

BOOK REVIEWS

***European Union on the Global Scene: United or Irrelevant?* Bogdan J. Góralczyk (ed.), Centre for Europe, University of Warsaw, Warsaw 2015, pp. 278, ISBN 978-83-7545-614-1**

This collective publication edited by Bogdan J. Góralczyk *European Union on the Global Scene: United or Irrelevant?* undertakes the issues of the change of the role and importance of the EU in international relations analysing them in a multidimensional way, beginning with the financial crisis, which had its start in the USA in 2007. In the opinion of professor Andreas Inotai (a former general director of the Institute for World Economics at Research Center for Economic and Regional Studies at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Head of the Strategic Task Force on Integration into the European Union in Hungary during the accession negotiations, as well as an associate at the World Bank) this publication focuses on key aspects of the European integration process which are investigated by influential Polish researchers, who approach this topic often connecting national and international aspects. The forte of these considerations is their look from multiple perspectives of different scientific disciplines making up European Studies. In this volume these areas are represented by experts in European politics in the fields of law, political science, international relations, economics, sociology and management; researchers who occupy prominent positions in the academic world (directors of institutes, editors of magazines, professors); some of who have been or still are active in diplomacy, have supported Polish politicians as advisers or have worked in the institutions of the EU.

In the introduction Bogdan J. Góralczyk characterizes the general context and various indications of the crisis in the EU, as well as he synthetically presents the contents of the volume, which consists of ten chapters. In the first chapter *The Economic and Financial Crises in the Light of Theories of European Integration* Wojciech Gagattek undertakes the issue of doing new theoretical and empirical research on the topic of European integration. The author draws attention to the need, created by the euro zone crisis, to redefine the basic theoretical categories of European studies (such as a Member State and the EU institutions), as well as causal

relations explaining this issue and influencing its interpretation. He asks basic questions concerning the premises of the decrease in the explanatory value of neo-functional theories and the growing importance of neo-realistic theories reflecting the dominance of strong member states in the Union. Additionally, he stresses that the unprecedented multidimensional nature of the EU's crisis calls for interdisciplinary research that takes into account the diversity of scientific perspectives relating to European integration. In this respect, there is a clear gap between theory and social reality, one that resembles the situation from the 1970s when economists were unable to predict the consequences of erroneous macroeconomic and regulatory policies. The author characterizes the successive phases of competition between supranational theories (such as neo-functionalism) and intergovernmental theories (neo-realism, intergovernmentalism) in his reflection on European integration; he exposes their advantages and limitations visible in the crisis of the Union. He rightly emphasizes that this crisis opens new areas of research that go beyond established conceptualizations, which is manifested, among other things, in a discussion about the concept of 'spillover' – which is fundamental to the neo-functional theory of European integration. The concept of a crisis also needs to be revised, as it currently is structural, rather than cyclical, not only in relation to the Union's economy. It may be added that the launch of the procedure for the UK's exit from the EU confirms the author's conviction that a new look at theories of European integration is necessary, and the 'negative spillover' disintegrating the EU is a symbolic example of the scale of challenges faced by the researchers in this field.

In the second chapter *More Gains or Losses? Review of the European Union's Eastern Policy* Dariusz Milczarek characterises the Eastern Partnership (EaP) as a new element of the EU Neighbourhood Policy. He analyses the factors limiting the effectiveness of EaP in relation to Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine, all in connection with the strategic crisis in EU-Russia relations. He indicates such issues as: lack of a clearly defined prospects of achieving EU membership in the countries covered by the Partnership, weak motivation of the countries that could benefit from the Partnership instruments, relatively low financial resources allocated for the implementation of the EaP objectives on the part of the EU, low importance of relations with the EU in trade among the Partnership countries, slow pace of economic development of this group of countries, intensification of authoritarian tendencies ('putinisation') in internal politics of most countries covered by the Partnership, neo-imperialistic policy of Russia (including, in particular, the aggression against Ukraine), as well as lack of cohesion

of the Union's actions resulting from, among other things, pro-Russian nature of some Member States and the dominant importance of relations with Russia in their foreign policy, as well as to the weak internal cooperation within the EU.

