

try to abolish the constitution regarded as anti – Sunnites (p. 199).

In the last article of reviewed collection PhD Łukasz Szyszka tried to present different variants of solution for Palestynian–Israel conflict. In the short term perspective the most predictable scenario is recession of terrorist actions. On the contrary, form the 4–8 year long perspective the author forecasts the establishment of an independent Palestinian democratic country, and the relation between the two countries will remain on the level of coexistence. In other option the author predicts the stages proper for conflict situations development, stagnation, escalation, peaceful solution. For problem solution the political will is needed,

as well as favourable attitude of both nations. The vital role plays economic factor, especially common unemployment together with low GDP (Gross Domestic Product), which increase terrorist threat (p. 212).

In above presented articles the attention is paid not only to the descriptive and explanative assessment, but also mostly to analyses of reality in the context of contemporary civilisation threats. Generally speaking, presented material is an original, academic and explorative achievement, which is useful in a didactic process and also in spreading the knowledge on one of the greatest threats of the contemporary world, namely international terrorism.

Governmental Elites of the Third Republic of Poland. Sociological Portrait

by Barbara Brodzińska

The reviewed position is a novelty on the publishing market in Poland. It was written as a report based on a scientific research run by Sociology of Politics Panel of the Insitute of Sociology of the University of Warsaw directed by Jacek Raciborski.

The reading matter of the book concerns an analysis Jerzy Buzek and Leszek Miller cabinets, which by the fact of a complete difference between the mentioned above makes it only more reading-worthy. There should be doubt that the undertaken problem is a point of interest for political scientists and sociologists, however it does not make it any easier to study. One of the most

significant problems, which authors did shed some light on, is a fact that their repsondents tend to stay silent on many cases.

The book contains 11 chapters on the pages of which many crucial aspects of recruitment and promotion inside the core of elites of power was descirbed.

Chapter II – *The Construction of Elites and Cabinets* – by Jacek Raciborski deserves special attention. The author explores institutional circumstances of creating and working of a cabinet. The process in Poland is strictly regulated by the law of Constitution, which defines who is or has to be in charge of creating cabinet. To put it in Lever

and Shepsl's words: who is the formateur of a cabinet. Moreover, some historical and political factors of high influence were analyzed in an interesting way, not without mentioning the Polish party system characteristic division into former Solidarity and former Communist Party (PZPR). This cleavage is in opinion of Jacek Raciborski stronger in Poland than in any other formerly communist countries of Eastern Europe. The author underlines the fact that 'on a level of a party system this division makes some coalition agreements impossible, even against close similarity of program, because of the conflict in the sphere of symbols.'¹

Another significant factor which to some extent determines elite recruitment is the type of a cabinet. According to the mentioned Lever and Shepsl's classification, the government of J. Buzek is close to the ministerial model whereas the cabinet of L. Miller lays close to the chancellor type of cabinet.

The end of the nineties brought about many changes in the international relations of Poland. As a member of NATO and UE candidate country, Poland achieved a position completely different from where it had been only a few years before. That is why the image of the Polish presidents and prime ministers in the eyes of foreign leaders have recently become so important.

Chapter V by Barbara Frątczak-Rudnicka deserved special attention. It deals with the matter of the process of socialization of elites and seems to determine whether one would

choose his career in politics or not. And, if the answer is positive, to what extent the style of politics has its roots in social background. The chapter is also scattered with many quotations, which makes the image of the Polish elites more vivid. Politicians answer and give their view on such cases as: family traditions, political behavior patterns or former activity in school or scouting organisations and historical events. The answers make a line of division between the two governmental groups stressing the differences which derive from their past.

Agnieszka Kwiatkowska in chapter III presents the characteristics of the Polish governmental elites from the social-demographic point of view. This part of reviewed book is a little bit more peppered with statistics, however stays far from being dull. The author compares two groups of power underlining such factors as: social background, education and gender. Despite being in strong opposition towards each other, representatives of the two groups tend to have quite the same social origin.

Jacek Raciborski's Chapter V contains extension of the mentioned models of recruitment. The author bases mainly on the respondents' voice, which reveal the significance of social life in their future careers. The way to power often leads through student organisations, local government's units or corridors of universities.

Interpretation of history is a constant problem in public opinion. There is no doubt that what differs the researched groups is their attitude towards the past. Cezary Trutkowski presents the case in chapter VI – *Social Representation of the History of the*

¹ *Government Elites of the Third Republic of Poland. Sociological Portrait*, J. Raciborski, Trio, Warsaw 2006, p. 30.

