poland has no choice, it must transform itself in an dynamic future oriented society. The *Polonia Quo Vadis?* Project is dedicated as a modest contributions to the design and implementation of this Grand Mission⁶⁷.

⁶⁶ Facing the enigma of the XXI century please consider two very eminent American Contributions. S.P. Huntington, *The clash of Civilization and the Remarking of World Order*, Simmon and Schuster, N.Y. 1996, T. Friedman, *The Word is flat. A brief history of the XXI century*, Ferrar Straus, New York 2005.

Anno Domini 2009 we can see that the opus of S. Huntington is a better anticipation of the XXI century than the opus of F.Friedman. Maybe we should see in this context the new volume of N.N. Taleb, *The Black Swain*, Penguin Book, London 2007. Please see the volume P. Jakubowska et alia, op.cit. part one p. 49, the paper of R. Galar

⁶⁷ In the discussions and studies related to the global and European futures we should see the Dynamic triangle animated by the activities of the splendid international team growing under the auspices of the Polish Ministry of Regional Development