The third chapter *Ukraine – Europe's hic Rhodus, hic salta* prepared by Roman Kuźniar constitutes a continuation and a deeper reflection on the Eastern Partnership. On the example of Ukraine, the author describes the limited capacity of the EU to play the role of a global actor in the sphere of international relations. In this context the case of Ukraine is characterized as a first practical test of EU's ambitions under the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). The weaknesses of the CFSP in relation to Ukraine are analysed in detail in connection to the failure of the Vilnius Summit on 28–29 November 2013, the 'dignity revolution' in Kiev's Maydan, the circumstances of the fall of President Yanukovich and the Russian annexation of Crimea, military interference in Donbass and the 'hybrid war'. Given the significance of Ukraine, the most important Eastern Partnership country, it is a geo-strategic issue of key importance also for other Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries. The author's analysis leads to the conclusion that, for a number of reasons, including mainly differences in Member States' interests, the EU is a much less important actor in international relations than it could be expected from its economic potential, as its importance is comparable to Indonesia or Brazil in the G-20 group. It is a cautionary diagnosis showing new geopolitical risks in CEEs, as well as a case study of the EU's declining ability to act as a global actor in international relations. It constitutes an important contribution to the assessment of the achievement of the ambitious objectives of the 2009 Lisbon Treaty, including the principles, methods and instruments of the reform of the CFSP set out therein.

In the fourth chapter, Artur Adamczyk describes a different, Mediterranean dimension of the CFSP. This dimension has become increasingly important in recent years due to the destabilization of North Africa and the Middle East, the spread of Islamic terrorism and the high level of migration (including illegal migration) to the EU. It has created another political division in the EU, related to the migration crisis and the threat of restoring the East-West axis based on controversies over plans to relocate the admitted migrants. It outlines the evolution of EU policy towards the Mediterranean countries, as well as the Union's reactions to the course and consequences of the Arab Spring, such as the collapse of institutions and chaos in many countries, civil wars, bloody religious and ethnic conflicts, hundreds of thousands of deaths and millions of refugees. Economic problems, nationalistic and Euro-sceptic tendencies, identity issues

and different visions of the future in the Member States, like in the case of EaP, make the EU a weak actor, also in the area of international relations, where it does not present a coherent policy concept to the countries of the region.

In the fifth chapter: *Institutional and Legal Consequences of the Euro Area Crises: The European Union on the Way to a Political Union?* Jan Barcz characterizes different interpretations of the concept of a political union and provides a detailed overview and analysis of possible EU development scenarios presented by the EU institutions, expert teams, think-tanks, etc. He also shows the available methods and instruments for creating a political union and its legal and institutional architecture. The conclusions present the view that the growing disparities between Member States, reinforced by the accumulation of different crises, are conducive to the creation of new institutional arrangements that will integrate the EU at a higher level of political cooperation – the core of this process being the euro area.

The sixth chapter *What Architecture of the Union? Polish Perspective* was written by Alojzy Z. Nowak and Kazimierz Ryć. The authors concentrate on dilemmas related to the issue of Poland's accession to the euro area. They draw attention to the negative experiences of the peripheral economies of Southern Europe, such as rising labour costs and higher inflation than in the countries of Northern Europe, financing economic development with budget deficits, deindustrialisation or capital inflows which do not generate new investments and the creation of speculative bubbles. Looking from the perspective of Poland, they describe various threats and costs resulting from the different economic structure in comparison with the euro area countries, which may be much higher than the benefits, due to, inter alia, asymmetric shocks, institutional maladjustments or a loss of competitiveness. They recommend caution and active observation of changes in the euro area, taking into account different levels of development and political traditions, which lead to restraint in the face of excessively fast harmonisation of integration conditions in every area.

In chapter seven: *Impact of the Global Crises on the Crises in the European Union. A Critical Analysis* Zbigniew D. Czachór sees the causes of the EU's structural crisis in the one-sided implementation of a neoliberal economic development strategy that favours the interests of financial capital, which encourages the dominant position of the financial oligarchy and capitalist monopolies. The author characterizes the evolution of capitalism after the Second World War with particular emphasis on its institutional consequences, both in the sphere of internal and interna-

tional relations. In this context, he presents a series of negative phenomena, which have largely defined the economic rationale of European integration (including the functioning of the euro area) and which now deepen the fragmentation of the Union. In this sense, the continuation of the EU's economic development under a neoliberal scenario leads to undermining the rationale on which the functional, neo-functional and federalist concepts of European integration were based. Increasing supranational power concentrated in EU institutions makes the interests of all actors subject to excessive profit maximisation.