Third Republic of Poland. One of the subtitles is called in a meaningful way: One Country's Two Stories. Despite the whole difference between the governmental elites of Leszek Miller and Jerzy Buzek, the factor that makes the linkage between them is "generally positive evaluation of the reform policy in Poland after 1989."²

Past events have shown mercifully how strong power of ideology might become. Of its importance in politics writes Przemysław Sadura in chapter VII – *Elite's Ideologies in the Third Republic of Poland*. The author pays attention particularly to the meaning of the way in which every group perceives reality, which – taking into "consideration social background" – creates ideology.³ To conclude, Sadura's chapter makes one think about the significance of the group identity and experience.

Chapter VIII – *Academicians and Politicians – Politics and University*, by Jarosław Kilon, is a characteristic of the ones whose way to a cabinet started in a hall of a university. The examples given by the author prove that there is no contradiction between career in politics and at university, however the originality of academicians-politicians makes them another separate group of men of power.

In the following chapter titled: *Politicians as Managers. Governmental Elites as a Management Group*, the author underlines the difficulties of exercising authority. It demands particular skills which allow effective management as well as implementing the daily policy.

² Ibidem, p. 212.

³ Ibidem, p. 215.

We have been observing the struggle between politicians and managers since 1989. Until recently, expressions such as 'managing' or 'marketing' were tied only to economy. Currently one can easily witness adapting some selling techniques directly to the sphere of power, which – especially during the general elections campaign – makes it worth implementing.

One should also pay attention to chapter X – *Pathologies of Politics in the Eyes of Politicians*. The author was able to provide a reader with an interesting point of view, thanks to research's results. Cases which normally thrill the public opinion such as corruption, clientelism, illegal lobbying or personal conflicts from a perspective of a professional politician makes one think those cases over.

The last chapter is a quasi summary of the book. Author – J.J. Wiatr – presents "the view of sociologist and former minister", as he puts it in the title. J.J. Wiatr presents cabinet's personnel policy "according to permanent changes in the party system and its influence on many relations between parts of cabinet."⁴

The reviewed position is doubtlessly worth recommendation, mainly because of extremely interesting content. It is also worth mentioning that the authors often share their views concerning difficulties they met during making research. That experience is of high value to all those who are going to follow the authors in the future. On the other hand, the book may turn out to be too complicated for a reader who is not accustomed with aca-

⁴ Ibidem, p. 348.

demic methods. This is the main reason why it has been published particularly for social and political scientists, being a profound source of information.

Although the chapter division seems to tie the book to many different science branches, it is solid in the meaning of the reading matter. Moreover, the authors present many surprising results which provide a reader with the view on rightists and leftists far from hectic and common in the literature.

One should also pay more attention to the term of research, one of the most important in Poland's contemporary history. In my opinion that factor may only increase evaluation of the position. *Governmental Elites of the Third Republic of Poland. Sociological Portrait* also matches the strict rules of a scientific work, including high academician standards.

I would definitely recommend the position.

**A publishing review of a work written by Arkadiusz Kawecki
entitled *From a Plebiscite to Elections: Birth of a Democratic Party
System of Regional Societies*, Adam Marszałek Publishing House,
Toruń 2006, p. 280.**

by Joanna Marszałek-Kawa

Doctor Arkadiusz Kawecki is an employee of the Institute of Political Science and European Studies at the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Szczecin. His academic interest is focused on the problems connected with the formation of a democratic system in Poland, developing election processes, and the birth of local communities. In addition, he is concerned with German studies.

The reviewed work is an endeavour to present the processes of birth and the following stages of the formation of voting attitudes and behaviours of local communities. It has been conducted taking into consideration the development in the former Szczecin district of political organizations, individual and collective examples of political activity, the process of election campaigns and the

results of elections. The proceedings have been performed on the background of transformations and stages of democratization of public life in Poland, institutionalization of which took place as a result of another presidential, parliamentary, and local authority elections.

The concentration of the analysis around political parties was a result of a desire to follow the phenomena taking place at the lowest possible level of creation of political processes. Since, the functioning of party centres is, according to the author, enough described in the bibliography of the subject. It is the parties that attract all the attention of the media, it is also them that are most attentively observed by society.

The time frame of the analyzes are set by the parliamentary elections from June 1989