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Poland's Contribution to Intergovernmentalist Theory Building

Phases of Poland's EU policy (behavioural patterns)

Phase	Pattern
2004-2005	Enthusiasm
2005-2007	Sceptical pragmatism
2007-2015	Enthusiastic pragmatism
2015-	Contestation

Source: Tosiek 2019; Tosiek 2023 (forthcoming).

Phases of Poland's EU policy (EU visions)

Phase	Vision
2004-2005	Federalism
2005-2007	Co-operation
2007-2015	Federalism/Co-operation
2015-	Autonomy

Source: Karolewski and Mehlhausen 2017 (based on Münch's concept); Tosiek 2019.

Post-2015 Poland's EU policy – general characteristics

Leading categories of explanation of post-2015 Poland's EU policy:

- illiberal democracy;
- democratic backsliding;
- rule of law non-compliance.

Examples of brief evaluative explanations:

- voluntary self-marginalisation (Tosiek 2017);
- institutionalised peripheralization (Tosiek 2017);
- unilateral self-differentiation (Ruszkowski 2022);
- regressiveness (Ruszkowski 2022);
- Eurohostility (Ruszkowski 2022).

Post-2015 Poland's EU vision as divided into four areas

Axiology (Szczerski 2017):

- EU's axiological neutrality or
- back to the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Geopolitics (Szczerski 2017):

- autonomous subcentres of integration = decentralised regional communities;
- Poland as a leader of the subcentre (Three-Seas or *Trimarium*).

Economy (Szczerski 2017):

- abandoning of the “neo-colonial development model”;
- liberalisation of national economies;
- development of the cohesion policy.

Institutions (Szczerki 2017; Musiałek 2016; Romanowski 2022):

- unanimity as a main decision-making mode in EU intergovernmental institutions (= intergovernmental democracy);
- inclusion of national parliaments in EU decision-making;
- EU supranational institutions (EP, Comm, CJEU) with no real competences.

Characteristics of modern intergovernmentalist approaches

	Liberal Intergovernmentalism	New Intergovernmentalism	Illiberal Hyperintergovernmentalism
Theoretical model	Explanatory	Empirical	Normative
Paradigmatic adherence	Liberalism	Liberalism/Constructivism	Realism (Nationalism)
Nature of interstate relations	Issue-specific asymmetric interdependence	Deliberative member statism	Subhegemonic polycentrism
Conceptual framework	<p>Preferences – based on elites’ views</p> <p>Negotiations – based on bargaining/arguing</p> <p>Institutions – based on PAT</p>	<p>Preferences – based on popular views</p> <p>Negotiations – based on arguing</p> <p>Institutions – based on epistemic quality</p>	<p>Interests – based on ideology</p> <p>Negotiations – based on bargaining</p> <p>Regimes – based on balance of power</p>
Decision-making institutions	European Council Council Commission	European Council <i>de novo</i> bodies	European Council Council
Decision-making method	Unanimity/QMV/consensus	Consensus	Unanimity

Source: Moravcsik (2008); Bickerton, Hodson, Puetter (2015); Tosiek (2023, forthcoming).

Contribution to the development of differentiated integration theory?

Selected literature:

Bickerton C.J., Hodson D., Puetter U. (2015), *The New Intergovernmentalism: European Integration in the Post-Maastricht Era*, "Journal of Common Market Studies", vol. 53, no. 4.

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Musiałek P. (2016), *Unia naszych marzeń, czyli dwa dekalogi polskiej doktryny europejskiej*, „Pressje”, no. 47-48.

Romanowski M. (2022), *Kierunki zmian instytucjonalnych w Unii Europejskiej*, In: *Wizje przyszłości Unii Europejskiej*, M. Romanowski, J. Szymanek (eds.), Warszawa: SWWS.

Ruszkowski J., *Regresywna koncepcja Unii Europejskiej na przykładzie dyskursu prowadzonego przez Prawo i Sprawiedliwość*, „Rocznik Integracji Europejskiej”, no. 16.

Szczerski K. (2017), *Utopia europejska. Kryzys integracji i polska inicjatywa naprawy*, Kraków: Biały Kruk.

Tosiek P. (2017), *Polska wizja „rekonstytucji” Unii Europejskiej: nowy model integracji zróżnicowanej?*, „Przegląd Europejski”, no. 3.

Tosiek P. (2019), *Polish European Policy 2004-2014. An Ex-Post Critical Analysis*, In: *Polish European Policy 2004-2014. Ideas, Aims and Actors*, Z. Czachór et al., Berlin: Logos.

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