In chapter eight: *Economic Power of the European Union in the Age of Global Challenges* Kamil Zajączkowski addresses the issue of the impact of the EU's potential on the effectiveness of its actions in the sphere of international relations. This potential is characterised through its demographic, economic and military dimensions. And this is also how the Common Foreign and Security Policy, economic policy instruments (including trade agreements) and development aid are analysed. The euro area crisis undermined the international importance and role of the EU and revealed not only a significant decrease in its potential, but also the lack of a clear definition of its interests or the institutional capacity to effectively pursue them. In these circumstances, the significant improvement in the economic situation of the Union in the last few quarters is not a factor with a sufficient impact to allow it to significantly strengthen its effectiveness in the area of international relations, in particular in comparison with the USA, China and other BRICS countries.

Chapter nine: *A Potential for Revolution in Europe?* written by Tomasz G. Grosse describes political and social disintegration tendencies in the EU. The author formulates and justifies the thesis that such tendencies have existed since the beginning of the European integration project, and painted it as elitist, not fully democratic and socially unjust. The accumulation of crises, first in the euro area and then throughout the Union, has revealed that there is potential for disagreement regarding the continuation of the current direction of integration. This phenomenon is described through three fundamental dimensions: geopolitical (the US withdrawal from close cooperation with the EU, the growing imbalance between Germany and France and the return of the aggressive Russian policy) economic (the crisis of the euro zone and the inability of the ruling elites to overcome it) and legitimacy (disillusionment with integration, the growing democratic deficit at the EU level, protection of national sovereignty and democracy at the state level). The dissemination of the conviction that the ruling elites of the Union are not subject to electoral verification, especially in light of the clear dysfunctionality of the insti-

tutions they run has become a catalyst for mass protests and the collapse of the integration consensus, which has been fixed for decades. The reactions to the economic crisis have triggered various anti-system movements, which call into question the concept of European integration. This facilitates political changes in the EU, but it may also be conducive to the exit of some countries or even to disintegration of the Union.

Brexit seems to validate the aforementioned claims. However, one may argue as to the extent that these events in Europe are of revolutionary character or how to describe their direction, even more so that for example, the leaders of these types of activities in Poland and Hungary describe them as ‘a cultural counter-revolution’, and Viktor Orbán defines them as building ‘non-liberal democracy’. In Hungary, the critics of Prime Minister Orbán believe that the system of government he endorsed is a form of a new authoritarianism, autocratic rule, majority dictatorship, ‘Potiemkin democracy’ or the rule of party oligarchy, which all differ from European standards of democracy, just as ‘socialist democracy’ differed from ‘capitalist democracy’. Therefore, in order to define such a direction of political changes, they also use the more holistic term ‘de-Europeanisation’.¹

Chapter nine: The Crises of 2008 and 2014 and the New Role of the European Union on the Global Scene authored by Bogdan J. Góralczyk concludes this volume. It diagnoses the EU’s existential crisis as having several fundamental dimensions: 1) leadership and strategic vision; 2) economic and debt crisis; 3) institutional crisis (including ‘democratic deficit’); and 4) axiological crisis resulting from questioning its basic principles both in the Member States and at EU level. The author emphasizes that the development of the Union is a process and that it is still a political entity in *statu nascendi*. Since 2008, however, it has been in a structural crisis, which has also resulted in a decline in the importance of the EU in the sphere of international relations (which is extensively documented by the authors of other chapters of this book). As in Jan Barcz’s chapter, this part of the paper analyses various scenarios for the future of the EU, stressing that the biggest factor which weakens European integration is still the division between the Member States. These divisions impose a mainly reactive rather than creative character on the activities of the Union, which puts the development of the entire integration project into a halt. The author concludes that in the future the EU can develop effectively only if it makes a ‘leap forward’ to increase its political integration.

¹ A. Agh, *De-europenization and de-democratization trends in ECE: From the Potiemkin Democracy to the Elected Autocracy in Hungary*, “Journal of Comparative Politics”, Vol. 8, No. 2/July 2015, pp. 4–25.

When summarizing this volume, it is worth to note a few issues. First of all, it draws attention to the relatively rarely discussed in Poland problem of the crisis in the theory of European integration, especially in its neo-functional and federalist version. This state of affairs opens new areas of research which are also connected to the basic theoretical categories which are part of European Studies. Secondly, it presents a solid description of the shape of the EU in its various dimensions, which in foresight, is reflected in the conviction that its development is likely to force integration at a higher level of political cooperation. Brexit proves that not all Member States will participate in this process. In Poland, analyses of future EU scenarios should be particularly conducive to an in-depth reflection that goes beyond the ideologised and primitivized language of debate prevailing in the public sphere, which subordinates international issues to current national policy objectives. Thirdly, the dynamics of changes in the analysed problem area necessitate that the analyses presented in the book are continued and confronted with other studies which (such as the publications of the Forecasting Committee 'Poland 2000 Plus' and the books of academic centres) develop also the remaining aspects of the problem of European integration and Poland's place and role in the process.

Krzysztof Jasiński

***Państwo w Unii Europejskiej (State in the European Union)*, Janusz Ruskowski, Renata Podgórzeńska (eds.), Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, Szczecin, Poland 2017, 327 pp., ISBN 978-83-7972-141-2**

The II European Congress was held in Szczecin in September 2017, connecting a few hundred people, who are engaged with a multitude of possible aspects of European integration in all academic institutions in Poland. On this occasion the host of this event, Janusz Ruskowski, the head of the Political Science and European Studies Institute of the Szczecin University gathered a group of 15 most prominent Polish experts, and together with Renata Podgórzeńska put together an occasional publication, which is in fact an important, in terms of its merit, volume on the topics connected to European integration, that is the dynamic, and visibly increasing role of the government in this process.

However, as in every joint publication, also here we have a significant dispersion of topics, of which all are still well within the scope of the main subject, mainly viewed from the perspective of Political science, as well as, to a lesser degree, the economic perspective (Artur Nowak-Far, Ireneusz Kraś), legal (Marek Pietraś being close) or touch upon international relations (Dariusz Milczarek, Józef Tymanowski). Also the nature of these studies varies, as some texts (Jacek Czaputowicz, already a vice-minister, and currently the minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, J. Ruskowski or Józef Fiszer) are of a theoretical nature, while the others are more practical. The vast majority of the studies are comprehensive (J. Ruskowski, J. Fiszer, Konstanty A. Wojtaszczyk, Wiesław Bokajło, Zbigniew Czachór), but more detailed considerations have also made their way into this volume, especially towards the end: J. Tymanowski wrote about Ukraine's possible accession to the European Union (EU), Radosław Zenderowski and Andrzej Rudowski on deetnization and reetnization in the EU and Elżbieta Szczot about the state-church relations within the EU.

Therefore, the scope is on one hand vast, but on the other it focuses on the title matter of the State in the EU. What do the most prominent Polish

experts have to say on this topic at a time when we are clearly dealing with the 'reethnization' or 'renationalization' of policies of many Member States? And what follows from the fact, that the whole European project, as Marek Prawda, Ambassador Extraordinary and EU Permanent Representative in Poland writes in the *Introduction* to the volume, '*experienced in succession debt, economic, external security and migration crises, and finally a reduction in the number of its members*' (i.e. Brexit)?

It is self-evident that such deep changes in both content and significance, as well as overlapping crises, cannot lead to a single assessment or full convergence of the opinions expressed by their observers and analysts. The interpretations of individual phenomena differ, however, Z. Czachór, firm in his arguments, may be on point when he claims (p. 214) that '*Europe has found itself at a «turn», as something more than a cyclical crisis, which is an unpleasant, but as necessary as the changes of the seasons, element of the free market economy, is at play here*'. The current crisis is a slump in the policy of transforming Europe from a common market and a Community of Nation States cooperating politically into a federal political organism – a hybrid of limited capacity to safeguard its members. What is even worse, in consequence of these events, especially the crisis in the external borders of Daesh and Ukraine, and the following migration crisis the '*European institutions have failed their test*' (J. Fiszer, p. 25).

In effect, after all this that has happened, it is impossible to interpret the process of European integration with the use of the old formula, according to which it proceeds '*from one crisis to another*' (D. Milczarek, p. 171) as now – for the first time in its whole history – a phantom of a existential crisis, or even disintegration, appears in the EU (Grexit, Brexit and other causes, for example the non-liberal values being pushed forward in some Member States, such as Hungary or Poland). Europe has seen the return of history and geopolitics, as well as competition, which at the time of EU's conception, somewhat naively as it now appears, but with great pomp (Francis Fukuyama) were told farewell. To make matters worse, particularistic, national interests become increasingly more dominant over the common values pushed forward (K. Wojtaszczyk, s. 39).

The Federal project, which is almost rooted in the DNA, or genes of the European Integration process, as it was meant to become its crowning achievement, is on the retreat, while the overlapping crises, especially the migration one, have significantly '*enhanced the trend to increase the strength of the Nation State*' as R. Podgórzńska rightly notices in the *Closing remarks* (p. 295). The Nation State, undermined by both the up-to-now constantly deepening integration, as well as the attempts to transfer more and more competences to the supranational level (examined by J. Czaputow-

icz in detail) and, to an even greater degree, by the globalization processes themselves (which are the subject of analysis by J. Ruskowski and many others), definitely ‘returns to the graces’ and becomes stronger in almost every EU Member State, although, of course, everywhere to a different extent. At the same time, another process takes place, this of great internal polarization in each of these countries. There pro-integration forces clash with opponents, who are often overtly national or nationalistic. Instead of the expected ‘deetnization’ we arrive at an ‘reetnization’ (R. Zenderowski, A. Rudowski), as – which is pointed out by many authors – it has been so far unsuccessful to effectively implement and bring to life the demand for a true European identity within the European project. Still a great majority of citizens of EU Member States define themselves through their national identity, and to a lesser degree the regional one, while only exceptionally the pan-European one.

This deficiency is reinforced, in view of numerous experts, through one more alarming phenomenon, which is the clear lack of a strategic vision and direction within the scope of the integration process. Its original turning point was the rejection of the project of a common Constitution in the referendum in France and Holland in the spring of 2005. Since then, the integration, the federalists pushing it onward as well as the advocates of the neo-functional theory have found themselves in a strategic retreat, as subsequent crises have only strengthened national and centrifugal forces. In this sense, one must again agree with Z. Czachóra when he writes pointedly: ‘*The crux is that the EU as a whole today does not have a single vision. Its current interests and priorities are unknown... strategic EU autonomy does not exist*’ (p. 216).

What he further suggests may also be true: ‘*Our common interests can be fulfilled only if we are united and act together*’. This claim is beautiful and true, however in the present situation, when national forces have taken wind in their sails, it is practically utopian. As a result of the successive: constitutional crisis (2005), the economic crisis (after 2008), the external security crisis (2014), the migration crisis (2015) and the strong signal given by the Brexit referendum (2016), the centrifugal forces in the EU are on the rise, while pro-integration groups are retreating. What is more, we are facing a ‘*renaissance of the nationalisms*’ (D. Milczarek, p. 173). And these trends, as J. Fiszer notices, have been further reinforced by the ‘Trump phenomenon’ which refers to the message sent from the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, where the highest power (the President) in the USA, for the first time since time immemorial, is expressing such strong opinions in favour of economic nationalism and isolationism.

The fundamental question, to which, of course, none of the authors finds an unambiguous or conclusive answer, was already posed in J. Ruskowski's introductory essay, pointing out that '*nation states follow the logic of individual and uncoordinated actions*', which may bring forward many ramifications that are difficult to predict and, at the same time, are rather negative. For, as this author rightly points out, '*nation-states have typically Westphalian characteristics shaped in an archaic international environment, such as aggressive or warlike attitudes towards other states and peoples, territorial partitioning, chauvinism, imperialism, lack of loyalty, selfishness, national interest, etc...*' (p. 10). It is our hope that the current logic of events did not fully activate these particular qualities of individual states, because then the European project would have to be considered fallen.

Therefore, we have threats on the external scene and between individual states, but it is the ones on the internal scenes of the EU Member States that seem particularly dangerous, where, as a result of the successive crises mentioned above, there has been a far-reaching internal polarization, with constant increase in power of groups and trends that seek to strengthen their sovereignty once again. This observation concerns both the eastern and western parts of the continent, but it is mainly the countries on the eastern side of the former Iron Curtain, with the leading roles of Hungary and Poland (what however, was not granted a deeper analysis by the authors of this volume, and it should be regarded as its significant shortcoming), which seem to be consciously, at the government level, undermining the existing values, codified in the formula of the Copenhagen Criteria of June 1993. However, what should be emphasized and what is also not properly highlighted in this volume, is that both Brexit (which here has not been analysed as a separate phenomenon), as well as the shape and distribution of political forces on the internal scene in Greece, Italy and even France show, that we are facing another crisis – an axiological one – on a pan-European scale at that (as mentioned by D. Milczarek in p. 173), so it is not, as some suggest, only limited to certain areas or countries.

This volume, as mentioned previously, primarily deals with political science, so practically only A. Nowak-Far touches upon issues related to the crisis of the euro area (without going into the Grexit phenomenon, which would also require a separate analysis). The title of his article *State as a legal construction – an economic perspective* proves however that – like a majority of studies in this volume – its character is closer to theoretical deliberations, rather than an analysis or a prognosis which is *stricte* political, or dealing with political science. It offers more reflections of a systemic and institutional nature (a model example of which are K. Wo-

jtaszczyk's deliberations on the determinants of the position of EU Member States in the search for new strategies and mechanisms of integration) rather than assessments and descriptions of the current situation, which may even be an appropriate approach, in light of the recent fast-paced dynamics of events within the EU, in Europe and its proximity.

'Europeans do not identify themselves with the EU... The Union is becoming more and more detached from its citizens' – says J. Fiszer correctly (p. 22), thus it suffers from a democratic deficit and one may only hope to stop the tendencies observed by this very author – which undermine the mechanisms and institutions dedicated to integration – that within the ongoing crises the Member States and their interests, have begun to emerge and have taken the lead, starting with the strongest ones, namely France and Germany, which has been further reinforced by the Brexit vote. How to escape it? D. Milczarek suggests *'eurorealizm'*, while Z. Czachór proposes the concept of *'socialization of foreign and security policy'* of the EU, while at the same time very critically approaching the *'common vision'* presented by the European Commission in 2016. He also almost instantly self-critically notes, that it may be just one of numerous successive expressions of *'populist utopia'*, which we have been and are experiencing within the EU borders.

The European Union, which has found itself, and still is, at a difficult time in its history, entering a sharp turn, at the end of which it is difficult to predict how and in what form it will emerge. The volume discussed here, which, first of all, is a valuable undertaking of theoretical nature, markedly aims to address one of the most crucial issues of the present time: the role of the State in the integration process. If there is anything that its authors have in common, it is, above all, the conviction that at this stage the role of the Nation State is growing again, and not weakening as originally predicted. If so many authors, with varying backgrounds, experience and research methods arrive at this conclusion, it means that *'something is afoot'*.

The role of the state in this new phase of both integration and globalization, both of which, objectively, undermined the power of sovereign states, must now be re-examined. At the same time, it not only ought to be reconsidered, but also caution must be called for, so that the pendulum does not swing in the opposite direction, because instead of an integrated supranational body, which the EU was supposed to be from its inception, we shall arrive at a fragmented landscape of divided, or perhaps even contradictory, states, guided by their own interests and selfishness. Such a diagnosis derives from this volume; yet none of the authors is tempted to make a forecast, on how to remedy this process, dangerous both in its

manifestations and significance. Today in the EU it is easier to analyse and describe the processes and events taking place, than take the more difficult path of constructing scenarios to help overcome the same crises, which have been analysed in multiple different ways in this volume.

After all, perhaps it is not the role of experts and analysts – because as it always is, everything will be decided by politicians, yet it is still advisable to lay out appropriate ideas and projects in such turbulent and uncertain times. Maybe, therefore, it would be worth it to suggest that another such volume ought to be published, one less theoretical and more practical? As today's state of the Union commands all of those who are worried about its future to seek an *antidote* and appropriate remedies to the growing centrifugal and extreme forces and nation states who are pursuing their particular interests. Nationalisms and the forces referring to ethncialisms offer only shortcuts, solutions that are far too easy for such complicated times, which, as we know from history, never ends well.

Bogdan J. Góralczyk